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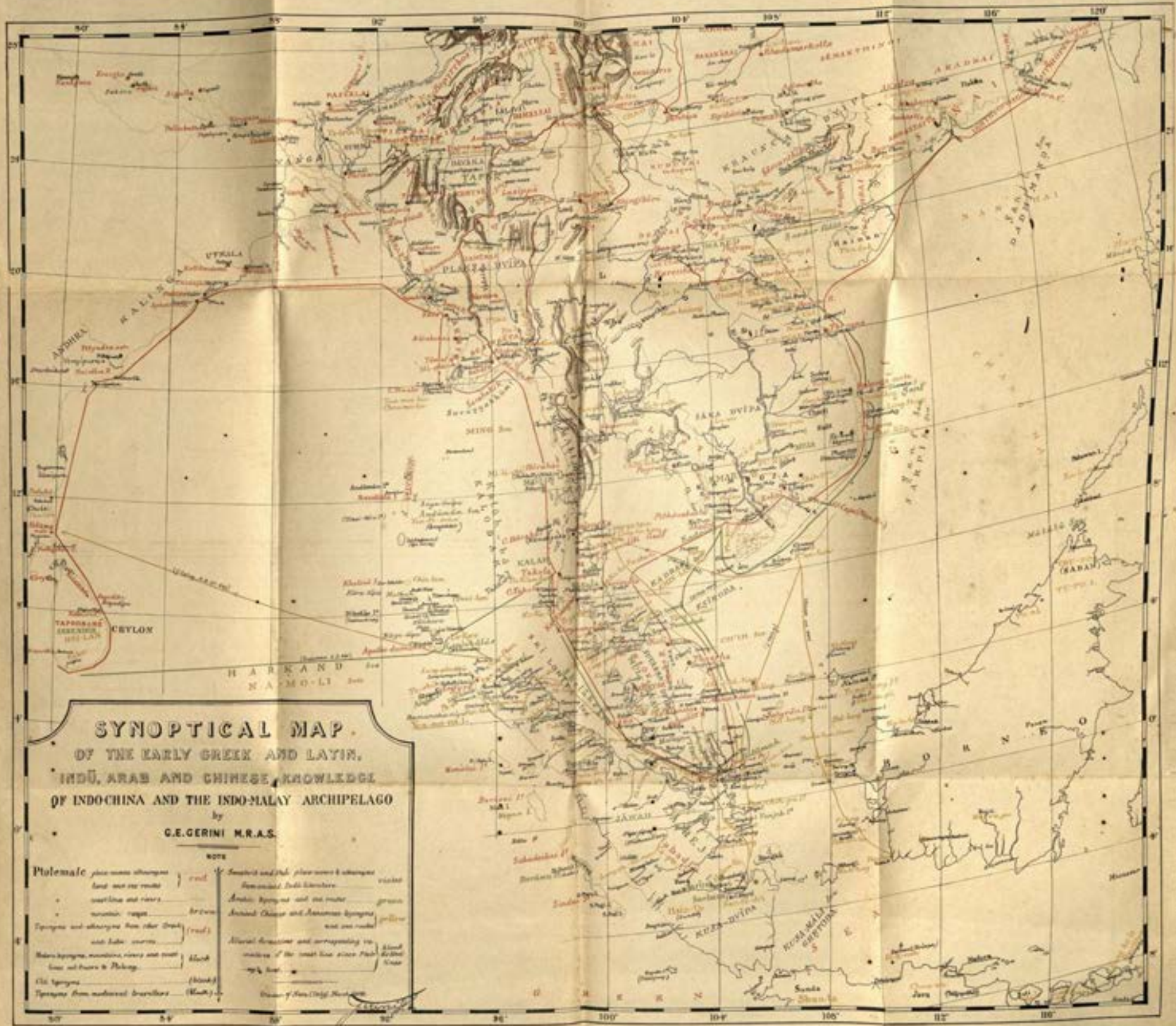
SYNOPTICAL MAP
OF THE EARLY GREEK AND LATIN,
INDŪ, ARAB AND CHINESE KNOWLEDGE
OF INDOCHINA AND THE INDO-MALAY ARCHIPELAGO
by
G.E.GERINI M.R.A.S.
NOTE
Ptolemaic
CEYLON
HARKAND
NA-MO-LI
JĀKA DVĪPA
KALAH
JĀWAH
KUSA-DVĪPA
KUSA-MALI
GRĒTODA
Sunda
Java
ANDHRA
UTKALA
PLAKSA DVĪPA
KRAUNCA DVĪPA
ARADNAI
SĀMANTHINOI
MALAIS
(SABAN)
BORNEO
GREEN

ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPHS.—No. 1.

RESEARCHES

ON

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY

OF

EASTERN ASIA

(FURTHER INDIA AND INDO-MALAY ARCHIPELAGO).

79505

BY

COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

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ERRATA.

Page 6, line 6, *for* applied *read* supplied.
,, 7, l. 5 from bottom, *for* Ko: *read* Koḥ.
,, 8, l. 3, *for* Ko: *read* Koḥ.
,, 16, l. 14, *for* lays *read* lay.
,, 19, l. 6, *for* **Byzantium** *read* **Byzantion**.
,, 21, l. 2, *for* base *read* basis.
,, 24, l. 9, *for* raṣṭra *read* rāṣṭra.
,, 29, n. 2, *for* Saint-Denis *read* Saint-Denys.
,, 40, n. 3, *for* **Argeiron** *read* **Argeirou**.
,, 40, n. 3, *for* **Agkheiron** *read* **Ankheirou**.
,, 41, note, *for* **Argeiron** *read* **Argeirou**.
,, 42, note, *for* headquarters *read* headwaters.
,, 44, note, *for* Saint-Denis *read* Saint-Denys.
,, 46, note, l. 8, *for* Saint-Denis *read* Saint-Denys.
,, 55, n. 1, *for* Saint-Denis *read* Saint-Denys.
,, 58, n. 1, *for* Saint-Denis *read* Saint-Denys.
,, 58, l. 24, *for* aborigini *read* aborigines.
,, 58, n. 2, for *Khā* read *Khà*.
,, 80, l. 18, for *Sura* read *Surā*.
,, 89, l. 15, for *Zabedi* read *Zābej*.
,, 89, l. 16, *for* act *read* fact.
,, 91, l. 24, *for* gives *read* gave.
,, 91, last line but one from bottom, for *Malivan* read *Malīvan*.
,, 92, l. 13, for *China* read *Cīna*.
,, 95, l. 10, for *Kao-chih* read *Kïāu-chih*.
,, 102, l. 21, for *Malayūs* read *Malāyus*.
,, 105, l. 17, for *'Atap* read *'Ātap*.
,, 106, l. 1, for *Wan-tan* read *Wén-tan*.
,, 107, ll. 24, 25, for *Sukhadaya* read *Sukhodaya*.
,, 107, n. 1, l. 1, *for* ch. xxvii *read* ch. xxxi.
,, 112, l. 3 from bottom, *for* to be *read* to become.
,, 113, l. 10 and passim, *for* Hwen-tsang *read* Hwên-tsang.
,, 116, top heading, correct as follows: (7) *Country of the* **Doānai** (*Northern Siām and Lāos*).
,, 121, n. 1, l. 6, *for* 430 *read* 340.
,, 125, l. 10, *for* [fifth century] *read* [sixth to seventh century].
,, 125, l. 18, *for* Dien Bien-p'hu *read* Dïen Bïen-p'hú.
,, 126, bottom line } *for* Dien Bien-p'hu *read* Dïen Bïen-p'hú.
,, 127, top line }

Page 136, l. 13, *for* fourteenth *read* fifteenth.
,, 148, l. 25, *dele* by.
,, 148, l. 26, *after* '*in situ*' *insert* by.
,, 168, l. 16, for *Kwā* read *Kûa*.
,, 180, l. 9, text, from bottom, *for* Hwên-ts'ang *read* Hwên-tsang.
,, 198, l. 4, for *Ka, t'ka, l'ka* read *kå, t'kå, l'kå*.
,, 199, l. 12, for *Ya-katra* read *Jakatra*.
,, 205, l. 8 } for *Mudjahs* read *Mujahs*.
,, 205, l. 12 }
,, 209, last line, *for* 參 *read* 參.
,, 213, n. 1, ll. 1, 2, for *P'hsā-* read *P'hsār*.
,, 229, l. 3, for (*Trūng-āi* ?) read (*Trūng-ngāi* ?).
,, 243, n. 2, l. 5, *for* 疊 *read* 疊.
,, 261, n. 1, l. 2, for *Jakan* read *Jakūn*.
,, 274, n. 3, l. 2, *for* 1295 *read* 1296.
,, 289, note, l. 4 from bottom, for *Vacian* read *Vocian*.
,, 344, n. 3, l. 1, for *Bā-vī* read *Bā-vì*.
,, 359, note, l. 15, *for* p. 261 *read* p. 262.
,, 363, n. 1, *for* p. 294 *read* p. 295.
,, 364, n. 2, l. 9, *for* p. 294 *read* p. 295.
,, 394, note, bottom line, *after* of the *add* 延, *Tan*, or.
,, 465, n. 3, l. 2, for *bīva* read *dīva*.
,, 469, n. 3, l. 9 from bottom, for *Kou* read *Ko*.
,, 471, l. 6, for *rāṣtra* read *rāṣṭra*.
,, 471, n. 2, l. 7, *for* P'háttalung *read* P'hattalung.
,, 474, l. 6 from bottom, *for* chê *read* chih.
,, 479, l. 8, *for* charms *read* riddles.
,, 484, l. 21, *after* we *add* have.
,, 493, n. 3, l. 4, *for* umlè *read* un lè.
,, 494, ll. 16, 17, *for* south-eastern . . . , and at *read* south-western . . . , and just off.
,, 495, l. 2, *for* The one *read* The only.
,, 499, bottom line of text, *for* Jahor *read* Johor.
,, 501, n. 1, l. 13, for *Chéen* read *Ch'ien*.
,, 506, l. 13, *for* 祇 *read* 祇.
,, 510, l. 7, *for* Karenga *read* Karengs.
,, 515, n. 1, l. 3, *for* 吉 *read* 古.
,, 524, note, l. 11 from bottom, *for* P'huttalung *read* P'hattalung.
,, 525, n. 1, l. 7, for *Lenyü* read *Lu-yü*.
,, 535, ll. 2, 5 of text from bottom, for *Mahāvaṅsa* read *Mahāvaṁsa*.
,, 538, n. 1, l. 5, *for* Navairī *read* Nowairī.
,, 538, n. 2, l. 3, *for* compounded *read* compared.

Page 540, n. 1, l. 2, *for* of *read* or.
,, 540, n. 1, l. 3, *for* Yābadio *read* Yabadīu.
,, 540, n. 2, last line but one, *for* there *read* these.
,, 549, l. 20, *for* p. 211 *read* p. 21.
,, 563, n. 3, l. 11, for *Lukīn* read *Lukīn*.
,, 566, note, l. 1, correct the Môñ characters here given for *Smöiñ* into
,, 569, note, l. 1, for *pabbala* read *pabbata*.
,, 570, note, l. 7, *for* Tsin *read* Ts'in.
,, 575, bottom line of text, for *Tumeras* read *Tumerao*.
,, 576, notes, l. 17 from bottom, *for* Troh *read* Tron.
,, 585, notes, l. 20 from bottom, for *-shia* read *-chia*.
,, 589, note, l. 9 from bottom, for *Bāmnī* read *Rāmnī*.
,, 590, l. 11, *for* as *read* for.
,, 591, l. 9, *for* emigrants *read* immigrants.
,, 591, bottom line of text, after *Ajj-* add (or, *Adhi-*).
,, 591, n. 2, l. 4, for *Yaband* read *Yabana*.
,, 605, l. 9 of text from bottom, *after* setting *add* in.
,, 608, n. 1, l. 8, *for* Sundra *read* Sunda.
,, 609, n. 2, l. 14, *dele* as.
,, 619, l. 4 from bottom, for *Mo-lu-yo* read *Mo-lo-yu*.
,, 620, l. 5 of text from bottom, for *Zabej* read *Zābej*.
,, 620, n., l. 6 from bottom, *for* Mān-chuan *read* Mạn Chuan.
,, 634, n. 1, l. 20, *for* Bab-Angwē *read* Bal-Angwē.
,, 636, l. 8 of text from bottom, *for* what *read* how.
,, 637, l. 3, *after* Jakarta *add* more correctly *Jayakarta*.
,, 641, notes, l. 4, *for* Hunimaun *read* Honnu-mān, Hūnimān.
,, 643, notes, l. 7 from bottom, *for* last *read* second one.
,, 645, l. 16, *after* king *add* of.
,, 647, n. 1, l. 6, for *Malāiur* read *Malāyur*.
,, 651, l. 6, *dele* as.
,, 653, l. 19, for *Ňgrī-* read *Ňēgri*.
,, 656, l. 10, *for* situate *read* existing.
,, 657, l. 8, after *C'hīeng* insert a comma.
,, 661, n., l. 24 from bottom, *after* No. 2 *add* pp. 1–21.
,, 671, n., l. 3, *for* Periegete's *read* Periegetes'.
,, 672, n., l. 6, *for* seems to have been *read* was.
,, 681, l. 14 from bottom, for *Acchā* read *Acchē*.
,, 681, l. 6 from bottom, *after* ignore *dele* the comma.
,, 688, notes, l. 4 from bottom, for *Beureukung* read *Beureuleung*.
,, 699, l. 11, *for* not attack *read* not to attack.
,, 701, l. 10 from bottom, for *Sumu-* read *Su-mu-*.

Page 704, l. 15 from bottom, *for* Afsì *read* Asſì.
,, 719, n., l. 5, *for* Kamalaṅka *read* Kāmalaṅkā.
,, 723, l. 20, *after* which *add* route.
,, 729, l. 2, *after* and *add* a.
,, 743, l. 7 from bottom, *for* Yo *read* Yō.
,, 762, l. 15 from bottom, *for* that they, being *read* that they be. These, being.
,, 776, l. 12, *for* ser. L *read* ser. I.
,, 779, l. 13 from bottom, *for* 56 *read* 156.
,, 780, l. 5 ,, *for* 281 *read* 218.
,, 781, l. 17 ,, *for* brought to light *read* disguised.
,, 782, l. 3 ,, *for* occurs *read* which occurs.
,, 783, l. 16 ,, for *thaṇa* = *ṭāna* read *taṇa* = *ṭhāna*.
,, 791, l. 11 ,, *for* be *read* is.
,, 798, l. 17 ,, *before* resemble *insert* to.

PREFACE.

THE word "Notes" originally heading the title-page of this work clearly showed the spirit which guided its preparation, and at that time no more was meant, for it was first intended as a series of articles for the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, where the first of the series in fact appeared. This will account for the somewhat unsymmetrical arrangement of the text, as well as for the excessive disproportion in the length of its chapters, which would have been otherwise distributed and brought into shape if their embodiment into a compact volume had been planned from the outset, and if it could have been limited, as was then contemplated, to about one-third of the size it has ultimately attained.

It is entirely due to the initiative of the Royal Asiatic Society in honouring this work with a place among its Asiatic Monographs that the original notes, jotted down in a cursory manner, definitely assumed the present form. A start was made to put them into type as early as 1899, but the printing and preparation for the press lingered on year after year as the striving after greater comprehensiveness intensified research and disclosed new facts and issues. Thus the subject-matter steadily increased; considerable interpolations and additions suggested themselves and even became necessary in order to bring the work up to date in the light of recent discoveries. This accounts for the far greater length of later chapters and for the more diffused treatment which the subject received after the first hundred pages or so in comparison with the earlier ones. Moreover, such treatment was required in view of the opinion expressed by at least one eminent Oriental scholar as to the soundness of my method and the reliability of my identifications after the appearance of the first part of my "Notes" in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, pt. iii, pp. 551–77. I shall revert to this point, however, at greater length later on; at present it may be of interest to add that nearly the whole of the book, i.e. up to

p. 656, was ready printed, and up to p. 724 set up in type, by the end of 1904 (cf. *infra*, p. 682, n. 2). But circumstances, which it is needless to mention, again prevented its being brought to a termination, and thus it lay incomplete till 1908. During the interval new sources of reference and personal investigations *in sitû*, as well as the *dies diem docet*, had combined to bring forth new results, besides disclosing many imperfections and blunders which had been perpetrated in the text. Atonement has been made in the shape of Addenda and Corrigenda, which will practically bring the book up to date.

Before closing this plea of self-justification for the unshapely arrangement of the work, which drawback, it is hoped, has been somewhat diminished by a more logical distribution into parts and chapters introduced into the Table of Contents, as well as by copious cross-references both in the footnotes and Addenda at the end of the book, it behoves me to add in extenuation of its many shortcomings that the work is mainly the outcome of plodding labour during the scanty leisure of a long busy day in a tropical clime, and that it has been penned at an almost antipodean distance from works of reference and libraries. Thus, debarred from access to the principal editions of Ptolemy's treatise and to numerous authorities which a residence at home would have placed within my reach, the task was rendered harder of elucidating a wide and new subject like the present, which I trust will readily be acknowledged to be bristling with difficulties hitherto regarded as insurmountable.

Some of these are referred to in the course of the Introduction, but others, even more appalling, beset my path in the sequel. While investigating remote times of countries, on which local records throw but hazy light or none at all, and endeavouring to put under contribution foreign accounts extant in Chinese, Arabic, or other literatures, I gradually felt that the identifications of the place-names occurring in such accounts as had been proposed by their

European translators and commentators were for the most part unreliable. Thus a crucial alternative faced me—either to renounce availing myself of the valuable information contained in such accounts on the mistakenly identified places, for inferences based on such wrong foundations would be tantamount to explaining *ignotum per ignotius*; or, to overhaul all that had been done in the field by preceding labourers and do the work of identification anew.

This, it will readily be imagined, was by itself a heavy task; which considerably increased the labour and delayed the appearance of the book. It became no longer a question of elucidating Ptolemy's extra-Gangetic Geography, but also that of the Arabs and Chinese, to say nothing of the ancient Indūs, and even of the accounts of early European travellers and navigators. However imperfect the results—and of its many defects no one is more sensible than myself—it is nevertheless hoped that a good and sound advance has been made in the identification of place-names and ethnonyms which, up to the present, were supposed to lie beyond the reach of recognition.

No wonder that a *rudis indigestaque moles* of facts and information was the outcome rather than a readable sketch planned to catch the roving eye of the general reader, and such it does not pretend to be, so little, indeed, that precision in the spelling of proper names, toponyms and ethnonyms especially, being indispensable in a work of this sort, the additional infliction could not be avoided of diacritical marks so peculiarly irritating to the English eye.

In a book crammed with thousands of uncouth native names, in a score or so of Oriental languages, an absolute uniformity of spelling throughout could not be expected. All the same, considerable pains have been taken to ensure such an uniformity, especially in the last three-quarters of the volume, where, moreover, the original characters for place-names have been supplied in half a dozen Oriental languages, and the derivation of many such names added where practicable, which is but seldom done in historic-geographical

works, and, what is still more regrettable, in the very Gazetteers published on some of the countries treated of here. On careless topographical nomenclature in maps and works of reference the severest strictures have now and then been passed by many eminent Oriental scholars, so that it is hoped the present volume may escape criticism in that respect.

No less pains have been taken throughout to quote the sources from which information has been culled and the authorities drawn upon, or to which obligation was to be acknowledged, and this in utter disregard of having to overload the notes with references, for in this, as in other fields, criticism of the source is the very foundation of research.

Mindful, moreover, of the maxim that geography is the eye of history, and, *vice versâ*, as Carlyle has somewhere pointed out, that history should always go hand in hand with geography, not a few sidelights, often from hitherto unpublished and even unknown sources, have been supplied to obscure periods of the countries treated, in so far as fell within the scope of the present work. Thus, to quote but an instance which should prove of peculiar interest to Indianists, is the disclosure as to the Chola kingdom having been brought under the supremacy of the *Zābej* (Palembang) empire in or about A.D. 1077 (see p. 624, n. 1).

Nor has the geography of those countries received less attention, corroborated as it has been, not by arm-chair examination of often rudimentary maps and unsound treatises, but by the experience gained in a quarter of a century's residence on the very field of inquiry, intercalated with research and travel and aided by familiarity with nearly a dozen of the local languages and dialects acquired during the same period. Among the incidental results of such labours for historic geography, may I be allowed to mention the discovery that a branch of the Mē-Khōng River flowed of old to the Gulf of Siām (p. 775), the evidence as to the probable former existence of a marine channel across the Malay Peninsula (pp. 79, 751), and of an old frequented trade-route over the Krah Isthmus (pp. 94, 756), etc.

Now, a word in justification of the graphic methods followed in connection with Ptolemaic geography, and of the reliability of the results attained. An eminent Indianist, Professor A. Barth, in a note published in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* (tome ii, 1902, p. 98, n. 4), kindly remarks *en passant*, in alluding to the first instalment of these "Notes," which appeared in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, pt. iii, that "M. Gerini . . . a appliqué aux co-ordonnées de Ptolemée un système de corrections très-ingénieux, *trop ingénieux même pour être toujours convaincant*" (the italics are mine). This criticism, though flattering enough because made in a candid spirit, presumably represents the impression received by some of the leading savants and Oriental scholars after a perusal of the introductory part of the present work which appeared in the *Journal*. It is, indeed, no wonder that the results briefly set forth in that article carried no more conviction to the scholarly reader than was openly acknowledged by Professor Barth. The subject I had taken in hand was so amazingly difficult that it had long been given up as hopeless by more than one eminent authority, and my treatment of it was so novel and so far different from the stereotyped methods previously followed that the 'prentice hand could not implicitly be trusted, at any rate until further proofs were forthcoming in corroboration of the bare results submitted in such a summary manner.

Now, however, there is a chance of showing a better case, for the mathematical proofs presented in the introductory section of the work have been followed by an array of historical and circumstantial evidence covering no less than 697 pages (pp. 28–724 inclusive), besides 111 pages (pp. 725–835 inclusive) of appendices and additional notes. The correctness of my identifications of the toponyms occurring in the Ptolemaic extra-Gangetic Geography is thus not only mathematically proven, but checked and counterchecked by all sorts of evidence, historical and otherwise, that could be gathered and brought to bear upon the subject. Thus, no further doubt is possible as to the

soundness of the method followed and the thorough reliability of the results attained, except in a few isolated cases which, owing to imperfect data or to lack of information, could not be satisfactorily settled. It may, indeed, be added—to emphasize the precision of the mathematical rectification of the Ptolemaic extra-Gangetic Geography as exhibited in the introductory part of the present work—that the Ptolemaic toponyms identified thus fit in exactly with the sites of similarly named places in almost every instance all over Indo-China. In striking confirmation of this fact I may point out that some Ptolemaic toponyms which in the early stages of my researches proved absolutely refractory to identification, became by subsequent inquiry easy of recognition, thanks to the rectified position mathematically calculated for them in the Tables, which unmistakably indicated where the corresponding site should be looked for in the maps. I feel perfectly confident, therefore, that the small irreducible residuum of Ptolemaic place-names still doubtfully located or left unidentified in the course of the present work, will become capable of recognition to future investigators after a thorough study of the topography and protohistory of the locality which has been mathematically determined for them in the Tables. Some instances, in which the hope just confidently expressed has already been realized of late, might be quoted by way of illustration.

After the introductory section of this work and the Tables had appeared in the *Journal*, Mr. C. Otto Blagden readily recognized in **Balonga mētropolis** (No. 121, Table V) the ancient Chām capital *Bal-Angwē* or *C'hà-bàn* (see the *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, pp. 665–6), whereas in the *Journal* cited above the identification with "Qui-nhon or Chà-ban" had been proposed by myself merely as the result of a preliminary, and necessarily but superficial, inquiry, based on a comparison between the position mathematically ascertained in Table V for **Balonga** and the few data I had at hand relative to that locality, among which did not yet figure the

original name *Bal-Angwē*, but simply the new-fangled ones imposed by the Annamese after their conquest of the place. Thus, further investigation carried out by Mr. Blagden proved the correctness of the location of **Balonga mētropolis** I had set forth in the Tables on the basis of mere mathematical calculation, and supplied the explanation of the hitherto puzzling Ptolemaic toponym.

Again, the same introductory section of this work, as well as an article of mine on "Shān and Siām" which almost contemporaneously appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (January, 1898, pp. 145–63), elicited from Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John the suggestion that the initial syllable **Bē** in Ptolemaic toponyms, especially rivers on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, seemingly represented the Mōñ (Peguan) *Bī* meaning a 'river' (see this writer's papers in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1898, p. 424, and in the "Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes," 2ème section, Paris, 1898, p. 220). Acting upon this suggestion, which proved correct in several cases (though by no means in such a wide application as Mr. St. Andrew St. John had surmised; see Appendix II, p. 728 *infra*), I was soon able to recognize in the Ptolemaic **Bēsynga** River (Nos. 58, 187) the Mōñ terms *Bī-ching*, *Bī-sing* (*Bī-chöiñ*), meaning 'Elephant River,' and, by antonomasia, *Sindhura* or Erāvatī (Irawaddy). Thus the identification of the **Bēsynga** River with the Salween I had proposed at the outset (Table III, No. 58, and Table IX, No. 187, in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, pt. iii) had to be abandoned in favour of the later one with the Irawaddy (*vide infra*, Appendix II, sect. 1, and Addenda, p. 750, note to p. 75).

Among the singularly obdurate place-names and ethnonyms before unascribed, which I myself succeeded in identifying after the introductory part of the present work first appeared in print, thanks to the location mathematically calculated for them in the Tables, the following may be mentioned :—

No. 84, **Palanda**; Nos. 85 and 185, **Palandas** River: which, taken at the outset to refer to Pêrak and the Pêrak

River respectively, could afterwards be explained by the presence to this day in that neighbourhood of tribes known by the name of *Bĕlandas*, *Blandas*, or *Belendas*, to which evidently the two Ptolemaic toponyms must be traced (see *infra*, Appendix II, sect. 2, and Addenda, note to p. 97).

No. 123. **Zabai or Zaba**, in which I have recognized the *Svāi*[*-thāp*] district, the *Shih-pei* or *Sz-bei* of Chinese records (*vide infra*, Appendix II, sect. 4, and Addenda, note to p. 217, l. 11 from bottom).

No. 218. **Damassai**, or **Dabasai**, people, an ethnonym I have since found to survive in the present *Tamansai* tribe of Upper Burmā (see Appendix II, sect. 5).

No. 147. **Palura**, of which I have discovered the historical continuation in *Paloor* village, above the mouth of the Ganjām (see Addenda, note to p. 47, ll. 7–9).

No. 70. **Posinara**, which I have connected with the capital of the ancient *Pêh-tsz* State in West Yün-nan (see Appendix III, p. 739).

No. 125. **Satyrōn** Islands, which I have ultimately identified with the *Siāntan* or *Syātan* insular group, the *Hsi-tung* of Chinese records, known to European navigators as the Great (or Northern) Anambas (*vide infra*, pp. 707 et seqq.).

The above Ptolemaic place-names and ethnonyms I have purposely chosen in regions far apart, ranging from the east coast of India to the Eastern Archipelago, in order to exemplify how all over such a wide area the mathematical results arrived at in the Tables prove remarkably correct.

As regards the Indo-Chinese Peninsula proper, as well as the Archipelago, the evidence collected in the body of the present volume will enable one, in each particular instance, to check the mathematical results exhibited in the Tables with the historic-geographical commentary subjoined in the text, when it will be seen that the correspondence between the Ptolemaic names and the identifications I have adduced for them is in almost every case surprisingly accurate. In the face of the proofs gathered in the 800 and odd pages of

text, appendices, and additional notes, in support of the results obtained by the mathematical method of treatment of Ptolemy's extra-Gangetic Geography explained in the introductory part of the book, it is now legitimate to hope the unbiassed reader will agree that it is not here a question of a fictitious — however ingenious — disguising of Ptolemy's geography under deceitful vestures, but of a genuine, sound interpretation of the same which may confidently be relied upon ; which is the only possible one, not only in theory, but also in actual fact, for it is *the* true and correct one. This can hardly be gainsaid in view furthermore of the fact that some of the Ptolemaic place-names belong to languages still occurring, or known to have existed, in the countries in which they have respectively been located (see Appendix II). I may, moreover, personally testify, after over a dozen years' experience of, and steady work on, the basis of the plan of mathematical rectification adopted, that I was unable to detect any serious shortcoming in the location of the Ptolemaic toponyms, etc., calculated as shown in the Tables. The Ptolemaic sphinx, when repeatedly interrogated, has seldom given an equivocal response, while the rectified results of its data hardly ever failed me as a trustworthy guide to identification. As will be seen, it is entirely due to this framework of mathematically determined base-points that the riddle of Ptolemaic extra-Gangetic Geography became for the first time capable of solution. I have pointed out above that even when the method I have adopted most seemed to miss its purpose, it supplied by aid of inquiry the sought for clue to identification ; hence it will perhaps not be overrating its soundness to state that in the few cases still left doubtful it may yet disclose to future investigators the right way out of the maze.

In the face of such issues I can unhesitatingly recommend the substantiated results I have arrived at as thoroughly worthy of reliance, and feel no misgiving as to my long and wearying task having been performed in vain. For, thanks to the towns, peoples, and tribes mentioned by Ptolemy in

the wide area covered by the present volume, invaluable sidelights are supplied to the ancient history of a region for which extant records do not go back, in the most favourable instances, further than the fifth or sixth century A.D. By virtue of Ptolemy's geographic lists, however arid they may be, it will thus be possible to carry back the history of those lands to the first century of our era. Accordingly, the section of the Ptolemaic treatise devoted to extra-Gangetic India fulfils even nowadays its purpose by supplying a new substratum to the history of the Indo-Chinese and Archipelagan countries; and it is perhaps not too sanguine to anticipate that future historiographers of those lands may see their way to adopt the Ptolemaic data as the starting-point for their inquiries and narratives to which, even for later periods where authentic records fail or are but fragmentary, they should be at times of help in understanding the political condition of the country.

Nor will the advantages of the present elucidation of Ptolemaic extra-Gangetic Geography remain confined to the historian, for the ethnographer and philologist will also find therein some food for speculation, of which Appendix II below is merely intended to supply a foretaste with a view to stimulate further inquiry.

Thus the present work, apart from its interest, however small it be, from an exegetical point of view, in so far as it elucidates an ancient text and department of historical geography, should prove of some retrospective value for the study of certain historic, linguistic, ethnologic, and geographic aspects of the countries it deals with. Hence it may be hoped that, even on this ground alone, the study of the Ptolemaic geography of Further India will be acknowledged worthy of revival, now that the rough gems treasured up in the treatise of the Alexandrine geographer have been freed from their dross and so made fit for use.

It will no doubt be due to this peculiar side of its merits that Ptolemy's treatise will become indispensable to Orientalists. Their lasting gratitude will now have to

be acknowledged to him who has left us so complete a description of the eastern part of the *habitabilis* as known in his own time; who has sedulously collected about it and recast the notions of all his predecessors and contemporaries; who was always on the look out for fresh information from the navigators and traders returning from India and the Far East (see his lib. i, chaps. 11–14 and 17); and who, finally, has bequeathed to posterity the most comprehensive and complete record of Eastern countries, towns, nations, tribes, itineraries, trade-routes, and of historic, linguistic, ethnologic, and geographical facts that the ancient Greek and Latin world can boast of. It is to all this—let us emphasize it—that we owe, among other important disclosures, the one now incontrovertibly established in these pages, that Western trade pushed along the China coast, at least as far as Hang-chou harbour, since the beginning of the Christian era, that is, at a much earlier date than has hitherto been imagined or suspected by our own savants. It is therefore only fitting that the present work, which owes its being to the labours of the Alexandrine geographer, should not be issued from the press without paying this reverent homage to him.

As shown on its title-page, this volume is merely devoted to Further India and the Indo-Malay Archipelago, albeit the Tables cover a far wider field, including China and Central Asia. Though the identifications of the Ptolemaic place-names and ethnonyms pertaining to these regions have been revised in the light of further inquiries which I made after the publication in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, pt. iii, of the first instalment of the present work, and are now for the most part reliable, nevertheless they cannot be considered as final till the volume to be devoted to such regions, which has now been for some time in preparation, has been passed through the press.

As regards the schematic map accompanying the present volume, it is the same as originally appeared in the *Journal*. Although it would now require substantial alterations to bring

it into keeping with the text as it now stands, it has been preferred, in order not to further delay the appearance of the book, to leave the map as it is, instead—as might have been better—of supplying a revised one. As an offset, however, against this drawback, I have added a larger special map of Indo-China proper and the Indo-Malay Archipelago, exhibiting, not only the Ptolemaic in particular, but also the other Greek and Latin, as well as the early Indū, Arabic, and Chinese, knowledge of that region, recast in the light of the researches embodied in the present work. This, it is hoped, may prove a valuable addition and help to grasp the principal results attained.

Before concluding, I feel it my duty to express my deepest obligations to the Royal Asiatic Society for the honour of its high patronage accorded to this volume, to its Council and Secretary for valuable assistance and suggestions, and last, but not least, to the printers' reader for the very great pains he has taken, with remarkable success, in seeing the present work, bristling with enormous typographical difficulties in some twenty languages, through the press, with comparatively an insignificant number of misprints.

With this *envoi* I leave the volume to the judgment of critics, Oriental scholars, and the general public, regretting, alas! its many imperfections, but feeling at the same time honestly entitled to plead in extenuation of such shortcomings the enormous difficulties of multifarious kinds with which I had to grapple, and to console myself in the conviction that *rem curavi quam optime potui.*

G. E. GERINI.

CISANO-S.-NEVA (ITALY).
March 1, 1909.

FURTHER INDIA

AND

INDO-MALAY ARCHIPELAGO.

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1. Introduction.

Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura
Che la diritta via era smarrita.

Dante: *Inferno*, i, 1.

Having been for years past engaged in researches on the early history of Siām and its border countries, I had, as a matter of course, to go into their ancient geography—a hitherto unexplored field—and this naturally led me to a study of the documents that the Western geographers of antiquity left us, more especially Ptolemy, who gives us the first collection of anything like authentic data on the countries in question. Thus it came to pass that I found myself hopelessly entangled in the "selva selvaggia, ed aspra e forte" of Ptolemy's geography of India extra-Gangem. I must confess that the results attending my first attempts at interpreting this portion of the work of the great Alexandrian were far from encouraging. This was, however, to be expected, seeing that even master hands like those of Klaproth, Cunningham, Yule, Lassen, and others, whilst meeting with fair success in identifying Ptolemy's names of places west of the meridian of the Ganges, had failed to evolve the slightest order out of the chaos of his trans-Gangetic geography, and to locate with certainty even a single one of the numerous cities he names beyond the outskirts of the Gulf of Bengal. The more eastern portion of Ptolemy's geography came, therefore,

to be looked upon as utterly unreliable, if not fantastic; and the severest strictures were passed on the great cosmologist and geographer, to the effect that he had made a mess of his eastern longitudes and latitudes, coined names of cities and peoples out of his fancy, confused islands and continents, making pretence to a knowledge of regions which his contemporaries had never reached, and on which they possessed but second-hand information of the vaguest possible character.

But when I noticed the wide difference of opinion existing among Ptolemy's expounders and commentators as to the identification of his names of cities, gulfs, and even regions (some going so far as to connect his **Magnus Sinus** with the Gulf of Bengal, his coast of **Sinai** with that of the Malayan Peninsula, **Kattigara** with Kesho in Tonkin, and even with Kottawaringin in Borneo, **Sērika** with the Peguan coast, and so forth), I at once realized the impossibility of reaching any definite goal by following paths so widely diverging; and I confess that I began then to ask myself whether—granted that Ptolemy had muddled—his commentators and would-be elucidators had not, despite their zeal and learning and evident good-faith, often made confusion worse confounded.

The reason why Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography should have given rise to so much controversy is plain enough: it is to be found in the methods of treatment it received—at times far too theoretical on one side, and far too empiric on the other; but always, and invariably, too scholastically uniform and systematic. Thus the most faithful of Ptolemy's votaries, the sincerest of his admirers, ever missed the goal, despite the deep learning and indefatigable research they brought to bear on the arduous subject: some in unsuccessful attempts to find out a general formula of correction applicable to the whole of his *habitabilis*, and others in the vain endeavour of making his geographical nomenclature fit in in modern maps by simply connecting the names he gives with places designated by similar appellations in the latter.

As regards the first method, if susceptible of fairly successful application to the countries lying west of the Indus, it becomes utterly unfit for the more eastern portion of the *habitabilis*, where Ptolemy's measurement errors are far from being constant and uniform as might be anticipated, the position of places here depending on much more imperfect data; whereby it ensues that the amount of error must be detected and determined in almost every particular instance if anything like approximation is to be arrived at. Now this can only be done by a careful selection and individuation of the principal stations of Ptolemy's system; the ratio of error in intermediate points between the base stations thus established will then be reduced to a minimum, so as to allow, in the majority of cases, of a satisfactory identification of the same.

I purposely say in the majority, and not in the totality of cases, because, in spite of the rectification thus effected of Ptolemy's positions of his geographical elements, some of the latter will yet prove refractory to identification, owing partly to our still deficient geographical knowledge of some parts of Further India; and more—nay, principally—to our lack of reliable historical data on the past of the same regions, which often prevents us from tracing modern names of places back to the designation they bore in Ptolemy's time, so as to recognize them in his lists.

This is, indeed, the greatest drawback in a study of the subject under consideration; for many towns, marts, etc., which had existed, and even flourished, at that period, and were recorded by our eminent geographer, have now disappeared from the face of the earth, as well as from the memory of man; while others have changed several times their names, each change being often into a different language, according to the race of people under whose sway they successively fell, and are now unrecognizable under their modern appellations. To this must be added the transformation that names of places have undergone in the mouths of travellers speaking different tongues, especially at that remote period when geographical science was still

in its infancy; not to speak of the alterations caused in their spelling as originally adopted in the work of our author, by its passing through the ordeal of a legion of copyists, often innocent of geographical knowledge; so that the wonder is rather—after all these difficulties have been considered—that any of Ptolemy's names of places could now stand the test of identification at all.

Yet I trust to be able to show in the sequel that, despite so many drawbacks, Ptolemy's geography of the India extra-Gangem is still capable of fairly accurate interpretation, provided it is carried on on the lines mentioned above; and that, once the amount of error as to his fundamental stations has been determined, it is possible to push the work with equal success outside the limits of that field, even up to the scarcely as yet known regions of Western China and Central Asia. It will then appear how great was Ptolemy's knowledge of these remote countries at so early a time as his, and how careful his handling of the data he had at his disposal; as well as how little he deserved the strictures passed upon him and his work by commentators who did not know how to avail themselves of the precious materials accumulated by him.

With regard to the second method of interpreting Ptolemy's geography, its shortcomings are too evident to need pointing out here. Its inevitable failure with respect to India was well exemplified at the hands of Lassen, who thought that all that was needed was to compare the ancient and modern names of places to connect the two. Proceeding on sounder critical principles, Cunningham and Yule far better succeeded in interpreting Ptolemy's data, and gave us the most reliable explanation of his geography of India which we now possess. Yet McCrindle, while acknowledging that Colonel Yule's map of ancient India "is undoubtedly by far the best that has been yet [1885] produced," has to avow that "the result is far from encouraging."

As a matter of fact, it will be seen that Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography, when treated according to the method

laid down in the present paper, presents perhaps fewer difficulties than the cis-Gangetic portion. The only real hard crux I met with, after having succeeded in identifying some of Ptolemy's principal stations of Indo-China, was the determination of the amount of his shortening of the Malay Peninsula and of the lower portion of the Cochin-Chinese headland in favour of the Arakan-Burmese and Tonkinese coasts respectively.

On the other hand, the amount of error in Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes in the northern portion of Indo-China could be so neatly determined, that its rectification enabled me to extend the work far out of the limits originally contemplated, which included nothing beyond the outskirts of Southern Indo-China and Malay Peninsula, a region of which I can speak with some personal knowledge. If success led me further than I intended, and carried me on to China and Central Asia, countries to the knowledge of which I cannot and do not make the slightest claim or pretence, I wish it to be distinctly understood, ere I proceed, that I do not consider that extra portion of my work by any means complete; and if I gave it a place in my map and in the present sketch, it was in order to show the correctness of the plan on which I have worked out Ptolemy's geography of Indo-China, even when tested on a much larger scale. Hence I did not concern myself with it beyond what had relation with trade routes in Ptolemy's time, a subject on which I lay great stress, as I think it by far the most important gain to geographical science resulting from this study, and an entirely novel discovery most likely to alter the opinions generally held hitherto as to the easternmost limits of the knowledge of the world possessed by the ancients, and of their trade relations.

This is all I could do under the unfavourable circumstances in which I am placed, of living in a far-away country out of reach of any well-stocked library containing the literature that has reference to the countries in question. Therefore. I gladly leave it to scholars versed in the lore

of China and Central Asia to complete the investigation and fill in the blanks I have left. For the same reason I have had no access to any of the standard works bearing on Ptolemy's geography, and have had to carry on all my calculations of rectification of Ptolemy's geographical co-ordinates of positions on the base of the figures applied in McCrindle's "Ancient India as described by Ptolemy," 1885 edition—a work embodying, as far as I can judge, nearly all that is known on the subject up to the present date, and which I have followed throughout as far as the portion of Ptolemy's geography treated on here is concerned. In the course of my labours I detected two misprints in it which somewhat led me astray at first, but which I have since corrected. The first regards the longitude of **Parisara**, which is given as 179° on page 225, a mistake for 149°; and the other the longitude of the mouth of the river **Aspithra** (page 244), printed as 170°, whereas it should be 173° or 175°. I trust I have not fallen a victim to other possible misprints in that book, in the determination of the position of some other of Ptolemy's stations. Should, however, this prove to be the case, I would ask the indulgence of the reader, on the score that I had no means at my disposal to verify all such figures as I have taken from McCrindle's Book.

With these premises and reservations, I shall now proceed to explain as summarily as possible the method adopted in my inquiry, and the means through which I arrived at the solution of most of the intricate problems connected with the subject under consideration.

I first took up the study of Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography, in so far as had relation with the Gulf of Siām and the Malay Peninsula, as early as 1887; but I soon found out the inapplicability here of the formulas proposed for the correction of Ptolemy's co-ordinates of positions, and the inadmissibility of the few identifications ventured upon by various authorities up to that date of Ptolemy's places in these regions; with the sole exception of **Zabai**, connected by Yule with Campā, without, however,

attempting to definitely locate its position with any degree of precision. This prevented me from forming any estimate of the amount of Ptolemy's error in longitude and latitude at that point, so the latter could not be used as a base station for the purpose I intended. I had, in fact, by that time found out that no advance was possible in this direction unless one of Ptolemy's stations at least could be identified, and located with sufficient accuracy on the Gulf of Siām or the Cochin-Chinese coast, so as to give an exact idea of Ptolemy's amount of error in these far-away regions, and to furnish a clue to the detection and rectification of the errors in neighbouring stations.

So far, the most easterly point in Ptolemy's system that could be fixed upon with any degree of precision, was the delta of the Ganges, which was therefore considered as the *ne plus ultra* of all possible correct interpretation of ancient classic geography. As I was at the time—despite the most assiduous efforts—unable to discover any reliable base-point beyond that, I had to give up Ptolemy in utter discouragement, for I well saw that nothing could be done until such a point was found out. With this object in view, I, more unremittingly than ever, continued my study and collection of old records concerning these countries, confident that, should I arrive at establishing what were the principal marts and emporiums of trade that existed on these coasts in Ptolemy's time, and under what names, I would most likely, unless Ptolemy's names of localities were nothing but mere chimerical fancies, be able to recognize some one of them in his lists, whether in its genuine or modified garb. I need not tell how glad I was when some years afterwards — not a few though — my exertions were rewarded, and by the end of 1895 I was able to identify, with absolute certainty, Ptolemy's **Akadra** and **Pithōnobastē** with the Bay of Ko: Tron or Ka-Dran (the *Kadranj* of the Arab navigators of the ninth century), corresponding to the present Hatīen on the Kambojan coast of the Gulf of Siām; and Pantaimeas (French spelling) or Panthāi-māś ("golden-walled citadel"), near by, the

initial point from which Hindū civilization spread out over Kamboja, as I shall show in the sequel, and of which the present Hatīen and Ko: Tron bay were the port, the most remarkable emporium of trade on the Gulf of Siām from the highest antiquity up to the beginning of the last century. This successful piece of work soon led me to the identification of **Samaradē, Zabai, Aganagara, Takola,** and other principal stations of Ptolemy on the coast of the Malay Peninsula and Cochin-China. I became then aware of a new and important feature of Ptolemy's geography of these countries, namely, that it discloses to us the positions of the outposts occupied at that early time by Southern Indian colonists who were then just at the outset of the exploits by which their civilization was subsequently spread all over the Malay Peninsula, Siām, Kamboja, Campā, and the Malay Archipelago in general; and thus we are supplied with the solution of an ethnological mystery that could not hitherto be penetrated.

The other important feature that I discovered afterwards was that of the overland routes that Western traders followed at that early period, most of which were hitherto not only unknown, but hardly even dreamed of. The rest of the task proved comparatively easy, and I need not weary the reader any further with the *récit* of my personal experiences in this matter, beyond adding that the ultimate result of all of them was this preliminary essay, with the map that accompanies it. Neither of these, as yet so incomplete and imperfect, would I dare to send to the press were I not confident that, even in their present humble and uncouth form, they may prove interesting and useful to lovers of Oriental research. This is the only reason that induced me to decide on their immediate publication, rather than to wait for a more favourable opportunity when leisure and less deficiency of means of study would have permitted me to considerably improve them.

2. Calculations.

Though the process of rectification of Ptolemy's measurement errors—on the co-ordinates of his fundamental stations and on the intermediate places between two successive co-ordinates taken as base-lines—is sufficiently shown in the map hereto appended, a brief exposition of the method of calculation followed for the determination of the error at the principal stations will perhaps render the process clearer and more readily understood. We shall then begin at **Akadra** the starting-point, which in our case proved the true key to the mystery that shrouded Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography. The longitude adopted for this harbour in the present study is 104° 21′ E. Greenwich, which corresponds to the actual anchorage of ships during the south-west monsoon in front of Hatien.

The other base meridian worked upon in conjunction with **Akadra** is that passing through the centre of the Gangetic delta and the median mouth of the Ganges called **Kambērikhon** by our author, and supposed to correspond to the Barabangā estuary, for which the longitude adopted here is 89° 30′ E.[1] Recently Rylands, in his elucidation of Ptolemy's geography—a book which deserves recognition,[2] and from which I have derived useful hints as to the graphical method of treating Ptolemy's geography, although unable to accept his formula of reduction or his estimate of the true equivalent of Ptolemy's 180° as fit for my purpose—assigned long. 90° E. to **Kambērikhon**, which is evidently too much east of the centre of the delta. A glance at a map of Bengal will convince one of this. The longitude adopted by me for **Kambērikhon**, not only corresponding as nearly as possible to the centre of the delta, but also sensibly coinciding with the axis of the lower course of the Barabangā, must evidently lie within

[1] All longitudes referred to in the present sketch are computed from the meridian of Greenwich.

[2] "The Geography of Ptolemy elucidated," by T. G. Rylands. (Dublin, 1893.)

a few minutes of the true one as intended by Ptolemy The calculation then proceeds as follows:—

LONGITUDE.—*Base* **Akadra—Kambērikhon.**

		Ptolemy's.	True.
Kambērikhon.	Long.	146° 30′ E.	89° 30′
Akadra.	„	167°	104° 21′
	Diff.	20° 30′	14° 51′

whence we obtain a formula of correction for Ptolemy's longitudes between **Kambērikhon** and **Akadra**:

$$\frac{14^\circ\ 51'}{20^\circ\ 30'} = 0{\cdot}725 \times \text{Ptol. long. } (a).$$

Determination of the longitude of **Aganagara.**

A. By formula (*a*) from **Kambērikhon.**

Kambērikhon.	Ptol. long.	146° 30′	
Aganagara.	„ „	169	
	Diff.	22° 30′ × 0·725 (*a*) =	16° 18′
	True long. **Kambērikhon** +		89° 30′
	Corrected long. **Aganagara**		105° 48′

B. By formula (*a*) from **Akadra.**

Aganagara.	Ptol. long.	169°	
Akadra.	„ „	167°	
	Diff.	2° × 0·725 (*a*) =	1° 27′
	True long. **Akadra** +		104° 21′
	Corrected long. **Aganagara**		105° 48′

which is the exact longitude of Hanoi.

LATITUDES.

As regards latitudes, let us, by way of trial, now determine a mean between those of **Kambērikhon** and **Akadra.** The true latitude assumed for the present for **Kambērikhon** is 22° 24′ N., corresponding to that of the

village called Byracally on the maps, which may be **Kambērikhon** itself, and if not, must be not very far from the mark; considering that nearly eighteen centuries have elapsed from the time of collection of Ptolemy's data, and that at that period the delta could not be so far advanced southwards as at present. The figure assumed here will be, however, checked in due course; as we shall see, the error in latitude between the parallels of **Kambērikhon** and **Akadra** is far from being uniformly distributed. We have, then—

	Ptolemy's.	True.
Kambērikhon.	Lat. 18° 40′	22° 24′ N.
Akadra (Hatīen).	„ 4° 45′	10° 22′
	Diff. 13° 55′	12° 2′

whence a formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes between **Kambērikhon** and **Akadra** $= \frac{12° \; 2'}{13° \; 55'} = 0{\cdot}8647.$

Applying this by way of trial to the determination of the latitude of **Aganagara**, we obtain—

Aganagara.	Ptol. lat. 16° 20′ N.	
Akadra.	„ „ 4° 45′	
	Diff. 11° 35′ × 0·8647 =	10° 1′
	True latitude **Akadra** +	10° 22′
	Corrected latitude of **Aganagara**	20° 23′

Now the true latitude of **Aganagara** (Hanoi) is 21° 2′, whereby we see that there is an error in the result of the above calculation of 39′ less. This we shall be able to account for hereafter, and show that it is due to the excessive lengthening by Ptolemy of the coast of Arakan and Pegu between Chittagong and Cape Negrais; and, correspondingly, of the Tonkinese coast, whence the comparatively southern position resulting for **Aganagara**. But having made certain that the latter is really Hanoi, both by the approximation obtained in the determination of its geographic co-ordinates and by every other indication,

as shall be shown in due course, we must correct the error and adopt its true latitude of 21° 2′, so as to be able to use it as another base-point in the calculations that follow.

The next step is to find the relation of Ptolemy's and true latitudes between **Akadra** and **Aganagara**. This stands as follows:—

	Ptolemy's.	True.
Aganagara (Hanoi).	Lat. 16° 20′	21° 2′
Akadra (Hatīen).	„ 4° 45′	10° 22′
	Diff. 11° 35′	10° 40′

whence the correction for Ptolemy's latitudes between the above two stations $\pm \frac{10° 40'}{11° 35'} = 0{\cdot}92\ (\phi)$.

Ptolemy's equator deduced from this formula of correction would correspond to 5° 58′ true North Latitude. This, we may observe, closely agrees with the result that could be obtained from Ceylon, where Ptolemy's equator passes through **Nubartha** (Barberyn), the true latitude of which is 6° 30′ N.; and will do for our purpose, as shall be proved by subsequent researches.

That neither the error of latitude between the parallels of **Akadra** and **Aganagara**, nor that in longitude between the meridians of **Akadra** and **Kambērikhon**, is uniform, is proved by the displacement of **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais) too far east and south. This better results from the following calculations:—

Akadra (Hatīen).	Ptol. long.	167° 0′ E.
Cape Tēmala (Negrais).	„ „	157° 20′
	Diff.	9° 40′

Applying to this the formula of correction (a) found above for longitudes, we have: 9° 40′ × 0·725 = 7°. Subtracting this result from the true longitude of **Akadra** (Hatīen), we obtain 104° 21′—7° = 97° 21′ for the longitude of **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais). The true longitude of the latter, at Diamond Point, adopted in the present inquiry

is 94° 22′ E.; whence we see that Ptolemy's displacement of this cape is about 3° too far East.

Its displacement in latitude is shown by the following :—

Cape Tēmala.	Ptol. lat.	8° 0′
Akadra (Hatīen).	„ „	4° 45′
	Diff.	3° 15′

Applying to this the formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes found above (ϕ), we obtain—

3° 15′ × 0·92 =	2° 59′
True lat. **Akadra** (Hatīen) +	10° 22′
Corrected lat. **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais)	13° 21′

The true latitude for this cape adopted in the present study being 16° N., it follows that Ptolemy's displacement of the same was nearly 3° further south than its true position. We see then that he lengthened the coast of Arakan and Pegu as far as Cape Negrais at the expense of the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, which thereby becomes represented shorter than it really is; and that therefore the latitudes given by him for stations north of the parallel of Cape Negrais (**Tēmala**) must be corrected to a greater extent than those of the places situated to the south of the same parallel.

Before, however, attempting to find what the new formula of correction should be, let us see whether the same rule applies to the coast of Tonkin, and in general all over the intermediate regions. In order to do this, let us prolong the parallel of **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais)—the latitude of which is 8° N. Ptol. = 16° N. true as shown above—as far as the Annamite coast. We see then that it intersects the latter a little below Turān (Tourane of French maps) and the homonymous bay, noted from the earliest time as a much frequented port on that coast, and which I have identified with Ptolemy's **Throana**. The latitude he assigns to **Throana** being 8° 30′ N., namely, just a little above the parallel now under consideration, we obtain thus a confirmation that the said parallel, marking the 8° of North

Latitude in Ptolemy's system, actually corresponds to the 16th parallel of true latitude in our maps. The consequence is that the coast of Tonkin and northern Annam has undergone at Ptolemy's hands the same lengthening at the expense of the southern as the corresponding coast on the eastern side of the Gulf of Bengal. A single formula of correction will then do for Ptolemy's latitudes of all places situated further north than his 8th parallel or our 16th parallel of North Latitude. This formula can be easily deduced from a comparison of the latitude of **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais) with that of **Aganagara** (Hanoi), as follows:—

		Ptolemy's.	True.
Aganagara (Hanoi).	Lat.	16° 20′	21° 1′
Cape Tēmala (Negrais).	„	8° 0′	16° 0′
	Diff.	8° 20′	5° 1′

whence $\frac{5° \ 1'}{8° \ 20'} = 0{\cdot}6$ (λ).

This formula of correction, when tested all over the geographical field under consideration, was found to apply to all places situated by Ptolemy above his 8th parallel, even as far up as Mongolia and Central Asia. From it we may deduce the correct latitude for **Kambērikhon**, as follows:—

Kambērikhon.	Ptol. lat.	18° 40′ N.
Aganagara (Hanoi).	„ „	16° 20′
	Diff. 2° 20′ × 0·6 (λ) =	1° 24′
	True lat. **Aganagara** (Hanoi) +	21° 1′
	Corrected lat. of **Kambērikhon**	22° 25′

But a more correct result would be obtained from the latitude of **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais) taken as a base, thus:—

Kambērikhon.	Ptol. lat.	18° 40′ N.
Cape Tēmala (Negrais).	„ „	8° 0′
	Diff. 10° 40′ × 0·6 (λ) =	6° 24′
	True lat. **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais) +	16° 0′
	Corrected lat. of **Kambērikhon**	22° 24′

which checks the figure assumed for the latitude of the latter place at the outset of our calculations.

Identification of **Solana.**—As a test for our formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes north of the parallel of **Cap. Tēmala** (Negrais), let us look up the meridian of **Aganagara** (Hanoi) in our map; we will find Ptolemy's **Solana**, for which he gives—

Long. 169° 0′ E. (same as **Aganagara**).
Lat. 37° 30′ N.

Reducing the latter according to formula (λ), we get 33° 43′ corrected North Latitude, which, on the meridian of **Aganagara** (Hanoi=105° 48′ true E. Long.), brings us within 2′ or 3′ of Hsi-ho or Hsi-ho-Hsien, near the Si-niu river in Shen-si. This Hsi-ho, we may then reasonably conclude, is Ptolemy's **Solana**, a fact confirmed, moreover, by the similarity of names, as *Hsi-ho* was, in our author's time, known as *Shang-lu*.

Identification of **Sēra Metropolis.**—But supposing this to be a mere haphazard coincidence, let us test formulas (*a*) and (λ) together for the position of **Sēra Metropolis**. The co-ordinates given by Ptolemy for the latter are—

LONGITUDE.

	Ptolemy's.	True.
Sēra Metropolis	177° E.	—
Aganagara (Hanoi)	169°	105° 48′ E.
Diff.	8°	
By formula (*a*) 8° × 0·725 =	+ 5° 48′	
Corrected long. of **Sēra Metropolis**	111° 36′	

LATITUDE.

	Ptolemy's.	True.
Sēra Metropolis	38° 35′ N.	—
Aganagara (Hanoi).	16° 20′	21° 1′ N.
Diff.	22° 15′	
By formula (λ) 22° 15′ × 0·6 =	+ 13° 21′	
Corrected lat. of **Sēra Metropolis**	34° 22′	

The resulting position for **Sēra Metropolis** is therefore:

LONG. 111° 36′ E. LAT. 34° 22′ N.

This position, when looked for on a map of China, will be seen to fall a little to the south-west of Honan-fu in Honan, and therefore sensibly correctly near the site of where stood LO-YANG, which, it is well known, was the capital of China previous to and during the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–221), namely, exactly at the time that Ptolemy collected his data. I would not go so far as to say that the position here obtained is quite correct to a minute; I do not find Lo-yang marked in the maps of China lying at my disposal, and therefore cannot judge of its exact position; but all works on China agree in saying it lays somewhere to the west of the present Honan-fu. Hence the position just found must be correct within less than half a degree of either longitude or latitude. Such a surprising approximation will be obtained for the majority of the places named by Ptolemy in the region situated northwards of the parallel of **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais), after the above formulas of correction have been applied; and by this means they may be identified in nearly every instance.

The longitudes, however, present some complications in this field, owing to several slight errors affecting the intermediate regions between the meridians of **Akadra** and **Kambērikhon**. Such errors, nevertheless, are found, as in the case of latitude errors between **Aganagara** and **Akadra**, to compensate themselves to such an extent as not to sensibly alter the proportion of the whole. I shall explain this by an example. For instance, in latitude we find the position of **Akadra** correct enough respecting **Aganagara** and **Kambērikhon**; and yet the intermediate latitudes are not correct, because there is an error between the parallels of **Kambērikhon** and **Aganagara**, and that of **Akadra**. Yet this does not affect the position of **Akadra** in relation to the two former places. This shows that **Akadra**, **Kambērikhon**, and **Aganagara** must have been fundamental stations for

which Ptolemy obtained reliable data deduced from accurate observation; whilst **Cape Tēmala** and other intermediate places were merely secondary points which he determined simply on the base of road and sailing distance as reported by travellers. **Sēra Metropolis** and other important inland towns, which we shall meet with afterwards, must have been also as many fundamental stations.

In the same manner, as regards longitudes, we find an identical proportion between **Kambērikhon, Akadra, Aganagara**, and **Sēra Metropolis**; while we detect errors between **Kambērikhon** and **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais); the latter and **Cape Takola** (Takōpa); this and **Balongka** and **Akadra**; and we find the whole coast-line of Cochin-China and Annam as far as Hanoi displaced in longitude. Yet these errors compensate themselves so far as not to cause any sensible disproportion in the distances between the fundamental stations named above. This phenomenon confirms the fact resulting from the previous examination of the latitudes; that is, that **Kambērikhon, Akadra**, and **Aganagara** are Ptolemy's fundamental stations in Indo-China.

In order to more clearly prove this, I shall now show that the proportion mentioned above exists almost unaltered up to the extreme limits of the geographical zone considered in the present study and represented in the accompanying map.

Identification of Ptolemy's "Stone Tower."—As far as longitudes are concerned, the proportion alluded to has already been shown to exist as far as **Sēra Metropolis**, lying on Ptolemy's 177° meridian of eastern longitude = 111° 36′ E. of Greenwich, and therefore pretty near to the easternmost limit of the *habitabilis*. It remains, then, to show that the same proportion exists up to the westernmost limit of our field, and this I will do by applying the test to the meridian of Ptolemy's so-called "Stone Tower," which is also that of his **Kanagora** (identified with Kanauj or Kanoje, in India). The result is as follows:—

LONGITUDE.

	Ptolemy's.	True.
Aganagara (Hanoi)	169° E.	105° 48′ E.
Lithinos Pyrgos ("Stone Tower")	135°	
Diff.	34°	

to which, applying formula (*a*), 34° × 0·725 = 24° 39′

Remains long. of **Lithinos Pyrgos** 81° 9′

As the meridian of **Lithinos Pyrgos** is the same as that of **Kanagora** (Kanoje), for which the true long. E. of Greenwich is about 79° 50′, we see that the error is only about 1° 19′ on the whole distance Hanoi–Kanoje, including some 26° of longitude. But, as we shall soon see, the **Lithinos Pyrgos** is—who would ever have suspected it?—ILCHI, YI-LI-CH'I, or KHOTEN, the true longitude of which is 80° E., a yet closer approach to our calculated result.

If the **Lithinos Pyrgos** be really Khoten, this ought to be proved by a close coincidence in latitude as well; and this is exactly what I am now going to show.

LATITUDE.

	Ptolemy's.	True.
Aganagara (Hanoi)	16° 20′ N.	21° 1′ N.
Lithinos Pyrgos	43° 0′	—
Diff.	26° 40′	

to which, applying formula (λ), 26° 40′ × 0·6 = + 16° 0′

whence, corrected lat. of **Lithinos Pyrgos** 37° 1′

Now, this is, within one single minute, the latitude of Khoten, given by the latest authorities as 37° N.

This surprising exactness at once reveals to us that the **Lithinos Pyrgos**, or so-called "Stone Tower," must have been one of Ptolemy's fundamental stations carefully established by observation, whether astronomical or otherwise. A perusal of the first book of his geography shows, in fact, the pains he took in rectifying Marinos' estimate of

the distance from the passage of the Euphrates to the "Stone Tower" (**Lithinos Pyrgos**), and from the latter to **Sēra Metropolis**. This proves that both the latter belonged to his list of fundamental stations. On the strength of Ptolemy's assumption that the "Stone Tower" was situated near the parallel of **Byzantium** (real lat. 41° N.), and of the coincidence in meaning between it and Tāshkand (real lat. 42° 58′), most authors hitherto identified it with the latter place; though Heeren and Rawlinson located it much more eastward—the former near Ush, and the latter at Tāsh-Kurghān (true lat. 37° 46′ N.), which are places situated much nearer to Khoten than the far-away Tāshkand. Indeed, the intersection of the meridian of Ush with the parallel of Tāsh-Kurghān would fall only a few miles to the north-west of Khoten, our identification.

It is easy to show that Ptolemy's "Stone Tower" could not be situated so far west as Tāshkand. Let us take, in fact, his longitude of **Marakanda** (Samarkand), which he gives as 112°, the real one being about 68° E. Greenwich, and let us observe that the same longitude is assigned by him to the central mouth of the Indus. The average longitude of the mouths of the Indus named by him is 112°; the real one would be about 67° 15′, that is, within 45′ of the meridian of Samarkand. This proves Ptolemy's estimate of the position in longitude of **Marakanda** with respect to the central mouth of the Indus so surprisingly correct, as to dispel any doubt that might be entertained on this score. This point settled, we see that Ptolemy assigns long. 135° to his "Stone Tower," that is, he places it 23° further east than **Marakanda**. Now the real longitude of Samarkand being about 68°, and that of Tāshkand 69°, we see at once the impossibility of identifying the latter place with the **Lithinos Pyrgos**, despite the coincidence of meaning in the two names.

Calculating the 23° of Ptolemy's longitude on the base of the longitudes of the central mouth (**Kariphron**) of the Indus (Ptol. long. 112° = real long. 67° 15′) and of the central mouth of the Ganges (Ptol. long. 146° 30′ = real long. 89° 30′), we obtain 14° 50′ as an equivalent of

Ptolemy's 23°, which added to 67° 15′, the longitude of **Kariphron**, gives us 82° 5′ as the corrected longitude of the "Stone Tower."

This result is within 56′ of that obtained at the outset from **Aganagara** and **Kambērikhon**, i.e. 81° 9′. Both point out with sufficient approximation where Ptolemy's "Stone Tower" should be looked for. In calculations I have adopted Khoten, and its meridian, 80° real long., as equivalent to 135° Ptol., the longitude of his "Stone Tower"; and thus corrected his error in excess in the reckoning of its distance from Samarkand. This rectification will serve also to correct his distance errors on the stations between the Indus and Kanoje, and between the latter place and the Ganges.

Though we have shown the accuracy of our formula (λ) in the rectification of the latitudes assigned by Ptolemy to places north of his 8th parallel (Cape **Tēmala**), and the proportion existing in latitude all over that zone, it will be found, as a result, that most places west of the Ganges will yet prove to be, after that formula has been applied, somewhat north of their true position. This is due to a local error made by our geographer in the delineation of the course of the Ganges, to which he attributed a direction much more northerly than it really is, thus causing a displacement towards the north-east of all towns situated on its banks and in the neighbourhood. I have shown and corrected this error in the map only for those towns lying on trade routes between the Ganges and Tibet; as the small space available would not allow of extending the correction to all those represented in that portion of the map. What strikes one more than anything else in the examination of Ptolemy's geography north of his parallel of **Tēmala**, is the proportion maintained all over the field in his latitudes. Surely these must have been determined by astronomical observation, or by accurate computation from the length of the sun-shadow and other means. More lacking in accuracy are, as might be expected, his longitudes. The stations at which a high degree of approximation has been attained in this respect are few and far between, and the longitudes

of the intervening places had thus to be reckoned on the uncertain base of the estimated road distance travelled. This is the cause that while we find sufficient proportion maintained between the longitudes of Ptolemy's fundamental stations from the "Stone Tower" to Sēra, we detect local errors in the intervening region, which must be corrected if the identification of the places included within its limits is to be arrived at with any degree of success. For this purpose the map has been divided into vertical zones by base meridian-lines (in red), between which Ptolemy's error in longitude was carefully determined and corrected by a particular formula for each zone. A double set of scales shows how the general error was determined between the fundamental stations and apportioned among the secondary ones.

The process will appear clearly enough on the map, and needs no further explanation here. The following is a list of the base meridian-lines adopted, and of the corrections to be applied to the places lying within each particular zone determined by them.

	Ptol. long.	Diff.	Real long.	Diff.	Correction applied.
(1) Meridian of the "Stone Tower" (Khoten) and **Kanagora** (Kanoje)[1].	135° —	11° 30′	80° —	9° 30′	0·826 (δ)
(2) Meridian of **Kambērikhon**	146° 30′	10° 50′	89° 30′	4° 52′	0·45 (γ)
(3) Meridian of Cape **Tēmala** Negrais) ...	157° 20′	1° 20′	94° 22′	3° 57′	2·9625 (β,
(4) Meridian of Cape **Takōla** (Takōpa)	158° 40′	3° 20′	98° 19′	0° 53′	
(5) Meridian of **Balongka** (Chump'hōn)	162° —	5° —	99° 12′	5° 9′	
(6) Meridian of **Akadra** (Hatīen)	167° —	2° —	104° 21′	1° 27′	0·725 (α)
(7) Meridian of **Aganagara** (Hanoi)	169° —		105° 48′		
For localities east of **Aganagara** (Hanoi) ..	—	—	—	—	

[1] The meridian of Kanoje (79° 50′ E. Greenwich, true) was adopted in the map.

The correction between the **Cape Takōla** and **Balongka** meridians was required only locally for some places on the Gulf of Siām, and so was that between the **Balongka** and **Akadra** meridians. The corrections involved here were operated graphically, and represented on the map. The same may be said of similar corrections in the Gulf of Martaban, on the coast north of Cape Negrais, and on the Cochin-Chinese and Annamese coasts, in each of which cases the course that Ptolemy's coast-line would assume, were the local error left unrectified, is duly shown in red outline. Northwards of the Gulf of Siām, the intermediate errors between the meridians of **Akadra** and **Takōla** are so slight as not to need any special correction different from that given by formula (*a*), by which the real longitude of **Takōla** was originally determined. Hence the correction indicated by this formula was indistinctly applied to all positions in the zone between those two meridians lying northwards and southwards of the Gulf of Siām, even down as far as Sumatra. It may thus be seen that all longitudes of Ptolemy's places lying eastward of the meridian of Cape **Takōla** or Takōpa (Cape Papra), that is, eastwards of long. 158° 40′ Ptol. = 98° 19′ E. Greenwich, can be fairly corrected by that single formula. The most grave error is that made by Ptolemy between **Capes Tēmala** and **Takōla**, in assigning them a difference in longitude of 1° 20′ only, against 3° 57′ real. This proved at first a great drawback to the identification of their true position. But as soon as I had made sure as to the real latitude of **Cape Tēmala** and fixed its position, I obtained the correct longitude of **Cape Takōla** from the base-point, **Akadra**, by a simple calculation, as follows:—

		Ptolemy's.	True.
Akadra (Hatīen).	Long.	167° 0′	104° 21′ E.
Cape Takōla (Takōpa).	,,	158° 40′	
	Diff.	8° 20′	

By formula (*a*) 8° 20′ × 0·725 = 6° 2′

remains, correct long. of **Cape Takōla** 98° 19′

This result is correct within three minutes of the longitude of Cape Papra or Cape Takōpa, on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, just above Junkceylon Island. This cape, which I found confirmed by a calculation of latitude to be beyond any possible doubt Ptolemy's **Cape Takōla**, is really in long. 98° 16′, but I thought it was unnecessary to make the slight correction of 3′, as being of no consequence whatever on the results of this inquiry.

Having now dealt with the region situated to the north of the parallel of **Cape Tēmala**, and shown how Ptolemy's positions of places therein were rectified, it remains to speak of the region southwards of that parallel. The rules given in the upper zone for longitudes apply also here, with the exception of the islands in the Gulf of Bengal, for which there seems to be hardly any rule or order, but which will be briefly dealt with in the sequel. It remains, then, to explain the corrections that latitudes need in this lower zone. In it we find sufficient proportion south of the parallel of **Akadra**; hence, all this section is easily corrected by reference to **Akadra** and **Aganagara** as base-points, that is, by formula (ϕ). The only anomaly lies between the parallels of **Akadra** and **Cape Tēmala**, due, as we have seen, to the shortening of the southern coast of Annam and western coast of the Malay Peninsula between those two parallels. This is easily corrected, however, by dividing the interval between the parallel of **Akadra** (Hatīen), lat. 4° 45′ Ptol. = 10° 22′ N. true, and that of **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais), lat. 8° Ptol. = 16° N. true, in proportion to their difference in latitude: lat. 3° 15′ Ptol. = lat. 5° 38′ true, whence the formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes in this section—

$$\frac{5^\circ\ 38'}{3^\circ\ 15'} = 1{\cdot}773\ (\kappa),$$

which will restore to the western coast of the Malay Peninsula and to the eastern coast of Cochin-China the length they had lost under Ptolemy's manipulation, and make them at once recognizable. The above correction is not sufficient, however, for the upper portion of the Gulf

of Siām, the coast of which, Ptolemy thought, was running parallel to the equator, wherefore he neglected to show its deep incavation northwards. As a result of this, **Pagrasa** and **Samaradē** are displaced right into the middle of the Gulf. This purely local error, due entirely to lack of accurate information as to the latitude of those towns, must be corrected as shown in the map; and one will then at once recognize in **Pagrasa** and **Samaradē** the towns of KRAT (Kraṣ or Krāṣa) and ŚYĀMA-RAṢṬRA (or Sāma-raṭṭhē), better known as *Srī Vijaya Rājadhānī*, the most ancient capital of lower Siām.

Formula (κ) will furnish us with a satisfactory proof of its accuracy when tested in the determination of the position in latitude of **Bērabai**. The difference in latitude between the latter place and **Akadra** is:

$$6° - 4° 45' = 1° 15' \text{ Ptol.}$$

This multiplied by (κ) becomes $1° 15' \times 1{\cdot}733 = 2° 10'$, which, added to the true latitude of **Akadra**, gives us—

$$10° 22' + 2° 10' = 12° 32' \text{ true N. lat.,}$$

which is, within 5′, the latitude of MERGUI (real latitude 12° 27′). This place becomes, therefore, unmistakably identical with Ptolemy's **Bērabai**; and the close similarity between the two names confirms that identity.

The Islands.—It remains now to broach the most difficult subject of the islands, one perhaps that will never be satisfactorily solved, at least so far as the islands in the Gulf of Bengal are concerned. With regard to those east and west of Sumatra, and to the latter island itself, I believe there is reason to be satisfied that they, as will be shown by a look at the map, have been successfully identified. But as to the former, there is hardly anything that can guide us in forming an estimate of the amount of Ptolemy's error. However, I made an attempt at their identification on the assumption that Ptolemy reckoned their position in reference to the coast of Coromandel and Ceylon; this seems natural, as the ships trading between those coasts and Further India would touch at them on their way before reaching either

the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra. I therefore tried to fix them in longitude by dividing the space between Ceylon and the meridian of **Cape Takōla** in proportion to their difference of longitudes as given by Ptolemy. Their latitude was established: for the northern ones, in relation to the difference of latitudes between the River **Maisōlos** (Godāvarī) and **Podukē** (Pondichery); and for the southern, in reference to the latitude of places in Ceylon.

With regard to the three groups of islands to the west of Sumatra, the same process was adopted only so far as it was necessary to establish their longitudes; the latitudes having been left to follow the law of all other places situated south of the parallel of **Akadra**.

Of course, all these islands were very little known in Ptolemy's time; hence the great error in estimating their position.

Identification of Ptolemy's places on the Chinese Coast.— I may now conclude this review of the methods of identification pursued with a few words in explanation of the reason why I decided to swing the farther coast-line of Ptolemy's **Magnus Sinus** round the Lui-chau peninsula taken as a pivot, until it came in juxtaposition with the coast of China, instead of allowing it to remain in the traditional position assigned to it by our geographer, and from which none of his commentators and elucidators ever dared to remove it. Evidently I must have arguments for justifying this desecration of the work of our eminently classic geographer. As a matter of fact, my justification rests upon but one single argument, sufficient though, I think, to meet all criticism; and this is, that when the farthest coast of the **Magnus Sinus** is mapped down in the traditional position, *but with its latitudes uniformly corrected according to the formula for places lying northwards of the parallel of* **Tēmala**, and then projected upwards as shown in the map, all its gulfs, rivers, and towns will be found to coincide, or nearly so, with gulfs, rivers, and towns of similar names on the coast of China. When the names are not similar in pronunciation, the meaning conveyed

by the two names in each case is identical. This ought to convince us sufficiently that the coast of China was meant here by Ptolemy and no other. But how was he led to make it turn southwards? Certainly out of homage to the belief, so firmly and generally grounded among his contemporaries, that the coast of **Sinai** turned south, and then running parallel to the equator joined the coast of Africa at **Cape Prason**. Impressed with this belief, he mapped all distances from **Aspithra** onward in a southerly instead of in a north-easterly direction in order to fulfil the dictum of the philosophers of his time, and thus obtain an eastern limit to his *habitabilis* and to his **Green Sea**.

That this must have been what actually happened with him, is plainly shown by a look at our map. As regards the reason why I selected Lui-chau as a pivot on which to swing Ptolemy's coast of **Sinai** upwards, it is because I discovered that this was really Ptolemy's **Aspithra**. *Ho-p'u* (in Chinese) or *Hiĕp-p'ô* (in Annamite pronunciation) was, in fact, the ancient name of Lui-chau and of the whole of the homonymous peninsula, as I will show in the illustrative notes of the next section; and any tyro in philology will see that *Ho-p'u* and **Aspithra** are mere transliterations the one of the other. This striking identification of Ptolemy's extreme station to the east of the Tonkin Gulf—his **Magnus Sinus**—enables us to know exactly where the distortion of his coast of **Sinai** commences, and thus to correct it by bending the coast-line back to its true position as shown in the map.

With this the rectification of the main features of Ptolemy's geography of Further India is complete; and it will now appear how it would have been next to impossible to identify any of his stations in that region without having previously restored the principal among them to their true position. The errors and displacements detected not being uniform all over that zone, the uselessness and impossibility of a general formula that may serve as a panacea for so many different evils, becomes at once apparent. The reason of our success lies, therefore, in

having broken off for once with the old system of treating Ptolemy's work as if it had been the result of a regular trigonometrical survey of the regions in question, in which the only defect was bad mapping due to errors of projection and errors of scale by having underestimated the length of equatorial degrees and misplaced his prime meridian and equator.

It is to be hoped that with the above explanations and the map that accompanies them, our process of elucidation of this portion of Ptolemy's geography will be easily understood, and recognized to be the only practicable and correct one, at least in its main lines. Of course it would be too much to expect intermediate stations to fit in exactly in the place they should occupy; but it will be seen that the majority of them come within a degree or so of their true position; a result, I think, that ought to satisfy the most exigent and pedantic of Ptolemy's critics.

The map was drawn on the plane method, and not according to Mercator's system, the chief object being, not to preserve the real shape of islands and continents, but to render the numerous graphical corrections to Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes easier of application and the more clearly understood. Thanks to the introduction of coloured outlines to represent Ptolemy's geographical features, and of particular contrivances to show the position of his stations as resulting from his data, and the direction in which the corresponding real stations are to be found when there is an error in the former, it is hoped that a clear graphical representation of what Ptolemy's geography is in comparison with what it ought to be, has thus been presented which will enable the reader to form at a glance a judgment and estimate of the differences between the two. For those who desire to verify the position of Ptolemy's stations as laid down in my map, I append tables giving the names and co-ordinates of each as transmitted to us by the great Alexandrian geographer, together with their positions corrected from calculation, and the actual stations corresponding to them whenever they could be identified.

3. Remarks.

(1) *Coast of the* Airrhadoi.

The **Airrhadoi**, whose country embraces in Ptolemy's system the eastern coast of the Gulf of Bengal from the mouth of the Brahmaputra down to that of the Nāf, or, perhaps, even lower, to the mouth of the Arakan River, have been identified by some writers with the Kirātas, and their country with Ptolemy's **Kirrhadia**. This determination seems, however, hardly plausible, and for various reasons. In fact, though it be true—as attested by the Rāmāyaṇa (canto iv) — that at an earlier period tribes of rude mountaineers, such as are generically termed Kirātas, occupied the region to the east of the Lower Brahmaputra even down to the sea-coast and the islands of the Gulf of Bengal, it appears that in subsequent times they were driven back towards the hill tracts by invasions of Dravidians—chiefly Andhras and Kalingas from the opposite coast of the Gulf—who forced their way along the littoral as far as the limits of Arakan, and probably even to the Gulf of Martaban, establishing colonies as they proceeded. These Dravidian invasions must have occurred, and probably ended, before 295 B.C., the approximate date of Megasthenes' mission to the Court of Palibothra, since that author (in the extract quoted by Pliny the Elder) refers to the Kalingas and Andhras as being situated near the sea and on both sides of the Ganges in the last part of its course; and since a century later, in the Peutingerian Tables, the "Andre-Indi" are assigned a position corresponding to the coast between the left bank of the Ganges and the present Arakan River.[1] This being the region that Ptolemy calls the **Coast of the Airrhadoi**, it is reasonable, I think, to infer that by this name he meant the

[1] See Sir Walter Elliot's discussion of this point in "Numismata Orientalia: Coins of Southern India," pp. 9–15.

Coast of the Andhras, especially as he does not mention any other people of an identical or even similar name in or about the same region. Some two centuries before Ptolemy's time, the Mahābhārata mentions—in conjunction with the Tāmraliptakas and other nations of Lower Bengal—the Śaivas and Aindras[1]: Aindra is the name which, in the middle of the eleventh century A.D., Bhāskāra Ācārya gives to the eastern portion of Bhāratavarṣa (India), some time before termed Indra-dvīpa in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa; and Śaiva means the people of Śiva, a portion of Plakṣa-dvīpa which, as I shall show in the sequel, corresponds to Arakan and Burmā. All these are coincidences that concur in demonstrating that the coast now under consideration was the habitat of a people called Andhras or Aindras, who appear in Megasthenes' extract as the Andārae, in the Peutingerian Tables as the Andre-Indi and in Ptolemy's Geography as the Airrhadoi, and who were evidently of Dravidian extraction and probably identical with the Andhras of Orissa and Telingāna.[2] This people, in conjunction with their near relatives, the Kalingas, founded, it appears, in that region, a kingdom consisting of three districts or separate communities called

[1] In some MSS.: see Professor F. Hall's note in his edition of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 341.

[2] The MSS. of the Mahābhārata have the readings "Andras," "Andhas," and "Andras," which, Professor Hall thinks, are, perhaps, errors for Andhras. I should not be surprised if it were found that the names Andhras and Andre-Indi are both derived from Aindra, the designation for the region to the east of the Ganges as surmised above. As to the presence of the Andhras in Orissa and Lower Bengal, see Sir Walter Elliot, loc. cit. At the same time it is worthy of remark that one of the two classes into which the present Andamanese are divided is that of the *Aryawtos* or 'Coast-dwellers' (see J.R.A.S., Vol. XIII, N.S., p. 487). Whether this term was also applied to the Negrito aborigines of the littoral now under discussion, and whether it was retained by the later occupants of the country down to Ptolemy's time and preserved to us under the form of Airrhadoi, is a mere conjecture, but one that will, perhaps, repay investigation. Suffice it to point out, in fact, that Ma Tuan-lin, in his celebrated cyclopaedia (H. de Saint-Denis' translation, vol. ii, p. 504), refers to a Buddhist kingdom by the name of *A-lo-t'o*—hitherto unidentified—as having sent ambassadors to China as early as A.D. 430. There is every likelihood that the term *A-lo-t'o* stands for *Aryawto*, *Aradha*, or *Ahradha*, and thus applies to Ptolemy's country of the Airrhadoi. I can hardly think that it, even in its alternative spelling *Ho-lo-t'o*, can refer to such a far-away country as Āraṭṭa (Hairat, or Airatdeśa), i.e. Gujarāth.

Tri-Kalinga or Tri-linga, a name from which the term Telingāna was derived, and employed to designate the country of Kalinga proper, on the western side of the Gulf of Bengal, as well as the country of the Mōñs or Talengs (Talaings) on the opposite shore, which had been colonized by them.

Ptolemy's capital city **Triglypton**, or **Trilingon**, has been identified with the capital of this eastern kingdom of the Kalingas; but a difference of opinion still exists as to its site, some locating it at Tripura (Tipperah or Tiparā), others in Arakan, and others still on the Chittagāon hills; the three places just named pertaining each to one of the three districts which, in the opinion of Wilford, constituted the Eastern Trikalinga. Ptolemy places his **Triglypton** on the **Tokosanna** River, identified by me with the Kulādān; and the position I obtained by calculation for that capital would fall on the main upper branch of the same river not far away from its source in Blue Mountain, and almost due east from Chittagong (Chittagāon), the supposed **Pentapolis** of Ptolemy. It may appear unlikely that a city of such importance could exist so far up the Kulādān and in such a wild country as it is known to be. At the same time, it is narrated in the Arakan Annals that in about 850 B.C. Kan-rāja-gyī, a descendant of the dynasty reigning at Tagōng in Upper Burmā, who became twenty-four years afterwards king of Arakan, settled in the Kyouk-pān hills near the same river, and not more than forty miles in a direct line south of the position assigned to **Triglypton** by my calculations.[1] It is also stated that, before establishing himself in the locality just named, Kan-rāja-gyī had dwelt for some time at or near another hill called Kalē, in the

[1] "The summit of Kyauk-pān-daung is a gently undulating plateau several miles in extent. Though in the midst of a mountainous region inhabited by rude tribes, recent exploration has discovered traces that it was once occupied by a civilized race. Palms and other trees, which are not natural products of the surrounding jangal, are found there. The remains of pagodas also exist, and these, though comparatively modern, with the other evidences of former habitation in this secluded spot, give support to the belief of its having been the resting-place of the race which at a remote period gave kings to Arakan."—Phayre's "History of Burma," p. 44.

Kubo valley, west of the Chindwīn. Here he was applied to for a ruler by the Kanran, the Sak, and the Phyū tribes, and he appointed his son Mudusitta king over them.[1] This circumstance of a king by the name of *Mudu* or Mudusitta ruling over three tribes in a district called *Kalē* even up to the present day, suggests at once a connection with Mudu-Kalinga or Trikalinga,[2] and makes it probable that Kalē is really the place referred to as **Triglypton** by Ptolemy. The location of Kalē is within a degree or thereabouts to the north-east of the position we obtained by calculation. It is also worthy of remark that *Mudu* is the name of one of the tribes wherewith Kanmyeng, one of the early kings of Arakan, is said to have peopled his dominions.[3] This prince is represented as having come from India, and the legend states that he was appointed to rule over "all the countries inhabited by the Burman, Shan and Malay races" from Maṇipur to the borders of China.[4] Though undoubtedly exaggerated, this tradition appears to confirm the existence of the eastern kingdom of Trikalinga mentioned at the outset; and when compared with the account of Kan-rāja-gyī's establishment of a capital at Kalē, and subsequently at Kyouk-pān-daung, shows that the early seat of government of that kingdom was in the hill tracts between the coast of Chittagāon and the Chindwīn. **Triglypton** must then be looked for either in the valley of the Kulādān or in that of the Kubo. Mr. Thomas, concurring with the views set forth in Horsburgh's "India Directory," prefers to locate Ptolemy's capital city in the Chittagāon hills.[5] Yule took it instead to be Tripura, and at first I adopted

[1] Phayre, loc. cit., p. 8; "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. i, p. 236.

[2] *Mudu* = 'three' in Telugu and Kalinga. Hence *Mudu-Kalē*, or *Mudu-Kalinga*, is equivalent to Trikalinga. A corrupt form *Trikalē*, derived from either Trikalinga or *Trikalipti*, may also have been in use, as well as an alternative term *Triśūlika*, of which I have found traces in ancient records, both local and foreign. Of this latter Ptolemy's **Triglypton** may, after all, prove to be a translation.

[3] "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 6.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Numismata Orientalia: Coins of Arakan," etc., p. 14, and footnote.

his identification; but reconsideration led me to reject it in favour of a place in the valley of either the Kulādān or the Kubo, as I have shown above. Yule's determination rests mainly on the fact that the name of Tripura, meaning "three cities," conveys the same idea of three separate settlements or communities as the term Trikalinga. Wilford[1] says that these three districts were Kamilā, Chattala, and Burmānaka, or Raśāng (now Arakan); and that Kamilā alone retains the name of Tripura, the two other districts having been wrested away from the head rāja. This statement is apparently based on a similar legend to the one referred to above concerning the extent of the dominion of King Kan-myeng, and in no way shows that the capital of the whole kingdom was situated at Tripura (Tipperah), the most northern of the three districts, which seems unlikely. As a matter of fact, the original term Trikalinga only remained preserved in its integrity up to the present day in the name of the *Talengs*, or Talaings, the people of Pegu,[2] and the descendants of that great ethnic stock which played in Indo-China an analogous rôle to the Dravidians in Southern India, superseding the aborigines of Negrito race, the anthropophagous *Rākṣasas*. Since the Kalingas and the Andhras appear to have been, in the third century B.C., masters of the valley of the Ganges from the frontier of Magadha to the sea, it is easy to conceive on the one part that the Kalingas could penetrate into Western Burmā through Silhet, Maṇipur, and the Kubo valley, and establish thereat a dominion called Mudu-Kalinga or Tri-Kalinga; and that the Andhras, in their turn, could easily advance along the coast-line as far as the Nāf or the Kulādān. Admitted that a dominion of the Kalingas as described above did actually exist, it did not evidently last long. As soon as their power waned, and they were driven away by later intruders towards the south of India—an event which,

[1] Apud McCrindle, op. cit., p. 232.
[2] I find Pegu often designated *Kāliṅga-raṭṭha* in old Indo-Chinese records.

according to Sir W. Elliot, happened about a century before the Christian era—their empire was broken up, and only its name remained to attest its past existence. Hence, in Ptolemy's time we would search in vain for such a dominion. We only find three capital cities—evidently the seats of government of as many separate kingdoms or districts—recorded in that region, viz. **Tugma**, **Triglypton**, and **Mareura**.

The former is probably Tummu in the Chindwīn valley, or some other place between it and the Surmā River in Silhet; hence it represents the chief city of the district of Kachar or Maṇipur.

Triglypton, apparently the former capital of the whole Dravidian kingdom, corresponds, I think, with Kalē, and represents the chief city of the second district, including the Kubo valley, the Lower Chindwīn, and extending probably across the Arakan Roma into the valley of the Kulādān.

Mareura I have identified with Old Prome, the capital of a kingdom which must have originally included the whole region of the Lower Irāvatī and its Delta; in a word, all that country that formed afterwards the kingdom of Pegu, in which alone the name *Taleng* (Trilinga or Trikalinga) was preserved intact.

After the fall of the Dravidian power in the above three districts, Maṇipur continued under Brāhmanic rule; Kalē was probably afterwards abandoned, its people passing partly to Prome and partly into Arakan; and Prome continued as a capital of the Talaing kingdom until conquered and destroyed by the Kanran from Arakan in 95 A.D. This historical sketch is scarcely in accordance with the native chronicles of Burmā and Pegu; but it must be remembered that legend supplies in them the place for history in the earlier periods; and that many of the events narrated, though authentic, are antedated chiefly for religious or political purposes, in order to connect them with events in the life of Gotama Buddha and of the Kṣatriya kingdoms of Magadha and neighbouring states of India.

Besides the name of the Talaings already mentioned, and that of Kalē—the correct form of which appears to be *Kulā*—we have other linguistical indications of Kalinga domination in the region above spoken of. The Arakan River, for instance, whose valley is contiguous to the Kalē district, is called the *Kulādān* (often wrongly spelled Koladyn) by natives of the country. *Kulā*, the term nowadays employed in Burmā to designate Western foreigners in general, more specially applies to natives of India, and above all to Dravidians. In Siām this identical term is used up to the present day to denote people from Malabar or Coromandel. It probably means a people of black or dark race, and also a barbarian, like the Sanskrit *Kāla* or *Kola*. Its connection with the Kalingas is demonstrated by the fact that *Kolaṁca* is an alternative name for the country of the Kalingas. It is also undoubtedly connected with *Kola*, *Kora*, and *Cola*, the denominations of the people that gave its name to Coromandel and to many places on the Indo-Chinese littoral and in Malaya.

As regards the term *dān*, meaning 'a place' in Burmese, it is easy to see that it is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *sthāna*. The correct form of the name Kulādān proves consequently to be *Kolasthāna* or *Kulā-sthāna*, which conveys the meaning "place of the Kolas, or Kulās," i.e. of the Dravidians (more properly Kalingas).

The linguistical evidence is therefore to the effect that the rule of the Kalingas had for centres three places at least, namely: 1, Kalē; 2, the valley of the Arakan River; and 3, Pegu proper round the Gulf of Martaban.

Turning now to the Andhras, it appears that they did not advance beyond the Arakan River. In fact, it is at this point that Ptolemy makes his **Coast of the Airrhadoi** terminate, and the territory of **Argyra** begin. Reserving our remarks anent the latter to a subsequent section, we shall now proceed to discuss the identity of the cities and streams recorded by our author as belonging to the **Coast of the Airrhadoi**.

Pentapolis (No. 43 of the Tables).

It is evident, I think, that the foreign settlements on this coast were grouped somewhat after the manner of the Greek colonies of old, in clusters of cities and petty states. The very names of Trilinga, or Trikalinga; Catur-grāma (Chittagong=four villages); and Ptolemy's **Pentapolis**, recall to our memory the Greek Tripolis, Tetrapolis, etc. Once this principle established, it is easy to see how such names would be multiplied everywhere the Kalingas ruled. In fact, beside the Trikalinga named by Ptolemy in the region now under consideration, we have another about the Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī, and a third yet recorded as a feud of the Cedi rājas in Mālvā.

As regards **Pentapolis**, its name seems to be a rendering of the Sanskrit *Pañca-palli*, meaning "five cities." But it may be well to call attention to the fact that on the coast of India, a short distance below Masulipatam, there is a port called *Modu-palli* (meaning "three cities," usually noted Motapalli in the maps), which is referred to by Floris and other navigators of the early part of the seventeenth century as *Petapoli*, and by De Barros as *Pentepoli*, a surprisingly accurate approach to Ptolemy's **Pentapolis**. This is a capital example of the modifications that geographical names undergo at the hands of travellers. Not knowing, therefore, whether the name recorded by Ptolemy is a translation, or merely an imitative rendering of the native term, we may hold that it corresponds either to *Pañca-palli* or to *Mudu-palli*, thus designating a cluster of either *five* or *three* cities respectively. The position I obtained for it by calculation falls a short distance below the Chittagong inlet; but when it is remembered that the calculated position of **Katabēda** still requires a correction in latitude of about a quarter of a degree more to the north, we might look for **Pentapolis** a little further up above the Chittagong inlet, either on the coast or on some of the islands at the embouchure of the Old Brahmaputra. If **Pentapolis** really stands for *Mudupalli*, i.e. "three cities," it might represent Tripura or Tipperah (meaning also

"three cities"), which is the name of the district just close by. If, instead, it stands for "five cities," it will be probably identified with some other place in the same neighbourhood. But as to its corresponding to Chittagong —as surmised by some writers—I hardly can believe it, because the latter name distinctly designates an aggregation of four villages. Unless it can be proved that originally the villages were three or five, and were collectively named *Mudupalli* or *Pañcapalli* respectively, or else *Mudugrāma* or *Pañcagrāma*, I do not see how the term **Pentapolis** can apply to them.

Katabēda River (Nos. 44, 191).

Is by some identified with the Karmasulī or Chittagong River. Wilford went so far as to suppose that Ptolemy placed it by mistake to the north of Arakan, and tried to show that it must be sought for to the south, behind the island of Cheduba, the name of which, he says, is *Kātābaidā*. He evidently meant *Catur-thūpa* or *Char-dhuba*="four capes," the name by which this island is known to the natives of India, and from which its European name has been derived. Its local designation is *Man-oung*, and the classical name *Meghavatī*.[1] The only toponym in that neighbourhood which closely approaches to **Katabēda** is *Ga-tsha-bha*, the local name for the Kulādān or Arakan River.[2] But our calculations show that the stream meant by Ptolemy is much further north and in the neighbourhood of the island of Kutubdia (not Cheduba), situated about half-way between Chittagong and Ramū. The name of this island is strikingly similar to that of Ptolemy's river; hence, without having—Wilford-like—to assume that our author made any mistake in fixing the position of the **Katabēda**, we may safely identify the latter with the Morī River behind the island of Kutubdia. Although there may not have been in Ptolemy's time any homonymy

[1] Vide "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 352.
[2] Ibid., p. 271.

between the island and the stream behind it, we may well imagine that navigators—as frequently occurs—might name the river from the island in front of it, thus saying, "the river behind Kutubdia island," which expression by long use would become contracted into "the river Kutubdia." It seems that some Latin translators or commentators of Ptolemy refer to this river under the name of *Calincius*. If so, we would have here a repetition of the term *Kolaṁca*, indicating a connection with the Kalingas. It would be worth while to inquire whether the term *Calincius* really refers to the **Katabēda**, or—as might appear more natural —to the Kulādān River.

Ptolemy carries, as we have already observed, his **Coast of the Airrhadoi** down to the Kulādān, thus including within its compass the mart of **Barakura**. But as we hold that the latter is intimately connected with Arakan, it will be dealt with under the next section.

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(2) **Argyra** (*Arakan*).

The region following next in order on the same coast is by Ptolemy named **Argyra**, and evidently corresponds to Arakan. The meaning conveyed by the term **Argyra** is that of 'Silver Country'; and in order to mark it the more distinctly Ptolemy takes care to add that "*there are said to be* very many silver-mines."[1] Though this be a mere *dicitur* collected from travellers not sufficiently acquainted with the interior of the country, it decidedly shows nevertheless that the latter was considered to be a silver region, and was accordingly named 'Silver Country.' If it can be proved that this was the case, Sir Arthur Phayre's theory that the ancient name of the country was *Rakhaing*, on account of it being inhabited by *Rākṣasas*, and that **Argyra** is but a transliteration or imitation of that name, naturally falls to the ground. This theory is really of native or rather Buddhist monkish origin; but the gallant General

[1] McCrindle, op. cit., p. 219.

just named constituted himself its champion. I do not contest—on the contrary, I fully endorse—the opinion that the country was originally inhabited by savage tribes of Negrito race, similar to the actual Mincopies of the Andaman islands, or to the ancient *Rākṣasas* fabled to have been conquered by Rāma in Ceylon. But I object to the exclusivist view that such race had its habitat confined solely to the coast of Arakan. There are proofs that it extended at some time or other over the whole maritime region of Indo-China, in which case the epithet '*Rākṣasa*-land' ought to admit of a much wider interpretation. The Andaman islands, the island of Bhīlū-gyun in the Gulf of Martaban, and other places, were designated by the term *Rākṣasa*, or its local vernacular equivalent. Ptolemy populates the littoral all round the Gulf of Martaban with such cannibal tribes, while not mentioning any of them in **Argyra.**

The term Rakhaing can therefore be scarcely connected with the tradition of the *Rākṣasas* occupying at one time the land, and any such pretended connection put forward is undoubtedly the modern invention of Buddhist monks, anxious to find some explanation for the name of the country. Sir Arthur Phayre says that the latter was designated as *Rakkha-pura* by the Buddhist missionaries from India; but I should like to hear how far back in antiquity this name can be traced. It appears in the Mahāvaṁsa under the form *Rakkhaṅga* at so late a date as A.D. 1592[1]; and in the Aín-i-Akbari at about the same period under the form *Arkung*. Barbosa speaks of *Araguam* in A.D. 1520, and some earlier mention of it is perhaps to be found in other Portuguese authors.[2] But native records

[1] Ch. xciv, v. 97 seq.

[2] Since writing the above I have discovered an earlier reference to the country under the name of *Lo-k'éng* (Ra-khëng or Rakhaing) in the extract from the Chinese traveller Ma-Huan (A.D. 1413), translated and published by Phillips in the Journal, China Branch R.A.S., 1885, pp. 209 seq. Phillips wrongly took that name to apply to Rangūn, a view which will be found refuted in full in the next section of this paper dealing with the islands named by Ptolemy in the Bay of Bengal. Soon afterwards, in *circa* 1430 A.D., Conti termed *Racha* the city of Arakan and its river (see Ramusio, vol. i, f. 339, F.).

refer to Arakan previous to that period as *Dhaññāvatī, Khemāvatī, Vaiśālī*, etc., the names of its capitals; never, I believe, as *Rakkhaṅga* or *Rakhaing*.

Ptolemy's **Argyra** cannot therefore be a defective rendering of either *Rakkhaṅga* or *Rākṣasa*, but rather a modification or an adaptation of the original name of the country, which must have meant either *silver* or something to that effect.[1] We shall meet with other instances of the same name or meaning at Achīn in Sumatra, and at Pērak in the Malay Peninsula. The original vocable is either *Pērak, Prak, Prakṣa*, or *Plakṣa*, meaning 'silver.' It will result from my examination of the geography of the Purāṇas in a subsequent section, that the coast of Arakan, with its *hinterland* as far as the Irāvatī or the Salwīn, represents the region designated by the term *Plakṣa-dvīpa*, apparently on account of a *plakṣa* (Indian fig-tree) growing there. I found out, however, that the term *Plakṣa* really stands for the Sanskrit *balakṣa* and the Vedic *palakṣa*, both meaning 'white,' and, I firmly believe, also 'silver.' It is my conviction, in fact, that the Malay *pērak* and the Khmer *prak* used to designate silver are derived from them. In Mōñ (Taleng) there appears to have remained no trace of this name for silver; unless *sōn* (written *sran*), its present name, be a corruption of the terminal syllable of *plakṣa*. *Bhau* or *bhō* in Burmese still means 'pure silver'; and *bhyū* (written *phrū*) means 'white,' being probably equivalent to the Mōñ *phu*. From Barbosa it would appear that a portion of Upper Burmā was, in his time, still called *Balassia*, from which the so-called 'balas rubies' were exported.[2] In a Peguan (Taleng) work purporting

[1] Silver-mines exist, and seem to have been once extensively worked in the Chindwīn valley, not far from Arakan.

[2] "Li balassi sono di spetie di rubini, ma non cosí duri, il colore è di rosato, et alcuni sono quasi bianchi, nascono in Balassia, ch'è vn regno dentro à terra ferma di sopra Pegu, et Bengala, et di li vengono condotti da i mercatanti Mori, per tutte l'altre parti," etc. Barbosa, in Ramusio's "Delle Navigationi," etc., vol. i, 1563 edit., f. 321, E. The prevailing opinion is that the balas ruby was named from Badakhshān near the Pamirs; but Upper Burmā is evidently meant here. It is quite clear to me—and my view will receive repeated confirmations in the course of the following sections—that the term *palakṣa* or *balakṣa* was

to be an account of Buddha's pretended peregrinations in Indo-China,[1] the kingdom of Burmā is referred to as *Prasuluka-nagara*, or *Pasuluka*, a term which seems to me a corrupted form of *Balakṣa* or *Palakṣa*. All these are coincidences demonstrating that the name by which the Purāṇas designate the region of Burmā and Arakan has not been indiscriminately applied, but is simply an imitation of the early local name for the country. In languages which, like the Arakanese, the Malay, and Khmer, delight in the *r* sound, and have a monosyllabic tendency, *palakṣa* and *plakṣa* become easily transformed into *parakṣa* and *prakṣa*, *pērak* and *prak*.[2] From *parakṣa* the corrupted forms *arakṣa*, *arakkha*, and even *rakkha* may be easily derived, which would explain the name of Arakan and the growth of the tradition as regards the *rakṣas* or *rākṣasas* originally infesting the country.[3]

transplanted in this region from Badakhshān, with whose name it is undoubtedly connected. It forms but one link in the long chain of place-names transferred from North-Western India to North-Western Indo-China.

[1] This work will be more particularly described in the sequel, in the paragraph devoted to **Balongka**.

[2] These forms become still further contracted in Sinitic languages, as exemplified by *pak* in Cantonese, *bak* in Annamese, and *pai* in Pekingese. The early Vedic term *palakṣa* may thus be traced all the way from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Yellow River.

[3] In the same manner, I venture to think, was the name of Arakhôsia—notwithstanding that a very different opinion be generally held—derived from Badakhshān; and with it was probably also connected that of Baktra. The latter is traceable to a form *Bāhlika* or *Bālhika*, still represented in modern Balkh, and usually identified with *Bālikā* = 'sand'; but may not white or quartzous (*sphaṭika*, *phalikā*) sand be intended, in which case the connection with *balakṣa* and Badakhshān would become still more evident. It must be remembered that Ptolemy places in Arakhôsia a people by the name of **Baktrioi**; and that the Parthians called the country—according to Isidoros of Kharax—'White India.' This must have been to some purpose; very likely out of reference to its name, meaning 'white,' and being therefore derived from *balakṣa*. In Further India it appears that Upper Burmā, or the portion of it bordering upon Arakan, was known as Badakhshān or Balakṣa, while Arakan proper was named after its derivative *Arakṣa* or Arakhôsia. The term was, however, modified by Dravidian pronunciation in the manner of its namesakes on the Coromandel and Sumatran seaboards, viz., *Aṟṟaṅkarai* (said to correspond to Ptolemy's **Argari**, **Argeiron**, or **Agkheiron**); and *Atjêh*, *Achêh*, or *Achīn* (Ptolemy's **Argyrē**), which bears a striking similarity to **Agkheiron**. Hence Ptolemy's renderings **Argyra** and **Argyrē** for the names of Arakan and Achêh or Acchē respectively. The story of the silver-mines in Arakan must have originated from the fact of silver being imported thither from the Chindwīn valley, and cannot be said to have been suggested by the name of the country exclusively. In fact, Ptolemy is perfectly silent as to silver being found at

That the term *parakṣâ* or *parakkha* coexisted at one time in Arakan along with its derivative *arakṣa* or *arakkha*, is demonstrated by several facts. Ptolemy places on the coast

either **Argeiron** or **Argyrē**. Though, in the case of the last-named town, he mentions gold among the productions of the surrounding country, he does not say a word in regard to the less noble metal.

Taking therefore Upper Burmā to have been named after Badakhshān, and Arakan after Arakhôsia, the **Coast of the Airrhadoi** would turn out to be a namesake of Areia (Ārya, Āryata ?), that of Sandoway of Drangianê (Draṅga, Daranda, Zarang); and the territory about Cape Negrais and the upper portion of the Gulf of Martaban would be found to play in Further Indian geography the rôle of Gedrôsia and Sindh. The parallel will at first sight appear very doubtful and unconvincing. A more exhaustive investigation, however, will disclose the fact that the nomenclature of the valley of the Indus and its affluents, with some of the names of the peoples, districts, and cities of that region, was at an evidently very early date transferred to the valley of the Irāvatī and surrounding territory in Further India, where they still subsist in part in a plainly recognizable form, fully testifying as to their place of origin. Once this fact is realized, many place-names occurring in Further Indian topography for which we have long sought in vain an explanation; and others, modelled upon prototypes of the Indus valley, for which we are at a loss to account the *raison d'être*, in unclassical Burmā, Pegu, and Arakan, become at once intelligible and their presence easy to account for.

Suffice here to call attention to a few of them only. The Chindwīn, and the lower course of the Irawaddi (Irāvatī) from the Chindwīn confluence to the sea, becomes identified in name with the Indus or Sindhu, as shown by the term *Sindhu*—or some of its derivatives—being still preserved in the denomination of the Chindwīn (*Sindhu-in, Saiṁdhavin* ?).

The Kubo, a right tributary of the Chindwīn, corresponds to the Kubhā, the affluent from the right of the Indus; the valley of the Kubo thus becomes an ideal counterpart of the Kabul valley, where Kalē probably stands for Puṣkarāvatī or Puṣkalāvatī. The Uru, a left tributary of the Chindwīn further up, seems to have been named after the Haro, the left tributary of the Indus. The term Irāvatī was thus, at an early period, restricted to the portion of the Irawaddi's course lying above the Chindwīn's confluence.

The names of the five rivers of Panjāb appear to have been likewise transferred to the traditional five streams of Pegu, said to have their estuary at Punzalaing or Pañca-löng (Five Rivers), at the head of the Gulf of Martaban. The Salwīn is the Sarasvatī; the Sittang or Chittōng represents either the Satlej (S'atadrū) or the Chitrang (Sodra); the Hlaing flowing past Rangūn town is taken as the continuation of the major stream, the Chindwīn or Indus proper; while the Chinabakeer branch of the Irawaddi (termed Asīta in the old records) represents the Chināb (Asiknī). This puzzling name of the Chinabakeer River does not result, therefore, as Forchhammer thought ("Notes on the Early History and Geography of Brit. Burma"; I. Shwê Dagon Pagoda, Rangoon, 1891, p. 16), from *Pokkhara* the ancient name of the Dala district through which it flows, but chiefly from the term *Chināb* by which it was designated. The term *Pokkhara* may, at best, play in the compound the secondary rôle of simple affix, though even under this form its presence is pretty well doubtful. In comparing toponymics of Further India with those of India proper we cannot of course expect to find them always in systematic positions; but it will be seen from my further remarks on this subject in the sequel, that a certain correspondence in location exists all over the field. Thus Further India may in this respect be regarded as a second India, and certainly it was looked upon in this light by the Indū colonists who brought thither their civilization and made it, as much as possible, their second fatherland. This

of Arakan a mart which he calls **Bårakura**, and which I have identified with the capital of the country at that period. **Barakura** is evidently but a form of *balakṣa*, which may easily become *barakkha* in the local pronunciation; and denotes not necessarily the proper name of the capital, but that of the country itself, as in the case of **Samaradē**, which will be found explained in a subsequent section. That **Barakura** was used as a name for the whole country, we have an instance in Porcacchi's book,[1] where this kingdom is still spoken of as "regno Baracuro." It may be objected that this is an expression imitated from Ptolemy; but then there is still Barbosa's kingdom of 'Balassia' to be reckoned with, which, though it may have little to do with Arakan, still proves that *Palakṣa* or *Balakṣa*, the ancient name of the region, had not yet died out at that period.

feature of Further Indian geography has hitherto been ignored or overlooked by scholars, who simply rested content with the fact of knowing that some of the place-names in Further India were imitated from Indian place-names or derived from Sanskrit. The fact that there has been much more than a simple borrowing of nomenclature, that is, an actual adaptation—in fact, an attempt at superimposition—of Indian to Further Indian topography, is, if I am not mistaken, for the first time brought to light in the present paper, and will be reverted to in the following pages from time to time when occasion demands, as far as space will allow. It is, as it will be more and more clearly seen in the sequel, the only means and method of getting at the bottom of some of the Further Indian place-names. I shall quote as an instance the name of Bhamo on the Irāvatī, in Upper Burmā. Bhamo is believed to represent the Thai words *Bân Mô*='Potter's village'; it is, in fact, so called by the Thai people (Shans). It is known, however, that Bhamo is an ancient Indū foundation formerly bearing the name of Campānagara. Now, by referring to the ancient topography of the Indian Irāvatī or Rāvī, one will see that at its headquarters there existed a state of Campā or Chamba with capital formerly at Varmapura or Barmāvar, and, later on, at Campā-pura, still known as *Chamba* (see Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," p. 141). The result of this comparison of Further Indian with Indian topographical details is, that the name of Bhamo is almost undoubtedly a Thai (Shan) adaptation of the ancient name *Varma-* or *Barma*-pura probably borne by the place at one time, perhaps earlier than the period when it was called Campā-nagara.

This is but one of the many instances that might be adduced to demonstrate the utility of comparing Indo-Chinese topography with its old Indian prototype; and there can be hardly any doubt that a comparative study of both cannot but yield good results and elucidate many of the Further Indian place-names that hitherto remained meaningless or unexplained.

[1] "L'isole piu famose del Mondo descritte da Thomaso Porcacchi," etc. Venice, 1576, p. 196.

My conclusion is, therefore, that **Barakura** represents the local name of Arakan in Ptolemy's time; that **Argyra** is but a derivation and adaptation of it; and that both can be traced back to an original term *Palakṣa* or *Balakṣa*, recorded in the Purāṇas under the form of *Plakṣa*, but locally changed in the course of time into *Rakkha*, *Rakkhaṁ*, out of which the Portuguese and other Europeans made *Aracam* and *Aracan*. It remains now briefly to discuss the position of the various places named by Ptolemy in this region.

Barakura, a mart (No. 45).

In Ptolemy's time Arakan was apparently an independent state, and no longer subject to the sway of Kalē, as previously remarked. Its capital was, according to the local records, Dhaññāvatī, situated about twenty miles to the north-east of the present Mro-houng or Old Arakan city. There, in A.D. 146, a king by the name of Candra Sūrya is said to have ascended the throne, and to have cast a famous metal image of Buddha, which he enshrined in the Mahā-Muni pagoda, built for the occasion on the Silagiri (now Kyauk-taw) hill near by. Dhaññāvatī remained capital up to A.D. 788, when it was replaced by Vaiśālī, a new city built in its neighbourhood. The position I obtained by calculation for **Barakura** exactly agrees in latitude with the site once occupied by the ancient Dhaññāvatī, and only lacks correctness as to longitude, which is, however, only about 1° 14′ short of the real amount. I have, therefore, not the slightest doubt that the latter city is meant. *Borongo* island, at the mouth of the Kulādān, which forms a large harbour there, and *Paloung*, a village on the east bank of the same stream in the present Mro-houng township, most probably preserve, each in a modified form, the ancient name of the kingdom, district, and seaport represented by Ptolemy's **Barakura**.[1]

[1] For Paloung see "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 472. Wilford calls it *Palong*, and identifies it with the *Phalgun* of the Kṣetra-Samaśa, according to which treatise, he says, another name for it was *Pharuïgāra* (see McCrindle, op. cit., p. 235). In this last term we have, it seems to me, a very

Tokosanna River (Nos. 46 and 190).

My identification of this stream with the Kulādān or Arakan River agrees with those of Wilford and Lassen. Yule's view that it is the Nāf which, he says, is generally called the 'Ṭek-Nāf' from the *Thek* (more correctly *Sak*) tribe inhabiting its banks, is utterly untenable; and, besides, it is doubtful whether the term 'Tek-Nāf' is really correct. I do not find it recorded in the "British Burma Gazetteer," which simply states (vol. ii, p. 445) that "*Nāf* is the Bengali name customarily used by all but Arakanese and Burmese, to whom this estuary is known as the *Anouk-ngay*, i.e. 'little west' (country)."

The Kulādān or Arakan River is, according to the same work (p. 271), named by the inhabitants of the country *Ga-tsha-bha*, and by the Khami tribes *Yam-pang*. None of these names resemble the one given by Ptolemy; but in the account of the seizure of the famous metal image of Buddha (cast by King Candra Sūrya as explained above) by the Burmese, in A.D. 1784, we are told that "the image sank whilst being floated on a raft down the The-khyoung and Le-mro."[1] Now, this The-khyoung, Thek-khyoung, or Thek-chaung, as it is variously spelled, is evidently a branch of either the Kulādān or Le-mro, in the vicinity of the Mahāmuni pagoda, where the sacred image was kept, and may well represent Ptolemy's **Tokosanna**. It is just possible that in the old times the name Thek-chaung was given to the main stream, whether it be the Le-mro or the Kulādān; but I hold preferentially for the latter until

close approach to Ptolemy's *Barakura*. Both readings are, I think, well represented in the *P'o-hui-kia-lu* or *P'o-hui-chia-lu* of Chinese authors, explained as a kingdom situated at a distance of eight marches from Burmā (see Hervey de Saint Denis' "Ethnographie des peuples étrangers," vol. ii, p. 231, note). The kingdom of *P'o-hui-kia-lu*, "dont le climat est très-chaud, où les routes sont bordées de cocotiers, où l'or, *l'argent*, et les objets précieux abondent" (ibid.), is certainly the "regno Baracuro" of Porcacchi, the Pharuï-gāra of the Kṣetra-Samaśa, and the *Argyra* and *Barakura* of Ptolemy. The reference to silver which I have italicized in the above passage confirms the view I have expressed at the outset of this discussion as to that metal being imported into Arakan from the neighbouring Chindwīn valley.

[1] "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 344.

more detailed information on the intricate hydrography of the Arakan district is forthcoming that will allow of a more definite opinion being pronounced.

Sambra, a city (No. 47).

This must be identified, I think, with the city of Rāmavatī, which is said to have once stood on this coast opposite the island of Rāmrī; or else with the island itself which took its name from it, corrupted by native pronunciation into *Rām-brai* or *Rām-brī*. Ptolemy's **Sambra** is thus probably a clerical error for *Rambra*. The corrected latitude obtained by calculation corresponds to that of the northern end of the island.

Sados River (48, 189) and **Sada**, a city (49).

Whether the city derives its name from the river, or the latter is named after the city, is a question difficult to decide. One thing is certain, however, and this is that **Sada** corresponds to Sandoway. As this is reputed to be a very ancient settlement, it is reasonable to infer that it was, as told in its own traditions, a foundation from India, and that its original name was probably Sanskrit.[1]

Its pretended founder, Sammuti Deva, is fabled to have hailed from Benares; and the Nats or spirits built for him, it is said, the city which was called Dvāravatī. Its present name, *Than-dwai* (*Sandwē*), which is explained as 'iron-bound,' rests on a legend to the effect that the city had the power of soaring above the earth, out of reach of danger, when attacked by enemies from outside on a particular occasion, and had to be bound to the earth with an iron chain before it could be conquered.[2]

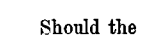
[1] Two inscribed stones in Sanskrit of the eighth century, one of which contains the first couplet of the Buddhist "*Ye dharmā*" stanza, have been found in the neighbourhood of the town; and also a number of celts or stone implements of the smooth age. See "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 616.

[2] "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 614. The legend is evidently based on the myth of the three cities of Tripura built for the demons by Maya, of which one was of gold and situated in the sky, the second of silver poised in the air, and the third of iron resting on the earth. I am unable to find out in the works of reference at my disposal what the names of the three cities were.

If we read the name of the city as it is written, *Sadvai* or *Sāntvai*,[1] and allow for the softening of the *r* into *y* usually occurring in Burmese, we may trace it back to some Sanskrit form like *Sadvāra*, equivalent, or nearly so, to the pretended ancient name Dvāravatī of the town. But I think that the latter and its district must be identified with the Śāntabhaya region mentioned in the Purāṇas as belonging to *Plakṣa-dvīpa*. The letters *b* and *bh* are, in Indo-Chinese languages, easily and frequently interchanged with *v*; hence *Sāntabhaya* can easily become *Sāntavaya*, which would then be written with the last syllable contracted, and read *Sandwē*.

In the early Portuguese maps Sandoway is noted as *Ledda*, *Ledoa*, *Sedoa*. The latter form appears also in João de Barros, lib. ix, ch. i. This shows it beyond doubt to be Ptolemy's **Sada**. Yet Yule, while thinking the latter might be *Ezata* or *Zetta*—which appears in the legend of the foundation of the Shwē Dagon pagoda of Rangūn as the name of a seaport between Pegu and Bengal[2]—did not attempt to locate it; and overlooking the linguistical connection between *Ezata* or *Zetta* (Issada, Sada) and **Sada**, he identified Sandoway with Ptolemy's **Bêrabonna** without any apparent good reason or cause whatever.

Should the second or third of them turn out to have names similar to that of Sandoway, we would then know for certain that this latter city was the capital of one of the three districts or kingdoms of the Further-Indian Tripura. The ancient name Dvāravatī ascribed to Sandoway would, on the other hand, show it to have been regarded as a counterpart of the capital-city founded by Kṛṣṇa near the entrance to the Gulf of Kach, on the corresponding side of the Indian Peninsula.

[1] *Santwē* in Burmese, *Sāntuei* in Mōñ (Taleng), and or  *Sāṅduai* (Sāṅdvāya) in Siāmese, is the ordinary way of spelling it. The form last given, actually written *Darandvai* or *Drandvai* (though pronounced as above), tends to confirm our opinion that the region about Sandoway was probably named after Drangiana (*Darand*, *Zarand*, or *Zarang*). I identified it with the country of *San-t'o* mentioned by Chinese authors among the eighteen kingdoms tributary to *P'iao* (see Hervey de St. Denis, loc. cit.). The phonetical spelling *Than-dwai*, adopted in the pages of the "British Burma Gazetteer," utterly precludes linguistical investigation.

[2] The "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 636, has "*Ezali* or *Zetta*."

At ch. xiii, § 7 of his introductory book, our author mentions **Sada** as the terminus of the sea-passage across the **Gangetic Gulf** (Bay of Bengal) from **Palura**, effected in a direct line from west to east, and covering a distance of 13,000 stadia. It was, therefore, the first port touched at in his time by ships proceeding from India to the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. **Palura**, hitherto taken to be the mouth of the Ganjam (about 19° 20′ N. lat.), has been in my Tables placed at Conora, above Vizagapatam, in 18° N. lat., which is also the latitude I obtained by calculation for **Sada**. Some ships, however, took a more northerly route, and touched at the riverine port of **Antibolē** on the Ḍhakkā or Old Ganges River, before making out for **Sada** and the Gulf of Martaban.

With regard to the **Sados** River, its mouth, by calculation, is made to be 18° 42′ N. lat. The present mouth of the Sandoway River is in lat. 18° 32′. As Ptolemy places **Sada** city in 18° corrected, it follows that the **Sados** cannot be the Sandoway River, but some other stream further north, such as the An (Aeng), Ma-ī, Tan-lwai, or Toung-gūp rivers. Though not conspicuous in size, the Tan-lwai seems preferable as being only a little distance above Sandoway, and as bearing a name not very dissimilar to it and **Sados**. Its old name was probably Sanskrit, such as *Sadā-vāri* (a river always bearing water) or *Śāda* (mud).

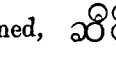
Bērabonna, a mart (No. 50).

Yule identified it, as stated above, with Sandoway; which is undoubtedly wrong. By calculation, its position would fall about Gwa (Khwā) or on the river of the same name. **Bērabonna** seems to represent the Pāḷi *Paripuṇṇa* or the Sanskrit *Paripurṇa*. On the Khwā River there is a village called Pienne-goon-rwa still within reach by boat during the spring tides,[1] and which might represent whatever remains of Ptolemy's station. In the map, by G. De l'Isle, dated A.D. 1781, inserted at the end of the first volume of

[1] "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 258.

Sonnerat's "Voyage aux Indes Orientales,"[1] there is noted just above Cape Negrais an islet or mart on the coast inscribed as *Barrebam*. This place I assume to be the same as that which Daniel Sheldon (in his report published by Ovington) calls *Perrem*. Whether they both correspond to Pienne-goon-rwa or not I am unable to say; but it is clear, from their close similarity in name to **Bērabonna**, that Ptolemy's mart is identical with either of them.

Tēmala River (51, 188).

My identification of this stream with the Bassein outlet of the Irāvatī, called the Nga-won River, rests on the fact that Diamond Island at its mouth is called Thamee-hla-Kywon (i.e. Thamee-hla island),[2] a fair approach to Ptolemy's designation; and that, therefore, the river might have been so named in ancient times. The word Thamee-hla is really written, as I have ascertained,  , which, according to the system of transliteration adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society, would read *Chīmīḥla* or *Simīḥla*. It would seem, therefore, that we are here confronted by a name similar in form to that of Simylla or Timula (Tiamula?), which Ptolemy gives to a mart and headland on the west coast of India, and which is generally identified with Chaul and Chaul Point near the Indian Bassein (*Vasaī*). As it is known, most names of cities in Indo-China are but repetitions of the names of ancient cities of India, the mother-country whence Indo-China received its civilization; a phenomenon which we see repeated in modern times in connection with the names of American and Australian cities, adopted from those extant on the Old Continent. It is not surprising, therefore, that we should find on the coast of the Indo-Chinese, as well as on the coast of the Indian Peninsula, and in symmetric positions, two identical names of cities such as

[1] Paris, 1782.
[2] "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, pp. 130, 723.

Bassein and Timula (Simylla or **Tēmala**). But there are some difficulties in the proper location of these cities on the Indo-Chinese side, and a suspicion is aroused in connection with the native term Sīmīḥla given to Diamond Island. In fact, this term when analyzed and translated turns out to be a compound of the three Burmese words *Sī-miḥ-'la*, which mean 'a beautiful lamp-fire'; and as the island has only recently been occupied by a station of the detachment in charge of the Alguada Reef lighthouse, erected $3\frac{1}{4}$ leagues S.S.W. of it, it may have happened that the name 'Beautiful lamp-fire island,' by which Diamond Island is known to the natives, originated from that fact. On the contrary, if the name can be proved to be more ancient than the event referred to above, it may be held for certain to represent Ptolemy's **Tēmala**.[1] But even rejecting such connection, it is possible to demonstrate the existence in ancient times in this region of a city known by the name of Tamāla or Sāmala corresponding to our author's designation, as will be shown in the next paragraph. It will then result even more clearly that Ptolemy's **Tēmala** River is really the Nga-woń or Bassein outlet of the Irāvatī as surmised at the outset of the present inquiry.

Tēmala, a city (52).

In the introductory book of Ptolemy's Geography it is spelled **Tamala**—a word which may be at once identified with the Sanskrit *Tamāla*, meaning 'dark' or 'brown'—and placed at 3,500 stadia (2,330, corrected measurement) south-east of **Sada**, almost due north of Cape Negrais.

The position obtained from calculation for **Tēmala** (94° 27′ E., 16° 36′ N.) closely agrees with that actually

[1] The name Tha-mee-hla (*Sīmīḥla*) appears in various other points of the country. We may adduce two instances, both in the Akyab district, from the "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, pp. 722–3.

Another island, identically named Tha-mee-hla Kywon, is to be found nearly opposite Mergui.

A lighthouse cannot evidently be implied in each of these instances; hence I think that the name Sīmīḥla really corresponds to the Sanskrit *Tamāla*.

occupied by Bassein (94° 46′ E., 16° 14′ N.); and I have not the slightest doubt that its site was identical with, or near to, the latter, on the Nga-won River, and not on the coast off Cape Negrais. There is nothing extraordinary in this apparent tampering with Ptolemy's order of things. If we examine the early Portuguese maps we may form an idea as to the confusion that reigned in the graphic representation of that seaboard even at that period, fourteen centuries after Ptolemy lived. We may there see that the Bassein River is made to debouch above Cape Negrais, and that the latter and surrounding land are depicted as an island. It will only be natural, therefore, to look for **Tēmala** on the Bassein River, rather than, as Yule did, on the barren coast above Cape Negrais, where it could hardly have been.

The ancient name of the Bassein district was *Kusima-raṭṭha*; and of its chief town, *Kusima-nagara*, evidently imitated from Kusuma-pura, 'the city of flowers,' the old designation for Pāṭaliputra or Patna. The name Kusima for Bassein was in use up to the last century. Ralph Fitch, Mandelslo, and other travellers refer to it as *Cosmin*, *Casmin*, *Casmi*, etc., all corruptions of Kusima; and the same spelling is adopted in the old maps. The names *Pusin*, *Pasin*, *Pasim*, and *Basim*[1] appear to have been introduced at a comparatively modern period, otherwise they may be modifications of either *Kusim* or *Vasai*. The town itself seems to have been founded as late as 1249 A.D, but the old name of the district undoubtedly existed much earlier; and under the date of 625 A.D. it is mentioned

[1] Burmese: ပုသိမ် = *Pusin*, and ပသိမ် = *Pasin*. Peguan (Talaing): ဝါဆိမ် = *Phāchim* (*P'āsim*). Siamese: ปุสิน = *Pusin*, and พะสิน = *P'asim* (*Basim*). In the summary of Oriental peoples translated from the Portuguese and published in Ramusio, vol. i, 1563 edition, it is referred to as *Pizim*, p. 335. It requires, indeed, a great stretch of imagination in order to see in these forms the vestiges of Ptolemy's **Bēsynga**. A comparison with the name of the Indian Bassein shows that the old form should be Vasai or Basai.

in the Peguan (Taleng) chronicles as consisting of a confederation of thirty-two cities subject to the sway of the Mōñs or Talengs of Pegu. Notwithstanding these facts, most of Ptolemy's commentators up to the present day have, with an obstinacy worthy of a better cause, endeavoured to connect Bassein with Ptolemy's **Bēsynga**, deceived, no doubt, by a mere fickle similarity of names. But this alone, we have repeatedly shown, is not sufficient evidence upon which to build up an accurate interpretation of his geography, and all attempts based simply upon such outward indications must necessarily fail.

We shall show at the proper time and place where Ptolemy's **Bēsynga** is to be looked for. Our present concern is **Tēmala** or **Tamala**, and before dismissing it we propose to demonstrate that it is the same city as that mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (*Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa*) under the name of Timira. *Timira* and *Tāmala*, it must be premised, are Sanskrit words of almost identical meaning. In the Bengal recension of the Rāmāyaṇa, after a reference to the Aṁgas (people of Campā, now Bhāgalpur); the Lauhitya River (Brahmaputra); the Kirātas (people of Tipperah and Silhet, Ptolemy's **Kirrhadia**); lands rich with silver-mines (**Argyra**), and mount Mandara (**Maiandros** = Arakan Roma), there is a mention of the city of Timira abounding with gold and where silkworms are reared. These two peculiarities help us admirably in fixing the position of Timira in the region between the Arakan and Pegu Romas; that is, in the lower valley of the Irāvatī, celebrated both by eastern and western classics as the Golden Region, and known as the seat of a people, the Zabaings or Zamengs, noted for silkworm breeding.[1] And as the name Timira conveys the same meaning as Ptolemy's **Tēmala** or **Tamala** (*Tamāla*), there should be no doubt left as to both designations belonging

[1] "Sir Arthur Phayre remarks that the term Yabaing [*Zabaing*] is rather 'the description of an occupation than the distinctive name of a race. . . . . The term is probably a Shan word [most assuredly not], applied to those who first introduced the worm from the eastward, and the meaning of it is not now understood.' "—"British Burma Gazetteer," vol. i, p. 183.

to the one and the same city occupying a position close to, or on the very site of, the present Bassein, as set forth above.[1]

Once this point settled, the **Cape** (beyond) **Tēmala**, placed by our author to the south and a little to the west of the city of the same name, becomes identical with the present Cape Negrais (*Nāgareśvara*), and any further discussion as to its site is rendered unnecessary.

(3) *Country of the* **Zamīrai** *and* **Dabasai** (*Upper Burmā*).

"Beyond **Kirrhadia**"—says our author (ch. ii, § 16)—"the **Zamīrai**, a race of cannibals, are located near **Mount Maiandros**." I am firmly convinced that Ptolemy's **Kirrhadia** corresponds to the districts of Silhet, Tipperah, and Kachār; and that the habitat of the **Zamīrai** must as a consequence be sought for in the valley of the Chindwīn or Kyendwen, that is, in the western part of Upper Burmā. This region is now occupied by the Yaw (Yo) tribes, said—though I doubt it—to be of Burmese stock and speech; but it was probably, in Ptolemy's time, settled by populations of Mōñ-Khmer race, such as, I believe, the Zabaing and Khami are. The Zabaings' territory is now restricted to the hill tracts of the Pegu Roma, between the Irāvatī and Sittang rivers. They are described as rude, wild, and ignorant by nature; cultivators and mostly breeders of silkworms by occupation. I have no doubt that the hills which form their present habitat represent but their last refuge, to which they have been driven by more powerful, and perhaps younger, occupants of the country. At the period we treat of they must have extended over a larger zone, including the whole, or nearly so, of the Chindwīn valley, which they probably held in conjunction with the Khami. Their headquarters were probably at Kalē, where we have noticed a motley agglomeration of tribes during

[1] I am convinced that it is the place mentioned under the name of *Tan-mei-liu* by Chinese authors in this region.

the supposed sway of the Kalingas. In a preceding paragraph I have identified the zone just mentioned as their ancient haunts with the breeding land of silkworms alluded to in the Rāmāyaṇa. I now complete that premise by connecting the Zabaing—and their probable kin, the Khami—with Ptolemy's **Zamīrai** and the *Samīras* of the Mahābhārata. The literal coincidence of the three names, Zabaing (or Zameng), **Zamīrai** (another reading for which is **Zamerai**), and *Samīra*, is too evident to need demonstration; while there is a close likeness between *Khami* and *Sami* or *Samīra*. In favour of the coincidence of location I submit that in the Mahābhārata (*Bhīṣma Parvan*) there are mentioned, together with the Samīras, the following peoples, hitherto not identified, and which I subjoin in the same order as they occur in that epic, accompanied with the name of the country or people which in my opinion corresponds to them:—

1. *Tīragrahas.* I think I recognize in this name Ptolemy's **Tilogrammon**, a town on the Gangetic Delta which Yule identifies with Jesore.
2. *Śūrasenas.* Suratan (=*Śūra-sthāna*?) was the name of Eastern Bengal, to be probably identified with Sonārgāon. (See "Brit. Burma Gaz.," vol. ii, p. 9, n.)
3. *Ījikas* or *Itīkas.* (?)
4. *Kanyakāguṇas.* (?)
5. *Tilabhāras.* Evidently Ptolemy's **Tiladai**, placed by him to the north of **Maiandros**, i.e. about the Garô Hills and Silhet.
6. *Samīras.* The **Zamīrai**.

As our author places his **Zamīrai** beyond **Kirrhadia** and near Mount **Maiandros**, it follows that they occupied, with respect to his **Tiladai**, the same position as the *Samīras* hold in regard to the *Tilabhāras* in the Mahābhārata; and therefore the **Zamīrai** should be identical with the *Samīras*.

Concerning the connection of the **Zamīrai** or *Samīras* with the Zabaing or *Zameng*, enough has been said already, and

the probable relationship of the latter with the Khami has also been pointed out. But there are a few more points which deserve consideration. It is known that the habitat of the Khami was in the past in the upper valley of the Kulādān, and in the mountain ranges to the north-east of Arakan, whence they were driven south-west by their more warlike neighbours the Shandū. Moreover, Ptolemy, speaking of the **Golden Country**, i.e. Lower Burmā, tells us that its "inhabitants resemble the **Zamīrai** in being fair-complexioned, shaggy, of squat figure, and flat-nosed." We have here a picture which applies as well to the Zabaing as to the Khami. The natural inference to be drawn from the foregoing considerations is this—That the **Zamīrai** or Samīras represent the Zabaing and their co-relatives, the Khami who were, in Ptolemy's time and for some centuries previously, located in Western Burmā, from the Irāvatī to the Arakan Roma, whence they have since been driven to their actual homes by subsequent invaders, probably of Tibeto-Burman race. The inroads of the new arrivals seem to have cut them through the centre, separating them into two portions, which found refuge on the mountain ranges encompassing the lower valley of the Irāvatī: the Khami on the Arakan Roma; and the Zabaing on the Pegu Roma, where they still survive.

Having so far dealt with the more southern section of Upper Burmā proper, we must now turn to the portion of it extending northwards of the Irāvatī's junction with the Chindwīn and including the upper valleys of both these streams and those of their affluents. It is in this region that Ptolemy places his **Dabasai**, the most southern of the folks he names between the **Bēpyrrhos** and the **Dobassa** or **Damassa** ranges, i.e. between the Patkoi mountains and those forming the boundary between the Salwīn and Mē-Khōng rivers.

Though Ptolemy appears to connect the name of the **Dabasai** with that of the **Dabassa** or **Damassa** mountains, in which view he is most probably correct, as I shall point out in due course, there is scarcely room for doubt that the

country which that people occupied was similarly known as the land of *Daba* or *Dabassa*. Owing to the interchangeability of the letters *d* with *l*, and *b* with *v*, in most East-Indian languages; and keeping also in mind the point that *β* very probably had in Ptolemy's time, from several indications to be found in his contemporaries, the value of *v* it possesses in Modern Greek, it follows that we may also read the term *Daba* either as *Dava* or *Lava*. Once this distinction has been made, it is easy to prove that the region now under consideration was of yore really designated by either of the three forms of the term *Daba* given above, or by some of their derivatives.

As regards the first two, *Daba* and *Dava*, we are told by Chinese writers that Upper Burmā, or part of it, bore, since the time of the Han, the name of *Tu-p'o* or *Shê-p'o*, a compound sounding in Annamese as *Dou-ba*, *Da-ba*, or *Hsa-ba*,[1] and apparently representing the Sanskrit *Ḍava*, *Java*, *Yava*. Then, as late as A.D. 1207, we find in a Cām inscription the mention of "*Pukāṁ*, *Syām*, *Davvan*, *Marai*, *Maṅ*."[2] *Pukāṁ* represents *Bukām*, i.e. Lower Pagan, the capital of Central Burmā at the time; *Syām* is, of course, *Śyāmarāṣṭra* or Lower Siām; *Davvan* is the country, or people, of *Dava*, i.e. Upper Burmā; and *Marai* (or *Marai-maṅ*?) is *Mara-raṭṭha* or *Maramma*, the land of the *Maras* or *Mro*, corresponding to the present Lower Burmā or, more properly, to the country about Prome.

Two and a half centuries later we meet, according to some authorities, with the term *Dava* in Conti's travels, which

[1] Vide D'Hervey de Saint Denis' translation of Ma Tuan-lin, pt. ii, p. 228 and p. 231, note. Also, A. de Michel's "Annales Impériales de l'Annam," fasc. iii, p. 169. The Cantonese and Annamese pronunciations, it is well known, are those that best represent the ancient sounds of Chinese characters; hence they are to be given the preference, especially with geographical names, in the region of which we treat.

[2] Numbered 383 in Aymonier's "Étude sur les inscriptions Tchames," in the Journal Asiatique, t. xvii, p. 51. In another inscription (409 B, 1), mentioned at p. 49, we have "*Lov*, *Syam*, *Yukaṁ*." Aymonier translates *Lov* as Chinese, and explains elsewhere that the Chinese are still nowadays so designated by the Cām. But may not it mean in this case *Lāu* or *Lavṛ*? The term *Marai Maṅ* he translates doubtfully as "vinrent du (?)" [Cambodge]. It occurs to me that we might recognize in *Marai Maṅ* a proper name, that of the *Mara*, *Mān*, or *Mro*, then just beginning to develop into *Maramma*, *Baramān*, *Barmān*.

appears, however, to be meant for either '*Ava*' or '*d'Ava*'[1]; and we find thenceforward the kingdom of Burmā designated *Ava* by most European writers up to the last century. The city of Ava was founded in 1364, and was also called *Shwê-va*. The fanciful etymologies given of both these terms by the modern Burmese authors must of course be discarded in the present inquiry as utterly unreliable, for there is plenty of evidence to show that both *Ava* and *Shwê-va* as forms of *Dava* had existed in the country long before that period, a fact which goes far towards explaining the ambiguous Chinese term for Ava,[2] capable of being read either *Shê-p'o* or *Tu-p'o*, and of being thus referred to both *Shwê-va* and *Dava*. Ma Tuan-lin, whose work was composed during the latter part of the thirteenth century and published A.D. 1319, that is, nearly fifty years before Ava was built, already has *Shê-p'o* or *Tu-p'o* as second term in the compound *T'u-lo-shu Shê-p'o*, which, he states, is one of the names by which the country of *P'iao* was designated by its own inhabitants. The country of *P'iao* approximatively corresponded to the present Lower Burmā; but as the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng*, the great Chinese cyclopaedia, mentions *Shê-p'o* among the eighteen kingdoms once tributary to *P'iao*, it plainly results that *Shê-p'o* must have been situated outside of *P'iao* proper. Later Chinese writers applied the same name, *Shê-p'o*, to the kingdom of Ava, which became known, therefore, as *Shê-p'o-kuo* or *Tu-p'o-kuo* (in Annamese *Hsa-ba-kok* or *Dabakok*). Though in these compounds the word *kuo* properly stands for kingdom, it is possible that its introduction dates from an earlier period and was originally intended to do duty for the syllable *ka* in *Davāka*, one of the alternative,

[1] Ramusio (Giunti, ed. 1563, vol. i, fol. 340, A. and F.) invariably has *Ava*, which renders, of course, the reading *Dava* of other editions of Conti's travels rather doubtful. Phayre ("History of Burma," Trübner's Oriental Series, p. 262) says that Conti calls *Dava* the river Irāvatī, basing himself upon a reading *Dāvā*, which appears to have been adopted in the Hakluyt Society's edition of Conti's travels (p. 11).

[2] 闍婆 or 闍婆國 (*Shê-p'o-kuo* or *Tu-p'o-kuo*), "the kingdom of Ava"; see Giles' Chinese Dictionary, p. 958, s.v. 9,783.

or rather derivate, forms of *Dava*, under which we find the country referred to as early as the fourth century. *Davāka*—or *Ḍavāka* as it is spelled in the Allahabad pillar inscription—is, in fact, one of the five "frontier countries" whose kings, according to the epigraphic monument just named, paid homage to Samudra Gupta, the famous sovereign of Magadha, who reigned *circa* A.D. 345–380.[1] Hitherto *Ḍavāka* has remained unidentified, and so has *Thafec*, the form under which the same country has been alluded to by the Arab travellers and geographers from the ninth century downwards. After a careful study of the subject I have not the slightest doubt left that *Ḍavāka*, the tributary and coterminous state of Magadha in the fourth century; *Thafec*, or *Ṭafan* (i.e. *Davan*), the kingdom referred to by the Arab travellers of the ninth century and Masaudi as being situated in the mountains and bordering upon the powerful dominions of the Balhara (with the capital at Monghir) and of *Rohmy*, or *Rahman* (Rāmañña, viz. Pegu and Arakan);[2] and *Daba*, or *Dava*, the country of the **Dabasai** of Ptolemy in the second century, are one and the same region corresponding with the Upper Burmā of the present day. In 1228 it is spoken of as *Ta-wi* or *Ta-wai*, in the Shan Chronicles quoted by Ney Elias, who explains that "the situation of this district is said to be towards the north" [of Burmā].[3] In that particular instance *Āḷavī* (the Pāḷi name for the Mogaung and Mohnyin districts according to the Po U Daung inscription) may be intended; but this term seems to have been rather elastic, it being sometimes applied also to the territory of C'hīeng Ruṇg. Āḷavī must therefore at one time have included the whole of the intervening country, being thus synonymous with Ḍavāka or Davāka. The connection will readily become apparent when it is considered that the Sanskrit form of Āḷavī is *Āṭavī*; *aṭaṭī* meaning, like *dava*, a 'forest,' a 'wood.' Davāka would thus seem to

[1] See Mr. Vincent A. Smith's article in the J.R.A.S., January, 1897, p. 29; and October, 1897, p. 879.

[2] Compare Reinaud's "Relations des Voyages," etc., t. i, pp. xcvii seq. and 27; and Thomas' remarks in Numismata Orientalia, "Coins of Arakan," p. 18.

[3] "History of the Shans," p. 42.

mean 'forest country.' And, as Āṭavī, or Āḷavī, designated in Western India a city and district of the Yavanas, it cannot cause surprise to find in Western Indo-China its counterpart in a region which, we shall see further on, was also called *Yavana* (or *Yonaka*)-*deśa*, because occupied at one time by offshoots of the great Yavan, Yon, or Yuen race.

From *Tu-p'o* or *Shê-p'o*, says the great Chinese cyclopaedia,[1] in eight days' march one may reach the kingdom of *P'o-hui-kia-lu*, i.e., as identified by myself above, the state of **Barakura**, or Pharuïgara. This shows that *Tu-p'o* (i.e. Dava, Ḍavāka) must have extended to within a short distance of the Arakan Roma, since it took Conti 17 days to cross from *Racha* (read *Raka*), the capital of Arakan, to the Burmese watershed, and thence 15 days to reach the river of Ava (Irāvatī).

Whom the **Dabasai** were and of what race, is the next point to be determined. In order to do this, however, it is necessary to refer to the third form of the term *Dava* as *Lava* (as *Āṭavī* = *Āḷavī*). It is evident that this term can but apply to two races known to have been present in the country in the early days, namely: the *Lavā* (*Lawā*) or *Vaḥ* (*Wa*), and the *Lāu*. The *Lavā* or *Vaḥ* are mountain tribes, racially connected with the Negrito stock of aborigini inhabiting the Salwīn and Më-Khōng valleys. In Ptolemy's time, however, they were no longer in undisputed possession of the country, having had to withdraw to the mountain slopes of the Irāvatī-Salwīn and Salwīn Më-Khōng watersheds, where they were repelled to by the Lāu. The Lavā are also called *Dōi*, or *Khā Dōi*, terms which in Lāu mean respectively 'mountain' and 'mountaineer'[2] and which may have some connection with

[1] D'Hervey de St. Denis, op. cit., p. 231, note.

[2] In Siāmese *Khā Dōi*. This literally means 'mountain slaves,' i.e. mountain savages usually employed as slaves by the conquering race, which is the Lāu, or Thai, race in this case. Some of their kin are termed *Thāt Hùei*, i.e. 'slaves of the brooks,' because of their dwelling nearer to the banks of mountain streams. It must be remarked here that *Thāt* (in Sanskrit *dāsaḥ*), which is equivalent to *Khā*, has in Sanskrit, like the latter in Siāmese and Lāu, the double meaning of 'slave' and 'savage.'

Dava. Owing to the similarity in names between the *Lavā* and the *Lāu* (Lāva) it is difficult to decide from which of these two peoples the country took its denomination of Dava or Ḍavāka. The probability, both historic and linguistic, seems, however, to rest with the Lāu.

It is notorious, in fact, that at least from the first century of our era the Lāu—then known to the Chinese under the name of *Ai-Lao* or *Ai-Lāu*—were in possession of Western Yünnan, where, in A.D. 59, the Ai-Lao and Po-nan districts were established in order to enforce Chinese supremacy in that quarter. Chinese writers do not, at this period, trace the Ai-Lao further west than Momien; but, from evidence which I have collected from the early records of the Lāu themselves, I am now convinced that they had extended over most part of the modern Upper Burmā long before that time, that is to say, from some five and a half centuries before the Christian era; and I propose to show below how the overthrow of the Tagōng dynasty is to be ascribed to them. Curiously enough, the name of the Ai-Lao is derived by the Chinese from the Lao mountain, which is stated to have been the cradle of the Lāu people. Which is the mountain so named, and where it is to be found, I am unable to say. Professor de Lacouperie places it at the intersection of Hu-nan, Hu-peh, and Ngan-hwui; other authorities believe it to be in Western Yünnan, in the old Ai-Lao district itself. Should the latter view prove correct, we would have a curious coincidence in the fact that Ptolemy also appears to refer etymologically the name of the **Dabasai** to the **Dabassa** range; and the country of *Dava, Davi, Āḷavī,* or *Lava* would thereby prove to have been part and parcel of the Ai-Lao territory.

In any case, whether the country of Dava or Ḍavāka be geographically and etymologically connected with the Ai-Lao district and the name of the Lāu people or not, it must now appear pretty certain that it corresponded, more or less, to the present Upper Burmā, and that its inhabitants, the **Dabasai**, were people of the Lāu (Thai) race. Some further considerations may be adduced in support of this view.

In the map appearing in the Nicholaus de Donis edition of Ptolemy (A.D. 1482) the **Dabasai** are located close to the south-west of **Adeisaga**, the town or district which I have identified with the modern Yung-ch'ang. The Ai-Lao, or Nan-Chao, are said by Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 190) to border on the west on *Kia-t'o*, or *Chia-t'a*, while in the Chinese history of the Nan-Chao these people are described as coterminous in the same direction with *Mo-k'a-t'o*, i.e. Magadha.[1] Now, it is curious to find in Ma Tuan-lin (pp. 184–5) that the Ai-Lao had relations westwards with Ta-ts'in (Syria). So had the kingdom of *T'an, Chan, Shên*, or *Dan*, which the Chinese locate beyond the Yung-ch'ang borders, and of which we shall have to speak below; thus the curiosities of *Ta-ts'in* came to China through the Ai-Lao territory by way of Yung-ch'ang.[2] Though the communication was probably effected through some seaport on the coast of Pegu, it no doubt took place also overland. So, at least, I think must be interpreted the Chinese statement that "In the south-west of the country of Shan [the *T'an*, etc., spoken of above] one passes through to Ta-ts'in."[3]

If we take *Kia-t'o* (or *Chia-t'a*) and *Mo-k'a-t'o* to be identical and to refer both to Magadha, there is nothing extraordinary in the statement as to the Ai-Lao bordering upon the Magadha kingdom, so long as we consider *Ḍavāka* as part of the Ai-Lao territory. The proof is supplied to us in Samudra Gupta's inscription already referred to, where *Ḍavāka* is mentioned not only as a frontier country of that monarch's dominions, but also as a tributary state. This dependence further results from the fact of the Gupta Era being employed at least upon one Sanskrit inscription which was found at Pagan, dated Gupta Samvat 163 (A.D. 481).[4] There are, besides, numerous traditions of princes from Magadha having emigrated to Upper Burmā,

[1] See Parker in China Review, vol. xix, p. 73, note.
[2] See Hirth's "China and the Roman Orient," p. 179.
[3] Ibid., p. 37.
[4] See Dr. Führer's "Annual Progress Report," etc., for the year ending June 30, 1894.

Western Yünnan, and Lāos, where they founded dynasties several centuries previous to Samudra Gupta's period, and built temples amongst the ruins of which tablets bearing inscriptions in Gupta characters are still to be found. Then we have from Chinese writers the statement as regards the intercourse of the Ai-Lao country with the West, to further confirm the close relations of Dava or Ḍavāka with Magadha. All these data from Indū, Chinese, and local sources are perfectly consistent and mutually corroborate themselves.

However, according to at least one authority, *Kia-t'o* or *Chia-t'a* = *Chu-po* or *Shu-po* = *P'iao* which bordered eastwards upon *Chên-la* (Kamboja).[1] In the great cyclopaedia *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng*, *Kie-t'o* = *Chi-t'o* or *Ch̤ieh-t'o*, is mentioned among the eighteen kingdoms formerly tributary to *P'iao*.[2] *Chu-po* or *Shu-po*, and *P'iao*, I propose subsequently to demonstrate, mean not Upper, but Lower Burmā. They bordered on the east upon *Chên-la*, and were situated to the south-west of Yung-ch'ang according to Chinese authors.

Kia-t'o may, again, be Kacho or Katha, which is in Dava or Ḍavāka. Should this identification prove to be correct, it would detract nothing from the results arrived at above. Both statements of the Ai-Lao being bounded on the west, (1) by Kacho or Katha and (2) by Magadha, would yet be found consistent, Ḍavāka being naturally considered by the early writers as lying within the sphere of influence of Magadha.

In conclusion, Ḍavāka anciently designated the present Upper Burmā, and its inhabitants, the **Dabasai**, whether or not connected etymologically with the Lāu, were undoubtedly a people of the Lāu (Thai) race.

Arisabion (54).

I feel certain, with regard to my identification of this place with Shenbo, Tshenbo, or Tsenbo, above Bhamo,

[1] Vide extract from the *P'ei-wên Yün-fu* in Ma Tuan lin, op. cit., p. 190, note 21.
[2] Ibid., p. 231.

which I believe to have been the chief city of that ancient state of *Shen*, whose king, Yung Yu-tiau, according to Chinese records,[1] sent rarities to China in A.D. 97 and 120. This state was most probably a Shan kingdom.

The territory about Shenbo, as far down as Bhamo and Kaung-sin, was formerly called by the Burmese *Sein* (written *Sin* or *Cin*), classicized into *Cina-raṭṭha*.[2] We find it mentioned in the great Chinese cyclopaedia *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng*,[3] under the name of *Chan-p'o* or *Shan-p'o* (Shen-bo ?), among the eighteen states once tributary to *P'iao* (Burmā). The Burmese chronicles supply us with some data for ascertaining the time and origin of this state of *Sein* or *Shen*. According to them, there existed not far south of Shenbo, on the Irāvatī, the ancient Kṣatriya kingdom of Tagaung (Tagōng, or Hastināpura), founded in B.C. 923, superseded later on by that of Old Pagan (*Bhukām* or *Bukām*), established B.C. 523. The Tagōng kingdom was, in *circâ* B.C. 550, overthrown by an invasion of tribes coming from a country to the east called *Gandhāra-raṭṭha* (i.e. Yünnan) in the land of Sein or Sin.[4] The kingdom of Old Pagan was destroyed in a similar manner, and although it is not stated who the invaders were and whence they came, we may well conjecture that they were the same people of Sin or Sein, who renewed their inroads and succeeded at last in obtaining a permanent footing in the country, as proved by the fact that the Burmese capital was in the sequel transferred much further south, at or near Prome, about 483 B.C. Sir A. Phayre believes that the above events are historical, but that they have been

[1] See Hirth's "China and the Roman Orient," pp. 36, 37; and E. H. Parker's articles in the "China Review," vol. xix, p. 71, and vol. xx, pp. 338, 339.

[2] Occurs in this form in the Burmese inscription of the Po-u-daung pagoda, A.D. 1774.

[3] Hervey's "Ma Tuan-lin," part ii, pp. 230, 231, note.

[4] The ancient *K'iung-tu* (now called Yüeh-sui) district represents, in my opinion, what was classically termed *Gandhāra* in South Sz'chuen and Yünnan. It undoubtedly is the *Ghaindu* or *Caindu* of Marco Polo, and must be regarded as including also both his *Jaci* and *Charagia* (Kārajāng). It must be remembered, in fact, that Kārajāng was the name given by the Moguls to the capital of Gandhāra on the Indus. (See Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," Buddhist Period, p. 53.)

antedated by several centuries; and ascribes the overthrow of the two Kṣatriya kingdoms of Upper Burmā to people of the Shan (Thai) race, who, he holds, must have been driven westward towards the basin of the Irāvatī by Chinese expeditions into Yünnan in B.C. 122 and 109 and A.D. 9. I am inclined to believe, however—on the evidence of the early traditions of the Thai race—that the advance of the Shan into the Shwelī (Nam Mau) and Tapeng valleys dates from the middle of the sixth century B.C.

The term **Arisabion** evidently represents some Sanskrit name like *Ṛṣabha* or *Ārṣabhī*, or else like *Ari-śambala*, *Ari-śamanam*; for it is to be remembered that the old name of Pagan, or Bukām, was *Ari-mardana pura*, a similar term, erroneously taken in the Mahāvaṁsa (ch. lxxvi, 38) as the name of the king of Rāmaññā (Pegu). In some old maps, a city by the name of *Arian*, or *Ariano*, is marked at the place corresponding to either Shenbo or Bhamo.[1] This form *Arian*, as well as those occurring in Marco Polo's account of this region, *Amie* and *Mien*, are evidently connected with **Arisabion** or its probable local spelling as *Arisa-mīen* or *Ari-sein-myo*.[2]

I trust that I have now sufficiently demonstrated the identity of Ptolemy's **Arisabion** with the kingdom of *Shen* of Chinese annals, and the state of *Sein* or *Cina-raṭṭha* of Burmese records. That the latter was established by invaders of Thai race from Yünnan appears quite certain to me, although the Burmese chroniclers, relying on the mere fact that this people came from China, called them *Sein* (really written = *Sin*, *Ts'in*), i.e. Chinese, taken

[1] *Ariano*, in G. de l'Isle's map accompanying Sonnerat's "Voyage aux Indes Orientales," dated A.D. 1781, is placed in long. 115° E. Ferro (=96° 40′ E. Greenw.) and lat. 24° 15′ N.; which is within a few minutes of the true position of Shenbo (long. 96° 48′ E.; lat. 24° 50′ N.).

[2] A place by the name of Thamien or Thaman-gyī is noted in modern maps on the left bank of the Irāvatī between Shenbo and Bhamo. This proves that the term *Arisa-mīen* or **Arisabion** still exists in a modified form, though perfectly recognizable, in that region, and confirms our identification of Ptolemy's city. It is worth remarking that the French manuscript version of Marco Polo's narrative has *Damien* for Amien; which, if not a clerical slip for *d'Amien*, may be compared with Thamien above.

by latter-day authors to mean *Tarup*, or *Taruk*, the term now applied in Burmā to the Chinese and Manchu.

Adeisaga (69).

I take this place to be Yung-ch'ang, the chief city of the province which Marco Polo calls *Ardandan*. *Videha* and *Vaideha* were the ancient names of this part of Yünnan, and may be connected with Ptolemy's rendering **Adeisaga** (*Vaidehaghara* or *Vaideha-grāma*?), although the latter can be more plausibly referred to some word like *Vidiśa* or *Vaidiśā* (*Vaidiśāghar*, *Vaidiśagrāma*), which would appear to survive up to the present day in *Yi-hsi*, the name of the circuit comprising the part of Yünnan in which Yung-ch'ang is situated. Such forms as *Ādisarga* and *Ahisāgara* also suggest themselves to the mind. The latter designation would suit better Ta-ho or Tai-ho, the ancient Tali with its lake, the Êrh-Hai[1]; but the corrected position we obtained by calculation being within a few minutes of that of Yung-ch'ang, we adhere to the above identification, which seems confirmed by Marco Polo's *Ardandan*.

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(4) *The* **Gold Country** (*Lower Burmā*).

Khrysē, that is the **Gold Country** (*Χρυσῆ χώρα*), is situated, according to our author, "in juxtaposition to the **Bēsyngeitai**" or "Cannibals on the **Sarabakic Gulf**," i.e. the Gulf of Martaban. It cannot then be literally taken to correspond to the Suvaṇṇabhūmi of Buddhist fame, except in part, and much less even to include the

[1] Ta-ho or T'ai-ho, the ancient name of a city near Tali, seems to me a Chinese transliteration of *Deha*, i.e. *Vaideha*. If so, the Tali lake would be called *Vaideha-saras* or *Vaideha-sāgara*, which could easily become in vulgar parlance *Vadei-sāga* and *Adei-sāga*. Its Siāmese name is ทะเล แส้ the *Sē* lake. Another name for the Tali lake was *Mi-hai*, from the *Mi* or *K'un-mi*, a people dwelling on its shores and who were conquered by the Chinese general Chwang-k'iao in B.C. 315. From them the territory about the Tali lake became known as the country of the *Mi*. With this designation is undoubtedly connected the classical name *Mithilā*, which was given to that territory as part of *Videha*, i.e. Western Yünnan.

whole of Indo-China as exaggerated by some authorities;[1] and has nothing whatever to do with the Malay Peninsula or **Golden Khersonese** (*Χρυσῆς Χερσονήσου*), with which it has been so often confused. According to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, engraved by order of King Dhammacetī of Pegu in A.D. 1476, Suvaṇṇabhūmi was an alternative name for Rāmaññadesa[2] which comprised the three provinces of Kusima-maṇḍala (Bassein or Kusuma), Haṁsavatī-maṇḍala (Pegu proper), and Muttima-maṇḍala (Martaban). Suvaṇṇabhūmi thus embraced the maritime region between Cape Negrais and the mouth of the Salwīn; where, as we have seen, the Rāmāyaṇa places the city of Timira, abounding with gold; and corresponds therefore to the country that our author terms **Coast of the Bēsyngeitai.** The *hinterland* of this region was named Suvaṇṇāparanta, a designation usually syncopated into Sunāparanta or Soṇṇāparanta, the "Further Golden Land," and, according to the Po-U-Daung inscription,[3] included the districts of Kalē, Teinnyin, Yaw, Tilin, Salin, and Sagu; that is, the country between the Lower Irāvatī and Chindwīn, and the Arakan Roma; but it evidently must have extended of old down to the head of the Delta, and east of the Irāvatī as far as the Pegu Roma and the Sittang River, thus embracing the whole of Lower Burmā then subject to the sway of the kings of Prome and New Pagan. It is then this *hinterland* now referred to that must be identified by coincidence, both in name and position, with Ptolemy's "Gold Land" or **Khrysē Khōra**;

[1] "It would be difficult to define where Ptolemy's Chrysê (Chrysê Chōra aut Chrysê Chersonnesus) terminated eastward, though he appears to give the names a special application to what we call Burma and Pegu. . . . . Chrysê then, in the vague apprehension of the ancients, ... was the region coasted between India and China. It is most correctly rendered by 'Indo China.'"—Colonel Henry Yule, quoted in the preface to Colquhoun's "Across Chrysê."

[2] "Soṇatherañ pana Uttaratherañca *Suvaṇṇabhūmiraṭṭha-saṅkhāta-Rāmaññadese* sāsanaṁ patiṭṭhāpetuṁ pesesi." [And sent Soṇathera and Uttara to establish the Religion in *Rāmañña-desa, which was also named Suvaṇṇabhūmi.*]—Taw Sein Ko's "Kalyāṇī Inscriptions," Bombay, 1893.

[3] "The Po-U-Daung Inscription erected by King Sinbyuyin in 1774 A.D.," Rangoon, 1891.

and not the maritime region below. Our author's statement that there are "very many gold-mines" would then find some confirmation in fact, as would also that with respect to its inhabitants resembling the **Zamīrai** in features, which we have already discoursed at length in a preceding paragraph.

Mareura or **Malthura**, a metropolis (55).

This capital I take to be Old Prome, founded, according to Burmese tradition, five to six miles east of its modern namesake, about 443 B.C. Its ancient name appears to have been Śrī-Kṣetra, and not Śrī-kṣatra, as I see generally written; it was the seat of a dynasty up to 95 A.D., when the monarchy was broken up. The last king fled to Mengdūn, which he founded on one of the bends of the Ma-htūn River, *circa* A.D. 100, naming it Bhūmavatī. Here he tarried for a while, and finally he founded the city of Lower Pagan in 108 A.D. Mengdūn and the Ma-htūn River, on which it was built, remind us, by their resemblance in names, of Ptolemy's **Malthura**; and I have no objection against admitting their probable identity. I firmly hold, however, that **Mareura** cannot be any other city than Old Prome. As regards the discrepancy of names between the two, I may remark that this is only apparent, and disappears as soon as it can be demonstrated that **Mareura Metropolis** means the Maurya's or Mayūra's capital. It is known, in fact, that the dynasty which reigned at Old Pagan claimed descent from the Maurya or Mayūra monarchy of Magadha, and that it settled first at a place east of the Irāvatī, which it named Maurya, situated in about long. 96° 35′, lat. 23° 55′, between Tagōng and Bhamo. The northern part of the Kubo valley, in the Upper Chindwīn district, which is the direct route from Maṇipur towards Burmā, by which the founders of that dynasty must have arrived, is likewise, according to Sir A. Phayre, called Maurya; and is referred to as a district under the name of Mwêyin, its Burmese equivalent, in the Po-U-Daung inscription. Every subsequent dynasty that

reigned in Burmā claimed descent from the Mauryas or Mayūras through the princes who founded Tagōng and Old Pagan; hence the Burmese kings placed the peacock (*Mayūra*) on their coat-of-arms, and this bird became the national emblem of the country Burmā. It appears, therefore, natural that Old Prome, being founded by a scion of those princes who, only some fifty years before, had settled at and given their name to Maurya, should be called the Mauryas' or Mayūras' capital, which Ptolemy recorded as **Mareura**. The position we obtained by calculation: long. 96° 20′, lat. 18° 42′, agrees very well with Old Prome, which is in about long. 95° 25′, lat. 18° 47′. Mengdūn is another degree further to the west. It may be objected that Old Prome ceased to be a capital in 95 A.D., and that therefore **Mareura Metropolis** must mean either Mengdūn or Lower Pagan, which succeeded it as such in A.D. 100 and 108 respectively. But it seems hardly possible that Ptolemy—reputed to have published his Geography about A.D. 150—could, in those days of slow travelling and difficulty of obtaining information, receive news of the change, and accurate data as to the site of the new seat of government, in such a brief lapse of time. He might, at best, have received intelligence of the removal of the capital to the neighbouring Mengdūn on the Ma-htūn River, which would explain the alternative name **Malthura** (= *Mathurā*?), which he gives evidently as a later addition. But as to Lower Pagan having been meant, it is out of the question, as this city is some 2½ degrees of latitude further north, and could thus never correspond to the position that our author assigns to **Mareura**. It seems, therefore, clear that the latter name is intended for Old Prome, the capital of the Maurya, or Mayūra, kings of Burmā.

Before dropping this subject, I may, however, make bold to suggest another interpretation of the term **Mareura**, which might, in the end, prove the right one. This term, it seems to me, is connected with *Marammā* or *Mranmā*, the name of Burmā and its people. There is a great difference of opinion as to the origin of such an appellation;

but there is no doubt that Sir A. Phayre's theory of its derivation from Brahma is untenable, and must be dismissed on two grounds. The first—based on negative evidence, and already referred to by several scholars—is, that the Burmese, in their lithic records and literary works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, make use of the barbarous appellation *Marammā* to designate themselves or their country, which they would never have done had they known that their national name was derived from Brahma. The second—based on positive evidence gathered by myself, and not referred to as yet anywhere as far as I know—is, that Maramma derives from *Mra* or *Mara*, which is the real ancient name for Burmā and its people. Already in a former page I noticed the form *Marai*, or *Marai Mañ*—evidently designating the natives of Burmā—which appears in a Cām inscription of A.D. 1207. I may now add that the Lāu (Shāns) even up to the present day call the Burmese *Māns* or *Māras*, and in several old manuscript chronicles of Upper Lāos I find Burmā and its king usually referred to as *Māra-raṭṭha* and *Māra-rāja* respectively. *Māra* is the Lāu, and *Mara* the Pāḷi, modified garb of the name; its correct and original native form is evidently *Mra*. That this was the ancient designation for the Burmese race, would appear from the fact that the *Mro*, *Mra*, or *Mru*, said to be the pioneers of that race in the Chindwīn valley and Arakan, are called after it. *Mru* or *Mro* is, up to the present day, the Mro word for 'man.' Its actual Burmese equivalent, *yo* or *yok* (ယော, ယောက်), is probably a derivation or corruption of *Mro*, explicable by the softening of the *r* into *y* as usual with Burmese, and by the dropping of the initial *m* customary in languages which, like Burmese, possess a monosyllabic tendency. The curtailed form *yo* is still the name of the Yo (commonly spelled Yau or Yaw by Europeans) branch of the Burmese race. *Mro*, or rather *Mra*, was therefore the original name that the ancestors of the Burmese gave themselves, or were given by the neighbouring populations, and meant

simply 'a man.' This is quite in accord with the custom prevailing in nearly all wild countries where the inhabitants are in the majority of cases named after their own word for man. In the course of time the affix *mā* was no doubt added for euphony, and the name of the nation became thus *Mramā*, classicized into *Mrammā* and *Marammā*. Burmese pronunciation is responsible for the peculiar forms *Myammā*, *Byammā*, and *Bammā*, misled by which most authorities on Burmā and its language concluded that the original name of the country or race was *Mien*, and in some instances were even ingenuous enough as to accept the native stupendous fad of a derivation from *Brahma*. I am perfectly convinced that the euphonic form *Mrammā* only came into use after the introduction of Buddhism and of the Pāḷi language into the country. Up to that period the name of the race must have been simply *Mra* or *Mro*, just as it is up to the present day with that portion of their kin which still dwell in a quasi-primitive state in the hill tracts of Arakan. And it is very likely in such forms of these terms as *Mara*, *Marai*, *Mru*, or *Maru*—and in the corresponding designations of the country as *Mara-raṭṭha* or *Maru-raṭṭha*, contracted by the vulgar into *Mara-rāth*, *Maru-rāth*—that the origin of Ptolemy's **Mareura** or *Marura* is to be sought for. This view, if correct, would be in antagonism with the tradition which locates at Prome the Phyū and not the Mro, and would credit the ancestors of the modern Burmese with a far more ancient footing in the country than the historical records of the latter lead us to assign them. It may be observed, on the other hand, that the foregoing discussion has been based throughout on the assumption that the Mro belong, as asserted by several authorities on Burmā, to the Tibeto-Burman stock from which the present Burmese are descended. Is this absolutely certain? Or, may not these *Mro* or *Mru* be the modern representatives of the ancient *Phyū* or *Brū* of tradition, and therefore may they not belong to the Mōn-Khmer race? Here is a doubtful point which requires to be thoroughly cleared up ere an ultimate judgment can be expressed. The

phonetic transition from *Brū* to *Mrū* is just as easy in Indo-Chinese languages as it was the inverse one from *Mrammā* to *Brammā*. In the event of the *Mro* or *Mrū* proving to be identical with the *Phyū* or *Brū*, it is to these people of Mōñ-Khmer blood that the origin of the names for Burmā, as *Mara-raṭṭha*, etc., will have to be ascribed, and not to the later settlers of Tibeto-Burman stock. These latter would owe their present name of Burmese to the land in which they came to reside, just as several branches of the Thai race are indebted for their name of *Shān*, i.e. Siāmese, to the fact of their having occupied a country originally known as Siām which had been likewise held, prior to them, by populations of Mōñ-Khmer extraction.

The pretended descent of the early kings of Burmā from the Maurya or Mayūra dynasty of Magadha is probably another fiction similar to that by which an origin of the people from Brahma, or from the Brahma angels, is claimed. It is nevertheless certain that kings of Indū lineage reigned for some time at Tagōng and Pagan, and probably at Kalē and Prome as well.

Be that as it may, the term **Mareura** used by Ptolemy to designate the capital of Lower Burmā, finds adequate explanation in either of the two versions given above.

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(5) *Coast of the* **Bēsyngeitai** *and* **Sarabakic Gulf** (*Gulf of Martaban*).

This region includes the coast from **Cape Tēmala** (Negrais) to **Bērabai** (Mergui); that is, the country of the Mōñ or Taleng usually termed Rāmañña and anciently, as shown above, Suvaṇṇabhūmi. How Ptolemy could have called this people **Bēsyngeitai**, qualifying them as cannibals into the bargain, and their gulf, our present Gulf of Martaban, the **Sarabakic** or **Sarabaric Gulf**, has hitherto been a puzzle to his commentators. These have always endeavoured to get out of the difficulty by connecting the former name with Bassein, which ingenious artifice we have shown to be untenable; and by passing over in

silence the name of the gulf. But we think that both terms can be easily explained, and reserving any further discussion of the first one to the paragraph devoted to **Bēsynga**, we shall confine ourselves for the present to the second only. The epithet **Sarabakic**, the more correct reading of which is certainly **Sarabaric**, is given to this gulf from the Salwīn River, the Pāḷi classical name for which is, as I find variously recorded in several palm-leaf MSS., *Saravarī*, *Sāravarī*, and *Sarasvatī*. The present vulgar forms Sanluen and Salwīn are only corruptions of *Sallavarin* and *Saravarin*. The mouth of this river being situated at the head of the gulf, it is natural that the gulf should be named after the river, just as it is now named after the town of Martaban, which occupies the same position. A remnant of the ancient name *Saravārika* or *Sarabarik*, borne by this gulf and the country along its shores, is, perhaps, to be found in the district and town called up to the present day Sārava or Sārāvatī, usually noted in maps as Tharrawaddy, situated at the head of the delta of the Irāvatī; and the name of Syriam (*Sriêng*, *Sanlīeng*) is probably another instance of the wide application of that term to the whole extent of the gulf.[1]

With regard to the statement that the inhabitants were cannibals, it is in accordance with the tradition of the *Rākṣasas*, said to have once populated the coast and islands of this gulf. It cannot be held, however, that this statement applied to the whole extent of its shores. The tracts inhabited by cannibal tribes were probably to be found in the Martaban district alone, and in the islands near the mouth of the Salwīn, one of which still retains the name of *Bhilū-gyun*, meaning the island of the *Rākṣasas*, or Ogres. The Peguan (Talaing) chronicles record that, previous to the foundation of the town of Martaban (A.D. 576), that district was covered with impenetrable forests. As regards cannibal — or, at least,

[1] Barago Point may also preserve in its name a vestige of the ancient appellation of the (*Sara*)*barik* Gulf.

head-hunting — tribes, they exist to this very day, not a long distance up the Salwīn, and are known as the Wild Wahs (more correctly Lawās). Those inhabiting the region of the gulf in the early days were probably, as I already observed, of a Negrito race not dissimilar to the present Andamanese. They may be identified with the *Chiau-yau* (Negrito pygmies), spoken of by Chinese writers as dwelling beyond the Yung-ch'ang borders. [It is curious to note that the term *chiau*, meaning 'scorched, burnt,' has in Chinese the same sense as the Greek *Aithiops*, and sounds almost the same in the old Chinese pronunciation, which, as in modern Annamese, is *tieu*.]

Sabara, a city (56).

From similarity of names this city would appear to correspond to Syriam, with which I identified it at the outset, misled by a regrettable error in its longitude which appears in the pages of the "British Burma Gazetteer."[1] But if we take the mart of **Bēsynga** to be the present Rangūn, as I am now strongly inclined to believe, the site of **Sabara** must then be looked for to the westward of the Rangūn River, somewhere about Dala, now called the An-gyī district. Here, on the site of the present Twantē, stood the ancient city of Ukkalaba (Utkalāpa), at one time capital of a Taleng (Kalinga) kingdom extending over the delta of the Irāvatī, frequently mentioned in the old native records. The position of Twantē (long. 96° 0′ 30″ E.; lat. 16° 41′ 30″ N.) admirably coincides with the corrected position of **Sabara** (long. 95° 55′ E.; lat. 16° 18′ N.). Near Twantē is the small village of Khabeng, which also marks the site of an old city classically known as *Kappuṅga-nagara*; and the Meruda Hill on which stands the famous Shwē-tshandaw pagoda, said to have been built in 577 B.C. (!) by the then king of Khabeng. The term **Sabara** might represent the Sanskrit *Śabara* or *Śavara*, meaning 'a mountaineer, a savage,' like the term *Kirāta*

[1] Vol. ii, p. 672. Here the longitude is given as 96° 19′ E., while it should be something like 96° 39′ E. I believe I have met with a repetition of this same error on another page, the number of which I regret not having noted down for future reference.

referred to elsewhere. This epithet may have been applied to the city under the impression that the city itself, or the surrounding country, was at one time peopled by wild tribes, probably of Kolarian stock like the *Śavaras*, found up to the present day in the hill tracts of the coast of Orissa on the other side of the Bay of Bengal. The presence on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban and in a district probably named after *Utkala*, i.e. Orissa, of such tribes, would perhaps explain certain affinities which have been traced between the Kolarian and Mōñ (Taleng) languages, and which have hitherto puzzled the philologist. The Śavaras of Orissa are referred to by Ptolemy as **Sabarai**.

The probability of tribes by the name of *Śabara* or *Śavara* having, at a remote time, occupied the region in question, is further enhanced by the fact that several Chinese writers speak of a people by the name of *Chu-po* or *Shu-po* who, they state, were the early inhabitants of the whole or part of the country known as *P'iao* at a later period. Now, *P'iao-kuo*—i.e. the kingdom of *P'iao* or of the *P'iao* people—is located by all the Chinese authorities at between two and three thousand *li* to the south-west of Yung-ch'ang; and it is made to border, on the north and north-east upon the *Nan-Chao* (Thai) States of Upper Burmā and Northern Siām; on the east upon *Chên-la* (Kamboja); and on the south upon the sea (Gulf of Martaban). It is therefore evident that by *P'iao* the tract of country now called Lower Burmā must be understood; and very likely *P'iao-kuo* is meant for *Pago*, i.e. Pegu, which existed, though interruptedly, as a powerful kingdom, including the whole—and at times more—of the present Lower Burmā, down to the dawn of the seventeenth century A.D.

Even admitting with Mr. E. H. Parker that *P'iao* designates the *Phyū*, a tribe said by the local tradition to have settled since about 484 B.C. in the country of which Old Prome was the capital—and elsewhere identified by me with the *Prū*, *Brū*, or *Brao* branch of the Mōñ-Khmer race—the term *P'iao-kuo* would still apply to Lower Burmā, the region which, from its having formed part of the

ancient Trikaliṅga empire, early became known as the *Talaing* (*Triliṅga, Teliṅga*)—changed afterwards into *Pegu*—kingdom, while its people, Mōñ-Khmer by blood, were thereby designated *Talaings* and *Peguans*, as they were called *Mōñ*, or *Mañ*, and *Rāmañ* (*Rāmaññas*) from *Rāmaññadesa*, the name applied later on to their country or the part of it which skirted the Gulf of Martaban.

The earliest Chinese notices of *P'iao* go back to the time of the Wei and Tsin (A.D. 220–440);[1] *Chu-po* or *Shu-po* as a name of a country or people must be referred to a far earlier date. In the Hsi-yü-ch'uan, published during the T'ang period (A.D. 618–907), the country of *Shu-po* is spoken of as having been simply a portion of the *P'iao* kingdom.[2] The fact that *P'iao* was, according to Chinese accounts, conquered at least twice by the Nan-Chao, viz. in A.D. 755–757 under their king Ko-lo-fêng and in A.D. 832 under Fêng-yü, compared with the circumstance that from the very same period—or, exactly, from A.D. 781 according to the Talaing chronicles—and for the subsequent four centuries the history of Pegu presents a blank, indirectly corroborates our identification of *P'iao-kuo* with Pegu besides disclosing the probable reason for that blank. During those intervening centuries the kingdom of Pegu, i.e. *P'iao*, must have been broken up into petty states subject for the most part to Shān (Thai) rule,[3] until conquered in A.D. 1057 by King

[1] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 228–9.

[2] Ibid., p. 228, note 3.

[3] This assumption is well borne out by the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions, wherein it is said that during the period now under consideration "the power of Rāmaññadesa declined, because civil dissensions arose and *the extensive country was broken up into separate principalities*, because the people suffered from famine and pestilence, and because, to the detriment of the propagation of the excellent religion, *the country was conquered by the armies of the Seven Kings*" (Taw Sein Ko, op. cit., pp. 7 and 37). The late Dr. Forchhammer thought ("Notes on the Early History of British Burma," ii, p. 10) that by the *sattarājasenāya*—"the armies of the Seven Kings"—the seven clan chiefs of the Taungthūs (*Tōngsū*) were meant, who harassed the Talaings by their constant inroads. This must have happened, he says, in the ninth or tenth century A.D. Taw Sein Ko (in his "Remarks on the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions," reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*, pp. 9, 10) seems to share that opinion, though making the Karens and Yabêns also take part in those incursions of the Taungthūs. It is evident, however, from the facts we quoted above, that the conquest of the Seven Kings must be mainly ascribed to Shān (Thai) chiefs of Upper Burmā, while it is possible that the latter may have had the co-operation of chiefs of local clans, such as the Taungthūs, etc.

Anuruddha of Pagan. The country then remained for a time under Burmese power; but after 1281 it partially recovered its independence under Warêrū, king of Martaban, and his descendants; while the sway of the Thai race was reasserted, and became almost general in both Upper and Lower Burmā.

In A.D. 802 the king of *P'iao* sent, it is true, according to Ma Tuan-lin and others, his younger brother to do homage to the Chinese Emperor; but the fact that this mission followed in the train of the embassy despatched to the same potentate by the king of Nan-Chao well shows that the so-called *P'iao* king was, at best, but a vassal *tsaw-bwā* of the powerful Thai empire which then ruled supreme over most part of Northern Indo-China.

Once the fact established that *P'iao* embraced in the early days the region at present known as Lower Burmā, it is not illogical to infer that the whole or part of this region was originally occupied by a people probably of Kolarian race, identical, or nearly so, with the *Śabaras* or *Śavaras* of Orissa, and whose name was rendered by the Chinese with the characters 朱 波, which may be read either *Chu-po* or *Shu-po*. This people, driven towards the Gulf in about 484 B.C. by the Phyū advancing from Kalē and Prome, may have founded near its shores a settlement named after them, which is very likely the one recorded by Ptolemy as **Sabara.**

Bēsynga River (58, 187).

This stream may correspond either to the Salwīn or to the Hlaing (an eastern branch of the Irāvatī) which flows past the town of Rangūn. The greater share of probability rests with the Hlaing or the Irāvatī itself, on account of the name **Bēsynga** being evidently derived from the *Śṛṅga* or *Siṅguttara* Hill of Rangūn. It must be remembered, however, that the Irāvatī and the Salwīn have, in nearly every instance, been merged into one river by cartographers even up to the middle of the last century. A glance at the maps of Gueudeville and his predecessors

will be useful as showing in what a muddle the geography of the Gulf of Martaban was even at that period, and will give some hint as to what Ptolemy's conception of that region must have been.

Bēsynga, a mart (57).

The position of this settlement, as given by Ptolemy, is to the north-west of the mouth of the **Bēsynga** River. At the outset of my researches I was strongly inclined to identify that river with the Salwīn and the homonymous city with Tha-htūn (*Sathöm*), the ancient *Saddhamma-nagara*, which was so celebrated of old as a mart in that neighbourhood, and which may have been termed, in its early days, *Sīṅha-pura* or *Vara-sīṅha-nagara*, from the fact of its having been founded by a prince named Sīṅha-rājā.[1] I have, however, since acquired the conviction that Ptolemy's **Bēsynga** can hardly designate any other place but the settlement on the Hlaing near the *Sīṅguttara* Hill, which has of later days grown into the town now called Rangūn. Various names are recorded in native chronicles for the villages that clustered, from high antiquity, round the celebrated hill; but it seems only natural that these, as well as the territory upon which they stood, should collectively be named in the first instance from the hill itself. The existence on the latter, and from a very ancient time, of a shrine supposed to contain relics of Buddha, which has subsequently developed into the present monumental Shwē Dagon pagoda, is confirmed by recent researches, especially by those of Dr. Forchhammer. The original shrine was a small spire, termed the *Sīṅguttara-cetī*. The surrounding territory was, and is up to the present day, known to the Burmese as the *Tsiṅgkutsā* (their pronunciation for *Sīṅguttara*) country. A palm-leaf manuscript that I had occasion to examine, containing

[1] As an example I may refer to the old capital of Kalinga, which was at first called *Sīṅha-pura* after its founder, Sīṅha-bāhu, the father of Vijaya, the first recorded sovereign of Ceylon. See Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," p. 518.

a legendary account of the Shwē Dagon pagoda written in Pegu, tries to explain the Burmese form of that name by a legend to the effect that on that spot a centipede devoured an elephant. This is very well, and speaks volumes for the inventive genius of the Buddhist priests, always ready to concoct strange etymologies and stranger stories to support them, but the name is decidedly Pāḷi. The hillock on which the spire stands was probably known in the early days simply as a *Śṛṅga*, i.e. 'peak' or 'height'; to which name the prefix *vara*, indicating excellence, was probably added later on account of its sacred character. *Vara-śṛṅga*, the excellent or splendid peak, would thus become the general appellation for the hill and neighbouring territory, and which, corrupted by vulgar parlance into *Var-siṅga* or *Bar-siṅga*, may well represent Ptolemy's **Bēsynga**. A second explanation of this term may be suggested, based on the fact that *Bī* is the Mōñ (Talaing) word for 'river.' The Hlaing, from the fact of its flowing past the *Śṛṅga* Hill, may have been called the *Bī-śṛṅga*, i.e. "the *Śṛṅga*-Hill River," and the mart near the famed spire may thence have received the name of "*Bī-śṛṅga* Mart," viz. "the Mart of the *Śṛṅga*-Hill River." The position of Rangūn, to the north and a little to the west of the mouth of the Hlaing, well suits the location which our author assigns to **Bēsynga** with respect to the mouth of the homonymous river. The reasons given in a preceding paragraph, and the fact that Ptolemy places both his mart and river high up in the gulf (nearly 5° long. to the east of **Cape Tēmala**), ought to dispose definitely of their attempted identification with Bassein and its river respectively.

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(6) *The* Golden Khersonese (*Malay Peninsula*).

Marinos of Tyre and Ptolemy are the first to speak of the Malay Peninsula as the **Golden Khersonese**. The geographers that preceded them, among whom Eratosthenes, Dionysius Periegetes, and Pomponius Mela may be named, all refer

to it instead as *Khrysē* or *Chrysê Insula:* the "Golden Isle," — and so does long before them the Rāmāyaṇa, under the name of *Suvarṇa-dvīpa*, which conveys the same meaning. No stress has, so far, been laid on this wide difference in representing that region on the one part as an island and on the other as a peninsula. I believe, therefore, that I am the first to proclaim, after careful consideration, that both designations are probably true, each in its own respective time; that is, that the Malay Peninsula, or rather its southern portion, has been an island before assuming its present highly-pronounced peninsular character. The view I now advance is founded not only on tradition, but also upon geological evidence of no doubtful nature. Having had occasion some years ago, in 1885, to pay a visit to Ligor and its district, where I journeyed some thirty miles away from the coast, I was struck with the curious appearance of the soil, stretching as an undulated sandy plain with occasional sand hillocks and a few ridges of rocky formation but of no relevant height, all these characters stamping that region as a former sea-bottom, which has emerged at a comparatively recent period. Being not at the time interested as yet in the researches which form the subject of the present paper, I did not think of pushing my explorations any further so as to reach the opposite coast of the peninsula; and have, therefore, to depend for what I say in respect to it and the adjoining zone, both to the north and south of the Ligor parallel, on the scanty information I was able to gather of late. This is to the effect that the whole tract of country just mentioned, that is, between Singora and Bān-Dōn on the east coast, across the peninsula to between Kedah and Korbie on the opposite side, presents, with few exceptions, a similar formation. The mountain ridge running along the middle of the peninsula here presents wide gaps where hardly any elevation above 100 feet is noticed. All geological evidences concur in pronouncing most of this country an old sea-bed, probably a former succession of straits interspersed with rocky islands, but through which sea-going ships must have

found passage from one side to the other of the peninsula. There are, indeed, traditions of ships from India and Ceylon having come across that way to the Gulf of Siām; and travelling by boat is still possible at the present day, during the rainy season, nearly all the way between Pāk-lāu and Bān-Dōn, and also, for a good distance, between the Trang province and the inland sea of P'hattalung. The route that connects Kontani, the chief town of the Trang district, with Ligor, crosses the peninsula at a very slight elevation above sea-level, and so will the newly projected railway between Kedah and Singora. If communication is yet so easy at the present day between opposite points of the peninsula, and could, but for the slightly raised barrier opposed by the main ridge, still be effected in one or two places by boat, I do not see why it should not have existed of old for sea-going craft, and why it could not be easily restored by artificial means, thus solving the problem of a ship canal across the Malay Peninsula, which presents so many technical difficulties at the Kra Isthmus. The old channel must have become obstructed partly through sands being heaped up at both ends by the action of the waves, and partly by upheaval or by gradual emersion of the country above sea-level. A gauge of the amount the land has risen within a comparatively recent period is afforded by the numerous limestone caves, evidently the result of sea-action, which are now found, at a height of one hundred feet or more, up the steep slopes of the hills of calcareous formation so frequent along either coast of the peninsula. It is plain that the blocking up of the channel across the latter must have coincided with the emersion of those caves above sea-level; and judging from the detritus of marine shells and recent animal remains forming the floor of some among them, and from other indications, the events just mentioned must have occurred within historical times. The rising movement is still proceeding, as shown in the case of both Ligor and P'hattalung, which, situated formerly on the sea-beach, are now many miles distant from it, and will, in a few years hence, become entirely inland towns.

The last authority to mention Khrysē as an island is, I believe, Pomponius Mela, *circa* A.D. 50.[1] As, less than one hundred years next to him, Marinos and Ptolemy refer to it as a peninsula, the passage across it must have become impracticable soon after the middle of the first century A.D. It is from that period, then, that the island became connected with and formed part of what we now call the Malay Peninsula. The name of **Golden Khersonese**, given the latter, was transferred to it, no doubt, from the island of Khrysē: in fact, it is to be observed that the gold-mines that would justify that appellation are to be found only in its southern portion, that which formed the supposed island; whilst the northern part constituting the old peninsula is noted chiefly for tin, and could never be properly termed a golden land.

In the Purāṇas the Malay Peninsula is called *Śālmali-dvīpa*, and the sea that bounds it on the western side, the *Sura* Sea. But this is, as I have found out, only another name for the *Lohita* or *Śrī-lohita* Sea of the Rāmāyaṇa, which the Arab geographers and navigators transliterated as *Shelaheth*, and the Malays nowadays term *Selat*, or Sea of the Straits. This explains the names of *Celates*, *Salet*, and *Selat*, given to the native inhabitants of its shores.[2]

The term *Śālmali*, justified to a certain extent by the abundance of the silk-cotton trees (*Śālmali=Bombax Malabaricum*) in the low jungles of the coast, is more or less, as in the case of the other *dvīpas* of the Purāṇas, a conventional epithet. I believe it to be a corruption of *Suvarṇa-mālī*; for Siāmese MSS. contain a legend of Buddha having left one of his holy footprints on the shining mount of *Suvarṇamālī-giri* in the Tenasserim province, which I identify with the *Kūṭa-śālmali* peak on whose summit the Rāmāyaṇa places the abode of Vainateya

[1] It is also referred to as an island in the "Periplus Maris Erythraei," whose date has been fixed at *circa* A.D. 89, while the information it is based upon undoubtedly belongs to an older period.

[2] *Celates* in Portuguese authors; *Salet* or *Salettes* in Floris' "Travels." *Selat* is the Malay form from which the terms *Orang laut*, 'seaman,' and *laut*, a general name for the sea, may have been derived; also, I think, *selātan*, 'south.'

(Garuḍa). The name of the peninsula, *Malaya-dvīpa*, mentioned, besides in several MSS., in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Pegu,[1] is evidently connected with the alternative designations Śālmali- and *Suvarṇa-mālī-dvīpa*; and probably was introduced from the Malaya districts of the extreme south of India and Ceylon, the early dark race of which, the descendants of the rude *Rākṣasas*, and their successors the Dravidians, have undoubtedly been the pioneer colonizers not only of the peninsula, but also of the islands and entire sea-coast of Southern Indo-China.

Ptolemy had as yet but a very hazy idea of the orography and hydrography of the **Golden Khersonese**. Having shortened it by about one-third, thus giving it a somewhat rounded shape, he made some rivers rising in unnamed mountain ridges to the north of it to unite and flow through the peninsula, detaching in succession the three streams which he names **Attabas**, **Khrysoanas**, and **Palandas**. His commentators carried this confusion to extreme lengths, and thus my patience was put to severe tests before some order could be evolved out of that chaos. How far I have succeeded, and how much yet remains to be accomplished, the following examination of Ptolemy's position of places on the peninsula will show.

Bērabai, a city.

Ptolemy really makes his **Golden Khersonese** begin with **Takōla** beyond **Cape Bērabai** (Boyce's Point), and end at **Balongka**, after which the region of the **Lēstai** (Gulf of Siām) commences.

His displacement of the base, or point of attachment, of the peninsula so far south is evidently due to his underestimate of the deep incavation northward of the upper part of the Gulf of Siām, which he does not carry beyond the 11th parallel of true North latitude. Hence **Bērabai** and the cape beyond it, which, according to his notion, do not as yet make part of

[1] Wherein it is stated that in A.D. 1181, or thereabouts, Rāhulathēra left *Rāmaññadesa* and proceeded by ship to *Malayadīpa*, whose king he instructed in the *Vinaya*.

the peninsula, are included under this heading here, and treated on with the other places that in Ptolemy's treatise are located in the Golden Khersonese.

The identity of Bērabai with Mergui has been already demonstrated, on geographical grounds, in the first part of this paper. It now remains to deal with it from a purely philological and historical point of view. This is, however, no easy task; for, though it is known that Mergui is a very ancient town, and the famous seaport of Tenasserim, of which it is older by many centuries, nothing has come down to us of its early history. Captain Butler, after stating that in Burmese the district is called *Myatmyo*, but pronounced *Beitmyo*, proceeds to explain this term as follows:— "The word *myat* literally means a fringe or border, and was probably given as a name to the Mergui district from its forming the outer fringe or border of the Burmese dominions. How such a name came to be transposed into English as Mergui, I have been unable to discover, nor can I even suggest an explanation." [1] Here is darkness, and in it we would ever remain were we content to accept the fanciful etymologies, thoroughly unscientific and illogical—based, as they are, on mere phonetical coincidences and similarities—that satisfy the unpretentious natives of the Far East, and form the legitimate pride of their ignorant inventors, generally, as we have remarked, amateur chroniclers, and Buddhist monks of great leisure and ingenuity, but of no philological training whatever. If we investigate the etymology given above, we shall soon find that *amyit*, and not *myit*, is the Burmese for a fringe; and that the name of Mergui, though pronounced *myit* and *byit*, is really written *mrit*. This spelling is quite in accordance with the Siāmese form of the name, มฤท *mārit*, which represents the Saṇskrit *Mṛtsā* and *Mṛttikā*, and the Pāḷi *Mattikā*, meaning earth, clay, mud.

[1] "Gazetteer of the Mergui District," p. 1; by Captain J. Butler. Rangoon, 1884.

There is not the slightest doubt as to this being the correct derivation of the name for Mergui; but I shall go a step further, and suggest that the above is but its abridged form, and that it should be identified with the seaport *Rakta-mṛttikā* (red earth) mentioned in the Sanskrit inscription found in the northern part of province Wellesley, and translated by Dr. Kern, who fixes its date at about A.D. 400.[1] The eminent scholar was inclined to recognize in that name the port called *Ch'ih-t'u* by the Chinese, which name also means Red-earth, and is generally taken to denote Siām, or some ancient harbour on the Siāmese coast. I do not contest this view, but as there are several places named in the same manner, both in the Gulf of Siām and the Malay Peninsula—among which I might mention *Tānah-mērah* (the Malay name for Red-earth), a point on the west coast of the peninsula a little to the north of Koḥ (or Pulo) Lantar[2]—I hold on to my identification of *Rakta-mṛttikā* with Mergui, also because of the latter being situated on the same side of the peninsula as Province Wellesley, where the inscription was found, and not very far from it. There is, moreover, evidence of other places on the same coast having names of which the word *mṛttikā* or its Pāḷi equivalent form part. As an instance I might point out *Goḷa-mattika-nagara* (the present Ayethèma), mentioned in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Pegu as having been so called because it contained "many mud-and-wattle houses resembling those of the *Goḷa* people."[3] All evidence, including the red appearance of the soil, seems therefore to be in favour of Mergui; hence I take the latter to be the ancient and famous harbour of *Raktamṛttikā*, or, at least, *Mṛttikā*, the origin of its present name, *Mṛit* or *Măṛit*.

But it remains yet to show how Ptolemy's name for it, **Bērabai**, can be explained and accounted for. Up to the present day the island of the Mergui Archipelago opposite

[1] See "Essays relating to Indo-China," vol. i, pp. 224, 225, 234.
[2] Another strip of land of the same name is situated in proximity to Cape Rachado, in the Negri Sembilan district, further down the peninsula.
[3] Taw Sein Ko's "Kalyāṇī Inscriptions," p. 6.

Mergui is named *Pa-ree-kywon*[1] (i.e. the *Pari* island). Here is to be found, I think, the origin of Ptolemy's name for Mergui. In fact, by early Indū colonists and navigators such as dotted all these coasts with Sanskrit names, any harbour or refuge for ships behind the island of Pari would be called *Pari-abhaya*, that is, Pari's protection or safe place; which, by rule of *sandhi*, would become contracted into *Paryabhaya*, vulgarly pronounced as *Parabbhaya*, whence **Bērabai**. But even independently of the name of the island, *Pari*, Ptolemy's term might be explained as *Parābhaya*, the opposite or further (place of) safety, i.e. harbour, speaking either in reference to the coast of India, whence the ships crossed to the Malay Peninsula, or in relation to the *Pari* or other island of the Mergui Archipelago.[2] I think this district to be the *Pāribhadra* region placed in Śālmala-dvīpa (Malay Peninsula) by the Purāṇas.

As regards the present European name for Mergui, it presents, in my opinion, much less difficulty. By looking at the European maps of Further India that appeared from the second part of the sixteenth to the first part of the eighteenth century, we find that town successively noted as: *Mirgira* (A.D. 1580), *Mirgim* (Van Langren, 1595), *Mergi* (Janssonius, 1638), *Mirgin* (Père Placide, 1684), *Mergui* (Gueudeville, 1713). We see that the form

[1] "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 477, s.v. 'Pā-ree-kywon.'

[2] *Varābhaya*, i.e. 'excellent protection,' might also be suggested, which, by the usual change of *v* into *b*, would become also *Barābhaya*. In the Palatine Law-Code of Ayuthia, promulgated in A.D. 1360, among the Southern States tributary to Siām, is mentioned that of ורורך (*Varavārī*), hitherto unidentified, which might turn up to be identical with **Bērabai**. The transition from *Varavārī* through *Barabārī* is quite possible.

In the account of Ike Mese, translated by Groeneweldt and published in "Essays relating to Indo-China," vol. i, 2nd series, p. 154, it is stated that "in the year 1272 he [Ike Mese] was sent by the emperor across the sea as an envoy to the kingdom Pa-lo-p'ei; he came back in 1274, bringing with him people of this country, who carried precious articles and a letter of tribute." The translator makes no attempt at identifying Pa-lo-p'ei. It seems to me that **Bērabai** may well be the place meant, which was at the time a petty State tributary to Siām.

Mergui immediately succeeded the form *Mirgin*; just as on the opposite coast of the peninsula, in the upper part of the Gulf of Siām, the reverse happened for the name of Cape Kui, previously written *Cui*, and which was afterwards changed in the maps into *Cape Cin*, by a simple transposition of the dot on the *i*. Thus *Mirgin* or *Mergin* could easily become Mergui. It must be admitted that there is a funny side also to the apparently dry and stern science of geography. As to the early names *Mirgira* and *Mergi*, they originated from the Mōñ (Taleng) form of Maṛit, which is also written *Mrik*, and could thus easily become *Mrig*, *Mirg*, etc.

The main line of communication between Mergui and the opposite coast of the peninsula was, and is, by the *Kháu Mŏn* (Pillow-mount) pass, termed by the Burmese *Mō-dong* (Tired hill), which is about 750 feet above sea-level. This track, as I ascertained myself *in loco*, was once practicable to bullock-carts, and remained so up to the end of the last century. It reaches the Gulf of Siām a little below Kui, the famous *Cin* spoken of above.

Takōla, a mart (79).

Several places of a similar name existed along the western coast of the Malay Peninsula and in the Malay Archipelago. We have in the first instance a *Taik-kulā*, or *Takkula*, near the present Ayetthèmà (Ayetthīma), in the Sittōng subdivision of the Shwegyin district. This Taik-kulā is the corrupted form of the name of the ancient Goḷa-mattika-nagara referred to in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions.[1] It appears in early Portuguese maps as *Tagalla*. Professor Forchhammer considered it to be a foundation of the Gauḍas, from Northern Bengal; whence its name, formed out of the corresponding Pāḷi term Goḷa. But this seems by no means certain. In some MSS., in fact, the Pāḷi name of

[1] *Taik* in Mōñ (Taleng) and in Burmese, like *Tŭk* in Siāmese, means a masonry building in general; but, more properly, a loam, earth, or brick structure, thus conveying in some measure the same sense as the Pāḷi *mattikā*.

Taik-kulā is written *Gulāmattikā* and *Kulāmattikā*. Now, *Kulā*, as we have already remarked, is a term applying to Dravidians, and designating more especially the dark people of Malabar and Coromandel. *Gulā* is the name which the Siāmese give the Taungthūs (*Tôngsū*), still so numerous about Ayetthèmà and Thatôn, which country they claim as their original home. But *Gulā* is probably only a corruption of *Kulā*, and was applied to the Taungthūs simply because of their being held in subjection by the numerous Dravidian (Kalinga and Kola or Cola) colonies on that part of the Gulf of Martaban. The evidence appears, therefore, to be in favour of Taik-kulā having been a foundation of the Kolas or Kalingas, and not of the Gaudas. Its name would then mean "The Kola (or Cola) Buildings."

The second instance is that of a *Tagala* in the Tavoy district, referred to in João de Barros (lib. ix, ch. i) among the seaports of the Malay Peninsula, in a list with the following order: Vagaru, Martaban, Re [Yay], Tagala, Tavai, etc. This *Tagala* is probably *Thagaṛa-myo* (Takkala or Sāgara?), built in 751 A.D. by the Talengs on the western bank of the Tavoy River, and nineteen miles distant from the present Tavoy town, now known as *Myo-houng* or Old Tavoy. Professor Lassen marked it on his map as *Takkala*, at a few miles north of Tavoy.

A *Tagal* on the north coast of Java might be adduced as the next instance, and reference be made also to *Tagāla*, the name of a people and language in the Philippines. It might be interesting to investigate the origin of the last two forms of Takkala, and to determine whether any relationship exists between them and those given above.

The last place in this discussion we have reserved for Ptolemy's Takōla, which, as already mentioned in the first section of this paper, we have identified with a harbour in the district of Takôpa (*Takŭa-pā*), situated probably in the Pāk-chān inlet, near the Kra Isthmus. It seems, however, that the whole region on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, south of that isthmus as far as Papra Strait or further, was, in Ptolemy's time, named Takōla, Takkula, or

Takkala. In fact, the three districts included within its compass are, up to the present day, designated by terms of which the word *Takŭa*, the Siāmese corruption of Takōla or Takkula, forms a part. The three districts alluded to are:

1. *Takŭa-thai*, called also Ranōng district.
2. *Takŭa-pā*, called by Europeans and Malays *Takôpa*, or simply *Kôpa*; generally noted in maps as *Kopah*.
3. *Takŭa-thùng*, termed also the *P'hang-ngā* (in Malay, *Panga* or *Punga*) district.

This shows that *Takŭa*, or, anciently, Takōla, Takkula, or Takkala, was the generic name for the whole region. *Takŭa* in Siāmese means a black metal, and is indiscriminately employed to designate either lead or tin. Its allied word *Takô* still enters to form part of terms used to indicate something of black colour. Thus, *Tòn-takô* designates a tree with a black bark; *Dam-takô* means a black colour; and *Hin-takô*, *Thab-takô*, *Nin-takô* denote respectively a black stone, hut, jewel. My contention is that both the terms *takŭa* and *takô* originate from the Sanskrit *kāla* or some of its South Indian derivates, corrupted into *kŭa* and *kô*, and prefixed with the particle *ta*, or *tak*, as done for many other words in Siāmese and other Indo-Chinese languages.

The Sanskrit *kāla* is usually explained as meaning 'black'; but the examples I shall adduce directly will show that Southern Indian and Eastern forms of this word undoubtedly designated also a black metallic ore, more especially of lead or tin. In fact, we find tin or tin-ore mentioned in all early Portuguese writers as *calim* or *calin* (kālin), the name by which it seemed to be known at the time in India and all over the Far East.[1] This term can be traced back to the form

[1] See also Balbi (Venetia, 1590, p. 125): "Tauae [Tavoy], doue nasce assai *calain* in lingua loro, ma in nostra lingua si chiama *Calaia*." Turpin (Hist. du Roy. de Siam, i, p. 214) and Tachard (Second Voyage de Siam) also write *calain*, and say that this metal is the same as tin. Other authors have *câlin*, and believe it to be an alloy of lead and tin. The term *cālin*, or *kālin*, is probably connected with the Western word *galena*. From it the Chinese have made *lien*, which in their language means both 'lead' and 'tin-ore' (see Giles' Chinese Dictionary, s.v. 7,118).

alkali or *al-kalli*, used by Arab geographers and travellers to designate the same metal as early as the ninth century.[1] *Kalïen* is, up to the present day, the name for tin-works in certain parts of the peninsula, such as, for instance, Pērak and Jala.[2] *Kāla* and *Kola* are both Sanskrit names for the planet Saturn, and may, therefore, be connected with either lead or tin; in fact, the former denotes also a kind of plumbago. It is also worthy of remark that the town of Kaulam or Kollam (Quilon) on the Malabar coast is, in the French relation of Oderic of Friuli, published by De Backer,[3] termed *Plumbum*.

All the above considerations tend to show that in Southern India, at least, the terms *kāla* and *kola* were employed to designate either lead or tin, but more especially the latter metal; and that they were spread all over the East under the form of *kālin*, out of which the Arabs made *al-kali* and the Southern Indo-Chinese *kũa* and *kô*, which, by the addition of the prefix *ta*, became transformed into *ta-kũa* and *ta-kô*. Ptolemy's Takōla designates, therefore, a mart and a district rich in tin; and cannot better apply than to the region of the Malay Peninsula under consideration, where tin-mining has been carried on from time immemorial. I have not the slightest doubt that this is the country which Abu Zaid names *Kalah-bār*, and also the peninsula (or island) of *Kalah*, and describes as being eighty parasangs of surface (or length?); as lying about midway on the sea-route between Arabia and China; and as forming the centre of trade for aloes, camphor, sandal-wood, ivory, *al-kali* (i.e. tin, not *lead*),

[1] See Abu Zaid's narrative in Reinaud's "Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans," etc., p. 94; and the translator's notes at pp. lxii, lxxxv of the "Discours préliminaire." Ignoring the facts brought to light by us above, Reinaud translates *alkali* as 'plomb *alcaly*,' whereas it should be 'tin' or 'calin.'

[2] See Journal Straits Branch R.A.S., No. 16, p. 316. Also, "Bangkok Calendar," 1873, p. 119, art. "A visit to the mines of Jala." This famous mining district is situated inland to the south-west of Patāni, and sometimes appears in the maps as Yala. I do not know what authority Professor Keane has for calling it *Jalap* and *Jalo* in the second edition of his "Geography of the Malay Peninsula," etc., 1892, pp. 14–19.

[3] "L'Extrême Orient au Moyen-Âge," p. 99.

ebony, etc.[1] It is here, in fact, that Edrisi and Masaudi place a mine of tin (*al-kali*).[2] The former of these two geographers is said to make of Kalah an island; if so, this may be taken to be the island of Junkceylon (termed in Siāmese *Thalāng* and *C'halāng*), also well known for its richness in tin-ore. But it is doubtful whether an island is meant, as the same word is used in Arabic for both an island and a peninsula. It is easy to see that Abu Zaid's alternative appellation *Kalah-bār*—which may in Arabic be read also *Kolah-bār*[3]—denotes *Ta-kŭa-pā*, i.e. Takôpa, without its prefix, and thus represents the Malay contracted form of the name of the district: *Kôpah* (or *Kôpā*).

As regards Abu Zaid's statement that in his time (851–916 A.D.) Kalah was a dependency of the kingdom of Zabedi (Malay Archipelago), it may be due to the very probable act of **Takōla** being, like Taik-kulā on the coast of Pegu, a foundation of those Kolas or Colas from Southern India who had established colonies all over the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, as well as a very powerful kingdom at Palembang in Sumatra which exercised a nominal suzerainty over them all. In an analogous manner we find it stated in Ma Tuan-lin[4] that *Chu-lien* (Cola or Coromandel) was, in A.D. 1068–1077, tributary to *San-fo-ch'i* (*Śrī-Bhoja*· or Palembang), which shows that at a later period even the mother country itself of those colonists acknowledged in some measure the paramount authority of the empire they had founded in the Archipelago. **Takōla** seems, however, to have attained far greater importance than the cognate settlement Taik-kulā on the coast of Pegu; for in the section devoted to P'iao of the great Chinese cyclopaedia T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng[5] the latter is modestly

[1] Reinaud, op. cit., tome 1, pp. 17, 93, 94.
[2] Ibid., pp. lxii and lxxxv, note.
[3] Ibid., p. lxxxvi.
[4] Hervey de Saint-Denys' translation, ii, p. 586.
[5] Ibid., p. 231, note. The passage above referred to runs as follows:—"Between the kingdoms of *Mi-ch'ên* [Machaim of ancient maps, at the mouth of the Pegu River] and *K'un-lang* [Kāmalaṅkā or Kāmalaṅga] there dwells the tribe of the *Hsiao-k'un-lun* [Little Kolas = Taik-kulā], whose manners do not differ from those of *Mi-ch'ên* [Machaim]. Between the kingdom of *K'un-lang*

referred to as *Hsiao-k'un-lun*, while the former is magnified as *Ta-k'un-lun*, terms which mean respectively "Little *K'un-lun* (Kola)" and "Great *K'un-lun*" settlement, or "Little and Great **Takōla**." *K'un-lun*, we shall demonstrate in the sequel, is a term corresponding to the Burmese and Siāmese *Kulā*, and denoting like it populations of Dravidian race; but, more properly, the Malayas and the Kolas or Colas referred to above. From the last-named people—if not from the abundance of tin-ore as already surmised—the country about **Takōla** may have been termed *Kola-vāra* or

[Kāmalaṅga] and the tribe or city called *Lu-yü* [in Ann. pron. *Luk-vo* = Ligor, the *Lugor* of João de Barros] there is the kingdom termed *Ta-k'un-lun* [Great Kolas = Ptolemy's **Takōla**], more powerful than that of *Mi-ch'ên* [Machaim]. From the royal residence of the *Hsiao-k'un-lun*, marching half a day, one reaches the city of *Mo-ti-p'o* [Martaban], a dependency of the kingdom of P'iao." The identifications between brackets are all my own. *Mi-ch'ên* may also be meant for Bassein, or else for the territory of the ancient **Bēsynga**, without modifying in any way the identifications of the other places named above. I have, however, preferred to suggest *Macham* or *Machaim* as an equivalent for *Mi-ch'ên*, because this place appears noted in most old maps and must therefore have been well known, at least to navigators. Owing to the fact of Macham being at the mouth of the Pegu River, its name seems to have been employed at one time among foreigners to denote Pegu, under the abbreviated form *Chin* or *Cheen*; witness the following passage from the Aín-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl: "Near to this tribe [of *Arkung*, i.e. Arakan] is Pegu, which former writers called *Cheen*, accounting this to be their capital."

As regards the term *Hsiao-k'un-lun*, it evidently applied in particular to Taik-kulā, but in general to the whole territory settled by the Kolas, which probably included also Thatôn. And, judging from the fact that the king of the *Hsiao-k'un-lun* tribe resided at only half a day's march from Martaban, Thatôn may have been the place of his residence, although this statement as to distance should not be taken too literally. The *Hsiao-k'un-lun* tribe mentioned here is, of course, that of the Taungthūs of Thatôn and Ayetthèmà, who inherited the name of *Gulā* or *Kulā* from the ancient Kola settlers that first developed the country.

The remark as to the *Ta-k'un-lun* State being "more powerful than that of *Mi-ch'ên*," and so extensive as to occupy the whole tract of the west coast of the Peninsula between the Kāmalaṅga and Ligor kingdoms—that is, from the Kra Isthmus to Papra Strait or even further—gives the measure of the importance that **Takōla** must have attained, thus justifying our identification of it with the Kalah and the Kalahbār region of the Arabs.

Before concluding this note it may be well to call attention to the fact that the term *Hsiao-k'un-lun* is applied by some Chinese writers also to the island called Pulo Condor by the Malays, owing probably to the latter having been occupied at one time by some Dravidian or Malay settlement; but this insular *Hsiao-k'un-lun*, situated in front of the coast of Cochin-China, has, of course, nothing to do with the continental *Hsiao-k'un-lun* now under discussion, which is so distinctly located near Martaban, and within the territory of *P'iao* or Pegu. Again, the state of *Ta-k'un-lun* is made, by several Chinese authorities, to include the whole of the region anciently colonized by offshoots of the Dravidian race, to wit, the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago and part of Cochin-China; but its boundaries are so clearly defined in the passage quoted above from the T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng as not to need any further discussion.

Kola-bār (as *Malaya-vāra* or *Mala-bār* from the Malayas), whence the *Kalahbār* of the Arab writers. But, whichever be the correct derivation of this term, it will suffice for our purpose to establish its connection with Ptolemy's **Takōla** in order to dispose, before proceeding further, of the view advanced by Walckenaer and other distinguished geographers, that Kalā was to be identified — in spite of the surface (more probably length) of eighty *parasangs* assigned to it in the Arab records — with Kedah. It is clear that if eighty *parasangs* are meant for length, the term Kalah-bār would not denote a mere district or island, but the whole stanniferous region on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, between the mouth of the Salwīn and Junkceylon Island. That this is so would appear from the fact that the sea bounding that portion of the peninsula, and extending up, I have reason to think, to the Gulf of Martaban, was, according to Masaudi, named the "Sea of Kalahbār." This sea I have identified with the *Kālodaka* sea of the Rāmāyaṇa, next to which comes the *Lohita, Śrī-Lohita,* or *Śrī-Lohit* sea, called *Shelaheth* by the Arabs, bounding, as I have already shown, the west coast of Śālmali-dvīpa or the Malay Peninsula as far down as its southern extremity. It would seem, therefore, that the region of Kalahbār, which gives this sea its name, cannot be located at Kedah, which is bathed by the sea of Śrī-Lohit; but must be looked for towards the northern part of the peninsula, where we have placed it. Papra Strait and Junkceylon formed, I think, the boundaries of the two seas of Kalahbār and Shelaheth.

The place I have assigned to the mart of **Takōla** in the neighbourhood of the present Ranōng, and at the mouth, or inside, of the Pāk-chān inlet, suits all requirements enumerated above. The Pāk-chān estuary forms here a splendid harbour, which must have been used by ships from a very early period, since it was the terminus of a much frequented land-route across the Kra Isthmus; while tin-ore abounds in the vicinity, at Malivan, Ranōng, and all over the surrounding country.

Such favourable topographical conditions, coupled with the natural resources of the soil in its immediate vicinity, sufficiently account for the speedy growth of **Takōla** into one of the most thriving emporiums on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and for the renown of its harbour as one of the most spacious, secure, and most frequented by sea-going crafts. A proof of its being already well known from over a century before Ptolemy's time is to be found in the famed Pāḷi work *Milinda Pañhā* (vi, 21), where it is referred to under the form *Takkola* in the following passage: "Just . . . . as a shipowner . . . . will be able to traverse the high seas, and go to *Vaṅga*, or *Takkola*, or *China*, or Sovīra, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Koromandel coast, or *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* . . . ."[1] Professor Rhys Davids has designated[2] Karkoṭa on the coast of India as the probable place corresponding to the *Takkola* of the text; but I think it quite certain that Ptolemy's **Takōla** is meant. This appears from the place itself assigned to *Takkola* in the list of countries and seaports named: first the text mentions those situated on the sea-route to the east, to wit *Vaṅga* (Bengal), *Takkola*, and *China*; then it turns to places in the west (Sovīra, Surat, Alexandria); next to places in the south (Koromandel Coast); and finally, again reverts to places in the east, e.g. *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* (coast of Pegu).[3] The inference is, therefore, that the *Takkola* referred to in the text was a country or seaport situated on the ship-route to the east, between Bengal and China.

From the same passage it also follows that *Takkola* was not in *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, since this latter country is named separately. *Takkola* cannot, therefore, be identified with Taik-kulā on the Peguan coast; but is, from every indication, the very same place recorded by Ptolemy as

[1] See p. 359 of Professor Rhys Davids' translation of "The Questions of King Milinda" in the "Sacred Books of the East" Series, vols. xxxv, xxxvi.

[2] Ibid., p. xliii of Preface.

[3] While on this subject, I would suggest that the *Nikumbha* referred to at p. 327 of the same work and left unidentified may be Negumbo, a place on the coast of Ceylon a little north of Colombo.

Takōla, which we have located lower down the Bay of Bengal, on the coast of the Malay Peninsula.

Takkola, as it occurs thus spelled in the text of the *Milinda Pañhā*, is a Pāḷi word designating a particular sort of perfume made from the berry of the *Kakkola* plant. As a place-name, however, I think that it must be considered a mere rendering, in Pāḷi form, of either *Tak-kāla* or *Ta-kola*, the ancient and original designations of the Takôpa District and its chief town. Be that as it may, the existence of **Takōla** as a country, a mart, and a seaport is thus fairly well proved from the very beginning of the Christian Era, the period at which it is believed that the work on Milinda was composed.

Some two centuries later on—or, more exactly, during the Wu dynasty of China (A.D. 229–265)—an embassy having been despatched by the king of Fu-nan to India, it is stated in the Chinese records [1] that it returned by the mouth of the *Tau-kiao-le*, continuing its route by sea in the great bay (Gulf of Martaban) in a north-westerly direction; it then entered the bay (of Bengal) and ultimately reached India. In this account, the mouth of the *Tau-kiao-le* has been by various translators taken to mean either the mouth of the Salwīn or that of the Irāvatī, which is evidently absurd. It seems to me, if the identifications of the two bays named in the account prove correct, that we should read *Tau-kiao-le* as **Takōla**, and take it as a name given the Pāk-chān River, from the fact of the city of **Takōla** being situated at or near its mouth. The position of *Tau-kiao-le* would then suit all requirements with respect to the great bay (Gulf of Martaban) and the kingdom of Fu-nan (Kamboja), which at the period the embassy took place included Lower Siām, and no doubt also the northern part, if not more, of the Malay Peninsula. It would then seem but natural that the embassy in question, instead of taking the long sea-route round the southern extremity of the peninsula, should proceed in small skiffs or overland to C'hump'hōn, and thence across the Kra Isthmus to the mouth of the Pāk-chān, to

[1] See the translations from Ma Tuan-lin in the J.R.A.S. Bengal, 1837, p. 64.

embark at the famous port of Takōla on its journey to India. This is no doubt the usual route that was anciently followed by a great part of the trade between India and the Gulf of Siām, in order to avoid the difficulty and dangers of a long sea navigation through the Straits. The Kra Isthmus was the most northern point of the Malay Peninsula at which the latter could be most easily and speedily crossed; hence it was chosen as the point of transit and transhipment of merchandise from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Siām, and *vice versa*; and the two harbours which formed the termini of the navigation on both sides, as well as the overland route that connected them, must have in consequence acquired great importance. And they must have retained their prominence for a long period until the advent of the Portuguese, and the introduction of more improved methods of navigation. But, notwithstanding all this, we find trade routes across the Malay Peninsula at the Kra Isthmus, and further north at Mergui, much frequented up to the middle of the eighteenth century. The causes that contributed to their being abandoned after that date were, in the first place, the stoppage of trade brought on by the continuous Siāmo-Burmese wars that raged up to the beginning of the present century, having mostly for theatre the northern part of the peninsula; and secondly, the final absorption into the British dominions and loss to Siām of the province of Tenasserim, which severed the bonds between the two latter countries, and prevented any continuance of the former intercourse between them being renewed.

Takôpa first appears in the maps of the "Neptune Oriental," A.D. 1781, as *Tocapa*. Papra Strait in this and preceding maps is noted *Papera*. The correct spelling is *Pāk-p'hraḥ*; which in Siāmese means "Strait (or Mouth) of the Saint," probably owing to some legend of Buddha or some statue of his having passed through it.

Kokkonagara (82).

Yule suggests for this *Ukkaka* (meaning undoubtedly Ukkalāba, i.e. the modern Twanté in Pegu), mentioned in

the Mahāvaṁsa as having been captured by a Ceylonese expedition sent against the king of Rāmaññа. He notes also that the Indo-Chinese countries appear, from Tāranātha's "History of Buddhism," to have been anciently known as *Koki*, and adds that **Kokkonagara** may, again, be perhaps the Kāḳula of Ibn Batuta.

It seems to me that Tāranātha's *Koki* is, like the similar term *Kochi* employed up to quite recent times by the Malays to designate the Annamese Empire, merely a modified form of *Kao-chih*, the older name for that same region; and that, therefore, *Koki* has nothing whatever to do with the place-name now under discussion. But in the account of the Ceylonese expedition against Pegu, about A.D. 1180, I find (Mahāvaṁsa, c. 76, 57) a place by the name of Kākadvīpa referred to, which may, indeed, have some connection with Ptolemy's **Kokkonagara**. We cannot, however, rely upon a mere similarity of nomenclature.[1] The last-named city is, by our author, placed in the **Golden Khersonese** or Malay Peninsula; and its corrected position falls a little to the south-east of Korbie Bay, just opposite Pulo Lantar near the mouth of the stream, noted as Khlōng Kasei (Kāsai) in the maps.[2] The correct Siāmese reading of Kasei is Prakāsai; but in earlier maps, such as that of Pallegoix, it appears as *Cassai*. Added to the name of Korbie (Sanskrit *Kapi*, pronounced *Kabī* and *Krabī* in Siāmese, and meaning a 'monkey') it forms the name of the province designated in Siāmese *Müang Krabī-prakāsai*, and in Malay, but corrupted, *Korbie* or *Ghirbi*. This province is, so far, but little known and very imperfectly represented in the maps. With its *müangs* or districts of คุระ (*Gura*), กีรา (*Korā*), คุรอต (*Gurōt*), respectively noted in maps as Corah or Kora (Crawfurd's and Survey

[1] In the map of Indo-China published under the direction of Colonel H. R. Thuillier, Survey of India Office, December, 1893, there is a place marked as *Kokah* on the coast of the peninsula just below Takūa-pā; but too much importance cannot be attached to such coincidences of names.

[2] E.g. Map of the Malay Peninsula, 1887, published by the Straits Branch, R.A.S.

of India maps); Korak and Korat (Pallegoix's map); and the neighbouring district of พังงา (*P'haṅ-ngā, Baṅ-ngā*) or Puṅga, it formerly depended from the Takūa-pā̃ province. Korbie, resting as it does on a well-sheltered bay of easy access to ships, and whence easy tracks lead to the opposite coast of the peninsula, may have been an important place in ancient times. Its name of 'Monkey-city' recalls that of Myouk-ū ('Monkey's egg') of the old capital of Arakan. How it ever came to be applied to it is difficult to account for, unless its origin can be found in the fact of a branch of the *Vānaras* or Monkey-tribes of the opposite coast of India having anciently settled here. But some monkey legend is more probably at the bottom of it. The names of Gura, Korā, etc., may very likely be Malay corruptions of the Sanskrit *nagara*; hence the probability of an ancient city having stood here which bore a name identical with, or similar to, Ptolemy's **Kokkonagara**. That the country was settled at an early time by colonists from India, is proved by ancient remains scattered about the land, among which I may mention a brass statue of Buddha found some forty years ago at Takūa-thùng near P'haṅ-ngā, bearing on its back a circular plate in the form of a *cakra* inscribed with the "*Ye dhammā*" stanza in Pāḷi, in Northern Indian characters, said to belong, probably, to the third century. Whether Ptolemy's **Kokko** represents the Sanskrit *Kāka* ('a crow'), *Koka* ('a wolf,' 'ruddy goose,' 'cuckoo,' and also 'wild date-tree'), or *Kukkura* ('a dog'), is for the present almost impossible to say. The latter reading would seem preferable in view of Captain (afterwards Colonel) Low's statement that an impression of a dog's foot, together with an image of that animal, are reported to have once existed upon a rock at the northern point of Junkceylon Island, which are said to be held in veneration by the Malays along the opposite coast.[1] If this hearsay report, which Captain Low

[1] Captain Low's "Buddha and the Phrabat," London, 1831, pp. 11–12 (reprinted from the Transactions R.A.S., vol. iii).

acknowledged he had no opportunity of verifying by a visit to the spot, be confirmed in fact, we would then possess satisfactory evidence that the coast opposite Junkceylon—that is, the present Takūa-thùng and Korbie provinces — was settled by tribes of dog-worshippers (probably offshoots of those *Kukkuras* mentioned in the Purāṇas and the two great Indū epics as living in the south of India), who possessed a city known as *Kukkura-nagara* on or about Korbie bay, corresponding to Ptolemy's **Kokkonagara**, surviving yet, but in name, in the corrupted Malay forms *Gura* and *Kora* (for Kura and Kuk-kura?), and *Gurōt* (Kurāta?), now applied to small districts or townships in the same territory. If the object of worship were a wild dog, or still better a wolf, such as is designated in Sanskrit *Koka*, the name of the chief city of the tribe would then assume the form *Koka-nagara*, yet more approaching to Ptolemy's reading.

Khrysoanas River (81, 186).

I take this stream to be either the Lungu or the Trang River. Many watercourses boast of similar names on the Peninsula, for instance, the Sungei Jarum-mas in Pêrak, the Sungei-mas in Johol, etc., in all of which the term *mas*, the Malay equivalent of 'gold' or 'golden,' plays a conspicuous part.

Palanda, a city (84).

It is mentioned by Ptolemy among the inland towns of the **Golden Khersonese**, and corresponds certainly to the district of Pêrak or to its ancient capital. The latitude 4° 45′ N. we obtained for it from calculation is, within a few minutes, that of Kwāla Lārut on the coast, and Kwāla Kangsa in the interior, the present seat of the government of the district. **Palanda**, if it be a term of Sanskrit origin, may stand for *palāṇḍu* ('onion') or *pralambha* ('tin'). The name Pêrak for the district means 'silver' in Malay;[1]

[1] It is the same as the Khmer *prak*, and both are a corruption, as I have already observed, of the Vedic *palakṣa*, meaning 'white,' used in later times, perhaps,

and is represented in the "Kedah Annals" as having been applied to the country by the prince from Kedah who first occupied it, after a silver-pointed arrow he shot from his bow on taking possession of the territory. My impression is, however, that the name is far more ancient. According to the "Malay Annals," Pêrak, or part of it, was formerly called *Manjong* and was an ancient and great country, that gave Achîn its first king. One of its chief cities was Gaṅgā-nagara, situated on a steep hill, with a fort on the bank of the Dinding River. This city was taken by Rāja Sūran of Bijnagar in about 1030–1050 A.D. (Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 9).

The territory of Pêrak was, in former times, undoubtedly more extensive than at present, and probably stretched as far as Kedah, embracing the whole of the present Province Wellesley. Ancient remains as well as Pāḷi and Sanskrit inscriptions were found in the latter, which attest the existence, at a very early period, of Indū settlements along its coast. The *sīmā* slab, inscribed with the "*Ye dharmā*" stanza and a few additional lines recording its erection by "the great ship-owner Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamṛttikā"—already mentioned in the paragraph devoted to Bêrabai as having been assigned a date not later than the fourth century—was found in the northern part of the province; while seven Pāḷi inscriptions on a granite rock and monograms on bricks were discovered by Captain Low near the centre of the province at Tokūn, in about lat. 5° 27′, or almost directly east of Pinang town. An inscribed slate-stone was found yet lower down, near Būkit Mertajam, in about lat. 5° 23′. Though I am not aware of any equally ancient remains having been discovered as

to designate silver. The Pêrak district is in Siāmese called เมืองแปร (*Müang Prĕ*), *prĕ* being a contracted form of the Malay *Pêrak* (pronounced *pêra*).

It is the country called *Pu-lah-kia* by the Chinese, which De Rosny ("Les peuples Orientaux," etc., 1886 edition, p. 163) wrongly takes to be an error for *Man-lah-kia* (Malacca). In some cases the name *P'o-li* seems also to apply to it, rather than to Bali or to the northern coast of Sumatra, as thought, respectively, by De Rosny and Groeneveldt.

yet in the present district of Pêrak proper, I have not the slightest doubt that some important settlement existed here from a very early period, corresponding to Ptolemy's **Palanda**. For it is evident that there is a linguistical connection between the latter name and that of Pêrak; the Pêrak River and Ptolemy's stream **Palandos** being similarly named after the district or its chief city. Hence it is logical, I think, to conclude that Ptolemy's city was the capital of Pêrak situated on the upper part of the Pêrak River, somewhere about Kwāla Kangsa, the present seat of the government of that district.

Tharrha, a town (83).

The corrected position of this town falls within two or three minutes of either longitude or latitude of Trong, a small place at the head of the Kwāla Trong inlet, just below Lārut. Names like Trong, Trang, Drang, etc., are frequent on the Malay Peninsula and the Gulf of Siām; and one finds them usually noted in old maps as Tarrana, Torano, etc., forms which closely approach the one adopted by Ptolemy in the present instance. Though there seems thus to be a perfect coincidence between **Tharrha** and Trong, which I could not help admitting at the outset in the map, I now feel strongly inclined to reject it, and to identify Ptolemy's place with Tringano, further to the east on the other watershed of the peninsula. My reasons for this change in opinion are two. In the first place, Ptolemy assigns to **Tharrha** a position of 1° to the east of his **Palanda**, which he describes as an inland town and thus locates considerably away from the coast. It results, moreover, that at this point of the peninsula he made an error of displacement of his towns and coast to the west of their true position. This error is of about 42′ at the mouth of the Pêrak River, and becomes greater as we proceed down the peninsula, reaching its maximum of 2° 13′ at Kwāla Sembah, as shown by Table IV. If, then, we assume Kwāla Kangsa (true long. 101° 3′) to be **Palanda** (Ptol. corr. long. 100° E.), **Tharrha** should be found at 101° 3′ − 100° = 1° 3′

further east of its own corrected position, which is 100° 44′ according to the table; hence the rectified longitude of **Tharrha** would become 100° 44′ + 1° 3′ = 101° 47′ E. This carries us across the watershed into the boundaries of the Tringano district, and we would thus be justified in identifying **Tharrha** with the latter from a geographical point of view.

My second reason in support of the same identification is linguistical. Though Tringano and Treng-gānu be the usual spellings that obtain, among Europeans and Malays respectively, for the name of that district, the Siāmese spelling is ตรางคนู (*Tarāṅganū* or *Trāṅganū*), which suggests a possible derivation from the Sanskrit *Taraṁga* ('a wave'), *Taraṁgin* ('wavy, undulating'), or *Taraṁginī* ('a river'). The latter designation would well apply to the stream flowing through the territory still termed the Trengan Valley. The probable old form of the name of the district is then *Taraṅgana* or *Tarāṅgana*, which may well represent Ptolemy's **Tharrha**.

Sabana, a mart (86).

I take this place to be the Selāngor district or its chief town. The corrected latitude resulting for Ptolemy's mart would show it to be placed near Kwāla Selāngor, that is, the mouth of the Selāngor River, where there is a small harbour. But it may be Kwāla Sembah further east, up the same stream. A place called *Sābah* exists at some forty miles further to the north near the mouth of the Bernam River; but whether it is a modern or an ancient settlement I do not know. At any rate, there is an evident connection between the names **Sabana**, Selāngor, Sābah, and Sembah; and without going into further particulars, I think it is safe to hold that **Sabana** represents a mart in the Selāngor district. From a linguistical point of view, Sembah seems preferable; in fact, in Malay *sembah* means 'obeisance, worship,' and its origin can thus be traced to the Sanskrit *sevana*, which has the same sense and well represents, when

it be borne in mind that *v* and *b* are often interchanged in Sanskrit-derived terms, Ptolemy's **Sabana.**

With this explanation I trust that I have clearly demonstrated that our author's three towns in the **Golden Khersonese,** to wit: **Palanda, Tharrha,** and **Sabana,** correspond to settlements or chief cities in the districts of Pêrak, Tringano, and Selāngor respectively. I hardly think that, given the imperfect state of our present knowledge, a more satisfactory elucidation of Ptolemy's geography of the southern part of the Malay Peninsula can be offered. The examination of the remaining places of the peninsula situated on the coast of the Gulf of Siām will further confirm the foregoing results.

Cape Maleu Kōlon (87).

This is a term of evident South Indian extraction. We have in the Malabar and Dakhan districts many places of a similar name: for instance, a city called Malai-Kurram (near Nāgapaṭṭan); Kollam or Quilon, which in the relation of Abu Zaid is termed Kulam-malai; the Kolla-malai Hills, etc. I have not the slightest doubt that the terms *Malai* or *Malaya* and *Kola, Kāla,* or *Kolam* have been imported to Further India by that stream of Southern Indian emigrants of dark or Negrito race, the descendants of the so-called *Rākṣasas* of old, and by their early successors the Dravidians, who constituted the pre-Āryan population of India; and who—driven to the south of the peninsula and compelled to take refuge in the islands by the Āryans advancing from the north—flowed on to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago and to the coasts of Siām and Kamboja, where they founded colonies and spread in the course of time their religion and newly acquired civilization among the rude natives of the country, as well as among the intrusive races that had settled upon it.

The term *Malaya* anciently designated in Southern India the region lying to the south of the Kāverī River,[1] probably

[1] See Kālidāsa's "Raghuvaṁsa," iv, 45–51, written, according to tradition, during the first century B.C., and, according to the opinions of several Oriental scholars, much later, viz. in the fifth century A.D.

so named from the *Malaya* range of mountains which is said by Bhavabhūti[1] to be encircled by that stream. *Malaya* was, in a word, the ancient name for the southern end of the Indian Peninsula, part of which is still termed Malayālam, Malayavāra, or Malabar. The Southern Indian emigrants above spoken of applied the same term *Malaya* to the Malay Peninsula evidently because of the latter forming the southern end of the Indo-Chinese continent. Hence the Malay Peninsula became known as *Malaya-dīpa* and its inhabitants as *Malayas* or *Malays*. This people anciently consisted of two distinct principal elements, namely: the Negrito autochthonous and the Mōñ-Khmer, to which the Negrito-Dravidian or pre-Āryan from Southern India soon added itself; and should not be confounded with the modern Malay nation, which has apparently resulted, at least in the Peninsula, from a fusion of the descendants of the above-named races with later comers, from both the Archipelago and the Indo-Chinese continent. We must, therefore, distinguish between the ancient *Malayas* or *Malays* and the modern *Malays* or *Malayūs*. The *Malayas* are mentioned as an Eastern people in the Bengal recension of the Rāmāyaṇa; and enumerated along with the *Vijayas* in the Mahābhārata. Though both these names may refer to peoples in the east of India proper, who had nothing to do with the ancient Malays, yet we shall see in the sequel that *Vijaya* was the name of the portion of the Gulf of Siām next to the Malay Peninsula. This circumstance would tend to show that the ancient Malays (i.e. the early population of the Malay Peninsula) were the people meant in the two epics referred to above. The name *Samangs*, given to the savage Negrito tribes of the Malay Peninsula north of the Pêrak River, is also probably imported from Southern India, where the Mahābhārata mentions the *Samangas*.[2]

[1] In his "Mahāvīracarita," v, 3; date, seventh century A.D.

[2] The Mahābhārata's list has: "Samangas, Karakas, Kukkuras, ... Kokarakas," etc. All these we find represented in the Malay Peninsula, in the names of the *Samangs*, the township of *Kara* or *Korā* mentioned above, and the name of Ptolemy's city **Kokkonagara**.

As regards the terms *Kola*, *Kolam*, *Cola*, etc., they appear to be etymologically connected, and to have in the early days designated the dark-coloured pre-Āryan population of Southern India in general; for they still survive in many place-names of that region, such as Coromandel (Coḷa-maṇḍala), Kollam (Quilon), etc., and are met with in the old records in such toponymics as Kolapaṭṭana (a sea-port on the Coromandel coast mentioned in the Milinda Pañhā), Kolāṁca (a name for the country of Kalinga), etc. There is, besides, the evidence adduced in a former page, that in both Siām and Burmā the people from Southern India are up to this day called *Kulā*. In Siāmese the term *Kulā* (กุลา, แขก กุลา) is more particularly applied to the natives of Malayavāra or Malabar. It would thus appear that, as far as Malabar and even the whole of the ancient Malaya region of Southern India are concerned, *Malaya* and *Kulā* (or *Kola*, *Kolam*, *Kulam*, etc.) are synonymous ethnical terms. This explains how the Chinese came to apply the names of *Ku-lun* and *K'un-lun* (evidently derived from either *Kulam* or *Kolam*, transferred from Southern India to the Malay Peninsula along with the designation *Malaya*) to the ancient population of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. That this population included a large proportion of Negrito-Dravidian elements would appear from a passage of I-tsing (A.D. 671–685), who, speaking of the people of the *Ku-lun*, or as he terms it *Chüeh-lun* (i.e. Colam) country, says that its inhabitants are of a black complexion, with crisp hair.[1] The close connection we have noticed between the terms *Malaya* and *Kola* as applied to the southern end of the Indian Peninsula (the ancient *Malaya* country) also explains the fact that we find them in that region coupled together in many a place-name, such as Malai-kurram, Kulam-malai, Kolla-malai, etc., already referred to above. In the same manner we find both those

[1] Chavannes' "I-tsing," pp. 63, 64, note. In the Rāmāyaṇa, notes its eminent Italian translator Gorresio, the Rākṣasas are described as being of a complexion as black as collyrium, with curly woolly hair and thick lips. This picture thoroughly coincides with the one left us of the Ku-lun by I-tsing.

terms combined on the Malay Peninsula—where they were transplanted from Southern India—in the name of the cape recorded by Ptolemy under the form of **Maleu-kōlon**, which is evidently a transcription of the compound *Malai-kolam* or *Malai-kulam*. It will be noticed that this promontory occupies on the coast of the Malay Peninsula a similar position to that which the town of Malai-kurram holds on the coast of India. This circumstance would justify the assumption that near the cape now under discussion there may have been a settlement named after Malai-kurram on the Coromandel coast, and that the cape came in the course of time to be designated after such a settlement. By calculation the position of the cape aforesaid would be fixed on that point of the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula where runs the line of demarcation between the states of Pahang and Tringano; a point noted for no less than four rather conspicuous promontories distinguished in the maps as North and Middle Cape; South Cape or *Tanjong Puling*; and *Tanjong Kuāntān*, the most northern of all, the actual latitude of which is 4° 8′ N., exactly as calculated for **Cape Maleu Kōlon**. I therefore do not hesitate to assume *Tanjong Kuāntān* to be the headland meant by Ptolemy. My predecessors have almost invariably jumped to the conclusion that the promontory our author had in mind was Ramenia (or Rumenia) Point at the southern end of the peninsula. I must, however, differ from them on account not only of the calculated result obtained, but also on the score that Ptolemy evidently knew nothing of the configuration of the peninsula below the fourth parallel of North latitude. Hence he made the peninsula terminate abruptly at **Palanda** (Pêrak) on the western side, and at **Cape Maleu Kōlon** (Tanjong Kuāntān) on the eastern; assuming, I suppose, that the coast ran straight, or nearly so, between the two places, since he assigns to both the latter the same latitude, and makes them 2° of longitude apart. The correct distance is 3° of true longitude.

A similar name to that of the headland now under

consideration is that of the town of Malacca, on the opposite coast but further south. Though a possible derivation from *Āmalaka*, the Sanskrit name for the Emblic myrobalan, has been suggested (why not from *Mālaka* = the *Nimba* tree?), I cannot credit it, and prefer to hold that the name of Malacca is either a modification of *Malayakolam* or *Malayaka* (meaning the 'country of the *Malayas*'); or that it is identical with *Mālaka*, the name of a Southern Indian tribe mentioned in the Mahābhārata, transplanted, like many others, on the soil of the Malay Peninsula.

Attaba River (88, 184).

This stream cannot be other than the Tringano or, I think preferably, the Libih River. Both have their source in the vicinity of Mount Batu Ātap, a conspicuous peak in 4° 33′ N. lat. In Malay *batu* = 'a rock,' and *ātap* = 'thatch.' Hence either of the two streams may have taken its early name from the mountain, and become known as the '*Atap* stream,' converted by Ptolemy into **Attaba**.

Kōli, a town (89).

This is Kelantan, more correctly spelled Ḳalantan. Its probable ancient name, **Kōli**, appears to have been introduced from Northern India, where a city called Koli (from the *Kolī* or jujube tree, it is said) is known to have existed near Kapilavastu, and reputed to have been the birthplace of Māyā, the mother of Buddha. The present name (Kalantan) of both the district and its chief city presumably was formed by affixing to the word *Kolī*, or to some one of its dialectal forms *Kolom*, *Kolam*, either the term *thāna* (or *tānah* in Malay), meaning 'place,' 'country,' or the particles *anta*, *antaṁ* (limit, boundary), thus obtaining the compounds *Kolamtānah*, *Kolantaṁ*, etc., which by vulgar parlance soon became modified into Kelantan and Kalantan. The district so named is, no doubt, the country of *Ko-lo* or *Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo*, described in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–907)[1] and in Ma Tuan-lin[2] as lying to the

[1] See Groeneveldt's paper in "Essays relating to Indo-China," second series, vol. i, pp. 241–2.
[2] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 414.

south-east of both *P'an-p'an* (S.W. Siām) and *Wan-tan* (Bāndōn). The words *Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo* may represent either *Kolī-badara*, *Kolī-bhadra*, or *Kola-bazar*. In the first reading, *Kolī* and *badara* are, respectively, the Pāḷi and Sanskrit designations for the jujube-tree, the Siāmese name of which is, however, *P'husā* (= *Budrā*), evidently from a Prākṛt or other Indian vernacular form *Budara* or *Busar*, plainly represented in the Chinese transcript *Fu-sha-lo*. In the event of this surmise proving correct, our identification of Ptolemy's **Kōli** with the *Ko-lo* of Chinese writers would receive a complete confirmation. That *Ko-lo* was a very ancient place appears from Ma Tuan-lin's (loc. cit.) statement that it was heard of by his countrymen since the time of the Han dynasty (B.C. 206 to A.D. 221).

There is also frequent mention in Ma Tuan-lin and other Chinese writers of a seaport called *Ḳu-lo*, which appears to have been much visited by Chinese traders during the early times of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960–1127). But though the location of this port was evidently on the Malay Peninsula, it is doubtful whether it was the same place as the ancient **Kōli** or *Ko-lo* and the present Kalantan.

Kalantan is, no doubt, a very ancient foundation, early referred to in the Malay annals as a powerful kingdom, while its abundance in natural resources and mineral wealth places it in a prominent position among the Malay States. Hence it must have been from a very ancient period one of the principal resorts of trade on this coast.

Perimula (90).

The corrected position obtained for this town agrees very closely with Ligor, the longitude of which is about 100° E. and the latitude 8° 23′ N. The old city, however, appears to have been situated further south than the present one. Besides Ligor, a very ancient foundation itself, there are two other towns in this region which claim a very respectable antiquity, namely, P'hattalung and Singora (*Saṅkhalā*, or *Suṅkhalā*). While formerly quite accessible from the sea, and connected by overland routes with the marts on

the western coast of the peninsula, those three towns have now almost entirely lost the high importance they had of yore as seaports, owing to the silting of their harbours and the accumulation of sands that ever tend to block them. Ligor is already an inland town, no more accessible but by small boats through a winding tidal creek; while P'hattalung may still be reached by light-draught vessels through the inland sea — now almost completely land-locked — encompassed by the island of Pulo Tantalam; and Singora, from being situated at the outlet of the same inland sea, enjoys yet a relatively better position as a maritime town than the two former, though also doomed to become an inland city at no distant date. While the earliest mention I can find of Singora and P'hattalung in the old Siāmese records does not go further back than the thirteenth century, it is known, nevertheless, that both these towns coexisted with Ligor as Indū settlements prior to that period.

As regards Ligor, I find it referred to as an independent kingdom, and under the name of *Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja*, in a Pāḷi MS. chronicle of Lamp'hūū (*Labong* of European writers) discovered by me in Siām, as early as A.D. 924, when its king moved with a fleet to attack Lop'haburī (*Lavapura*). It is next mentioned in a Sukhothai (*Sukhadaya*) inscription—dated Śaka 1214 = A.D. 1292 and now preserved within the precincts of the royal temple *Wat P'hraḥ Kèu* in Bāngkōk—among the southern provinces of Siām subject to the sway of the kings of Sukhothai.

The foundation of Ligor is ascribed by tradition to Prince Danta-kumāra, who, with Princess Hemamālā, fled from Dantapura on the coast of India near the mouth of the Godāvarī in A.D. 310, taking with him a tooth-relic of Buddha, and was wrecked on the 'Diamond Sands' of the Malay Peninsula, where now rises Ligor.[1]

The famous tooth-relic is said to be enshrined in the *caitya* of *Wat Nà P'hraḥ Thāt* (*Vara-dhātu*) rising in the

[1] See Mahāvaṁsa, ch. xxvii; Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," p. 534 seq.; Colonel Low in Journal R.A.S. Bengal, 1848, part ii, p. 37.

centre of the present city of Ligor; and this monument is thus regarded as one of the most ancient in Siām. The story as vulgarly told is, that (a descendant of) king Śrī Dharmāśoka, driven by pestilence from his own land of Magadha, set sail with a remnant of his people in a golden junk, and was wrecked on the 'Diamond Sands.' These sandbanks, once sea-covered, are now the sandy plains in which stands Ligor, and the natives of the place call them up to the present day *Sāi-p'het* (ทรายเพชร์ = *Vajra-vālukā* in Sanskrit). A large body of Brāhmans still live in the city, remaining distinct from the Siāmese, and yearly performing the Swing Festival and other propitiatory ceremonies. They are commonly reputed to be the descendants of those that came with the founder of the city. The above is nothing more than one of the many Buddhist traditions transplanted on Siāmese soil from India; traditions which, when their origin remains undetected, may lead astray the searcher after the ancient history of this country. It is well known that the 'Diamond Sands' of this legend are to be found not at Ligor, but on the coast of India, at or near Dharaṇīkoṭa, in the neighbourhood of the present Masulipatam. In that country, inhabited by Nāgas, a relic-casket containing one of the original eight divisions of Buddha's remains, existed enshrined in a costly stūpa. It was, according to the Mahāvaṁsa, carried off thence to Ceylon in the fifth year of the reign of Duṭṭhagāmanī, i.e. B.C. 157, and enclosed in a great stūpa at Ruanwelli. But, according to other accounts, in A.D. 310, when prince Danta-kumāra fled from Dantapura, and was wrecked on the Diamond Sands of Majerika, these same relics were still preserved there, being removed to Ceylon three years later, that is in A.D. 313, which date General Cunningham thinks more correct. A gorgeous, magnificent stūpa existed, in fact, on the sands of Majerika between the Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā, as ascertained by General Cunningham; and there stood also the city of Veṅgī-pura, the capital of the country, which we find recorded in Ptolemy under the name of **Malanga.**

That country had early relations with the Malay Peninsula and Siām, as proved by the Veṅgī characters employed in inscriptions found in the neighbourhood of the stūpa of *P'hraḥ Prathom* in Lower Siām, as well as in the province of Ligor and other parts of the peninsula. Hence it can be explained how the legend of the relics could be transplanted into Siām and referred to the 'Diamond Sands' of Ligor long after Buddhism was introduced therein. I have no doubt that it is only at a later period, perhaps in the eighth or ninth century, that Ligor and its district was given its present classic name of *Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja*, an evidently Buddhist designation,[1] vulgarly curtailed into *Nagara*, pronounced in Siāmese *Nakhōn* and corruptedly *Lakhōn*, out of which the Malays and Europeans have made *Ligor*.

But the place had existed long before as an Indū settlement, under a name which I think closely identical with that left us by Ptolemy: **Perimula**. It must be observed, in fact, that the sandy plains about Ligor are up to the present day called by the natives *Thalē-sāi* (ทเล ทราย), i.e. 'Sea of Sands.' As I previously remarked, they were once a sea-bottom, and a communication probably existed through them across the peninsula, which became blocked by sands thrown on the coast by the waves, and disappeared through elevation of the land above sea-level. Thus the extensive sandy plains about Ligor, and the large island of Pulo Tantalam skirting the inland sea between Singora and P'hattalung, were formed. This phenomenon is very common on both coasts of the Malay Peninsula. Where it occurs the country appears lined with sandbanks raised above the surrounding land, looking like as many sea-beaches or ridges thrown up by a meeting of currents, forty to fifty yards broad and very long. In Sanskrit one

[1] *Dharmarāja*—'king of righteousness'—is one of the epithets of Buddha, and I do not think that it can apply in this instance to Kāla or Yama, the Indū god of the departed and judge of the dead, who is also called *Dharmarāja*, 'king of justice.'

of such sandbanks would be called *pulina*; and a long succession or accumulation of them might be termed *pulina-mūla*. This is, I think, the origin of the Malay word *permātang*, which, according to Logan,[1] is employed to designate them. From this fact, I notice, a tract of land situated just above Kwāla Selāngor on the opposite side of the peninsula, is marked in the maps[2] *Permātang*. In a similar manner this term might be applied to the coast of Ligor, where the same sandy formation of the soil is perhaps more extensive and characteristic than anywhere else on the eastern coast of the peninsula or on the remaining part of the Gulf of Siām.

From *Pulina-mūla* and *Permātang* to *Puli-mūla*, **Perimūla** and *Permūda* is an easy transition; and that it is so, is shown by a map of the Malay Archipelago by Porro,[3] where in the place of the Gulf of Siām we read "*Golpho Permuda.*" Such is, then, beyond doubt the name by which that gulf was known in Ptolemy's time; and a name it received from one of its principal marts, i.e. **Perimūla**, afterwards known as *Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja* or Ligor. From the first syllable, *Per* or *Peri*, of its name, the Chinese navigators and traders of the sixth and subsequent centuries made *P'o-li* and *P'o-lo*, terms which, by Groeneveldt and other Sinologues, have been in every instance taken to mean the island of Bali. I have reason to believe, however, that in some particular cases they designate **Perimūla**; whilst in others they apply best to **Palanda** (Pêrak).

Towards the tenth century we begin to meet with the terms *Lo-yü*, or *Lu-yü* (already noticed at p. 90 above, as the name of a State adjoining *Ta-k'un-lun* or **Takōla** on the south), and *Lo-yüeh* (a country located by Ma Tuan-lin and others at fifteen days' navigation to the south of *Tan-mei-liu* or **Tēmala**), which warn us that by that time **Perimula** had changed its name to Ligor. A few centuries later on we find Ligor referred to in Japanese accounts as

[1] "Journal of the Malay Archipelago," vol. iii, p. 398, footnote.
[2] Map of the Malay Peninsula, published by the Straits Branch R.A.S., 1887.
[3] Printed in the 1576 edition of Porcacchi's "L'isole più famose del mondo," p. 189.

Rikkon, Rokkon, in imitation of its vulgar Siāmese name, *Lakhōn.*[1]

Balongka (91).

This is mentioned by Ptolemy, along with **Kokkonagara**, **Tharrha**, and **Palanda**, as an inland town of the **Golden Khersonese**, and must not be confounded, as often has been the case, with **Balonga Mētropolis** (121), which we shall meet in the sequel on the coast of Annam. The corrected latitude of **Balongka**, obtained from calculation, indicates its position to be on the Kra Isthmus of the Malay Peninsula; and I have therefore identified it with C'hump'hōn (ชุมพร or ชุมพร), the eastern terminus of the ancient overland route across the peninsula at that point. It is doubtful, however, whether the place-name C'hump'hōn (*Jumbara*, a vernacular corrupted form of the Sanskrit *Udumbara*) can claim so high an antiquity as to be already in existence, much less well known, in Ptolemy's time. I have, in fact, reason to think that Kra, as a name of the village, mountain-pass, and isthmus in this region, must have been the better known, though under a more classic form, at a far earlier period. Hence the actual C'hump'hōn village, though already in existence at the time, must have at first acquired notoriety either as the port of Kra or as the eastern terminus of the route across the Kra Pass. *Kra* in Siāmese (กระ, literally *Kraḥ*), and *Kura* in Malay, are both names for the mottled land-tortoise (*Testudo elongata*, Blyth), so plentiful about the Kra Isthmus. Several personal visits to that district, and a protracted residence in its neighbourhood, make me certain of this fact; and I may add that more

[1] I do not know on what authority Professor Keane states ("Geography of the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China," etc., p. 17) that Ligor "was founded four centuries ago by the king of Ayuthia." The *Koṭ Monthierabān* (Kaṭa Mandira-pāla) or Palatine Law of A.D. 1360, enacted by the king who founded Ayuthia, already enumerates Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (Ligor) among the States that owed allegiance to Siām. See, moreover, p. 107 *supra* for the existence of Ligor as far back as A.D. 924.

than once I took part in tortoise-hunting expeditions in the valleys of that region, which form one of the sports one can have there after a shower of rain. The natives keep trained dogs for the purpose, which are taught to pursue the tortoises and to overset every one they may catch upon its back, belly upwards, rendering its escape impossible. In this manner the beautifully shell-clad Chelonians are easily and very soon captured by the dozen. One of the Sanskrit names for the tortoise is *palāṁga*, which well represents Ptolemy's **Balongka**. I therefore hold that *Palāṁga*, or *Palānga*, is the original name of the port and district, which was later on translated by the Siāmese into *Kraḥ*, its actual designation. In this opinion I am further confirmed by the fact that some of the Siāmese records mention a *Müang Prong*, i.e. an ancient district by the name of *Prong*, which appears to have included the territory of Kra, or rather to have been identical with the present Kra District itself. In *Prong* one may plainly recognize the original term *Palāṁga*. I believe, moreover, that this is the country which Chinese writers of the Liang (A.D. 502–557) and Sui (A.D. 589–618) dynasties term *Lang-kia*, *Lang-chia-hsü*, or *Lang-ya-hsiu*, and represent as having sent an embassy to the Chinese Court in A.D. 515 with a letter, one passage of which says: "the precious Sanskrit is generally known in this land."[1] I quote this sentence in order to show the possibility of the country being given a Sanskrit name such as *Palānga*, which I proposed above as the equivalent of either Kra, **Balongka**, or *Lang-kia* (*Laṅkā*, *Laṅga*). In the same extract occurs also the statement that "the people say that their country was established *more than* 400 *years ago*," which carries us back to the first century of our era, and proves the existence at that early period of the port, district, or kingdom of *Palānga*, giving Ptolemy full time to be aware of it. After the legend of the sacred relics from Dantapura had been brought over and localized to Ligor, as previously

[1] Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 135 seq. For other particulars see De Rosny, op. cit., pp. 208, 254; and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 455, 456.

noted, the name *Palānga*, corrupted by vulgar pronunciation into *Balanga* and *Malanga*, had become probably identical, in the minds of the people, with Malanga (Veṅgī-pura), the capital of the Nāgas of Majerika. At the same time, the vernacular form Kraḥ having originated, it may have been brought into use coupled at first with the ancient classical name of the country in its corrupted form, thus: *Kra-balanga*, *Kra-malanga*, etc. Here we have the kingdom of *Kia-mo-lang-kia* (Kāmalaṅkā or Kamalanga) spoken of by Hwen-tsang about 638 A.D., and located by him to the south-east of *Shih-li Ch'a-ta-lo* (*Śrī-kṣetra* or Prome) near a great bay. Of all localities named by ancient authors in Indo-China, none has perhaps more puzzled scholars as this kingdom of Langa or Kamalanga, especially as next to nothing is heard of it after the seventh century. One solitary authority is, however, found to state that *Lang-ya-hsiu* is near to the country of *P'an-p'an*[1] (South-western Siām). Ma Tuan-lin locates *P'an-p'an* in the northern part of an island (Malay Peninsula) separated from *Lin-i* (Campā) by a little sea (Gulf of Siām).

The kingdom of Kāmalaṅkā or Kamalanga must have originally occupied the region of the Malay Peninsula above the Pāk-chān inlet and the Kra Isthmus, being thus conterminous with the district of **Takōla** on the south. Northwards it must have extended as far as the Salwīn; for the kingdom of *K'un-lang*, which in a former page (89 *supra*, note 5) we have identified with Kamalanga, is located by the great Chinese cyclopaedia between *Hsiao-k'un-lun* (Taik-kulā) and *Ta-k'un-lun* (**Takōla**). In Hayton's Travels there is mentioned a province called *Kalaan*, which is said to form the eastern limit of the Kingdom of India.[2] This term *Kalaan* may apply to the same region or district called *Kalah-bār* by the Arabs, *Kamalanga* by Hwen-tsang, and *Camelan* by the Portuguese writers.[3] Another name of

[1] De Rosny, op. cit., p. 254, quoting from the "Yuen-kien-lui-han."

[2] De Backer's "L'Extrême Orient au Moyen-Âge," p. 130.

[3] In Danvers' "Portuguese in India" a mention of *Camelan* occurs in the following passage from vol. ii, p. 126: "Ribeiro . . . [in A.D. 1602] . . . gained a victory over King Massinga, in the province of Camelan, in which the King was slain."

country may be quoted, which is probably derived from *Kamalanga*, and as such may show that the Kamalanga Kingdom must have at one time extended well up the Salwīn valley. The country alluded to is *Kammalanī*, which I found mentioned as a kingdom (conquered by Warêrū, the chief of Martaban, towards the end of the thirteenth century) in the "Rājādhirāja," a chronicle of Pegu preserved in Siām. The kingdom of *Kammalanī* is, perhaps, to be identified with the present *Kamanlay* (situated on the Salwīn to the north of Martaban), which may have been its capital. It is evident, from the above considerations, that the ancient kingdom of *Kamalanga* must have been at one time pretty well extensive. In connection with the etymology of its name I may add a few more observations.

In a Peguan (Taleng) work, or rather romance, recounting a supposed journey of Buddha, followed by his Mōñ (Taleng) disciple Gavampati-thera, throughout Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago,[1] it is stated that Buddha, after paying a visit to Achīn in Sumatra, crossed over with a retinue to a place on the Malay Peninsula, where the celestials had provided for him a stone bench (*pallaṅka*) upon which to sit cross-legged. And thus did the great Teacher rest upon it for awhile, and from this fact that place was thenceforward known by the name of *Pallaṅka*, i.e. 'stone-bench.' Some commentators believe *Pallaṅka* to be Malacca, but there is no likelihood of the latter place being meant. It is quite evident that the allusion is intended for *Palāṅga*—Ptolemy's **Balongka**—for which the author of the romance invented a new etymology, endeavouring to justify it by the above legend. It is in

[1] Through the kindness of the Rev. Edward O. Stevens, up to 1898 doing useful mission work among the Burmese and Mōñs at Maulmain, I have lately obtained a complete copy of the Peguan text of this work, which I had, so far, seen but partially in a Siāmese translation. Though based on pure fiction, this work is valuable because it contains many interesting particulars on the ancient geography and history of several countries in Indo-China, more especially Pegu. It is the work alluded to in the first page of the introduction to Haswell's "Grammatical Notes on the Peguan Language," Rangoon, 1874.

the same district or in its neighbourhood, in fact, that, as I have previously remarked, a *Srī-pāda* or holy footprint is said to exist on the *Suvaṇṇa-mālī* mountain, which is believed to have been left by Buddha as a memento of his visit on that same occasion.

Of the land-route from the Pāk-chăn inlet across the Kra Pass to C'hump'hōn I have already spoken. The distance between the two termini is no more than twenty-three miles, and the elevation of the range does not exceed 500 feet. The bights on both sides offer even now good anchorages for ships; hence it is no wonder if a large portion of the Far Eastern trade passed through this way in the early days. The overland route across the Kra Isthmus must have acquired great favour after the disappearance of the supposed sea-passage between Trang and Ligor about the beginning of the Christian Era. Hence we hear of *Lang-kia* or *Lang-ya-hsiu* being established as a State in the first century A.D. Ancient remains of temples and of earthern ramparts are still to be found in the environs of the present village of Kra, which would justify the assumption that it was, for some time at least, the chief city of that State in its early days. Adjoining the Kra district on the north is the province named Lan-ya or Legnya and, in Siāmese, เมือง หลังเกีย (*Müang Láng-gya* or *Laṅkhīa*), which name is probably another linguistic relic of the old designation of the kingdom of Palānga, *alias* *Lang-kia* or Kamalanga. There are besides the two islets of Laṅkachíu (*Koḥ Langkachíu*)—one only of which is shown in the charts and wrongly marked "Koh Katu"—lying nearly opposite C'hump'hōn Bay, to attest up to this day the true location of the seaport of *Lang-ya-hsiu*, so much frequented by Chinese junks during the seventh century (see Chavannes' "Pélerins Bouddhistes," by I-tsing, pp. 57, 78, and 100).

(7) *Northern Siām and Lāos.*

The region of the Eastern or White-bellied Lāu, lying to the south of Yünnan and encompassed by the two great bends of the Më-Khōng on the west, by Tonkin on the east, and by the eighteenth parallel of latitude on the south, was known to Ptolemy as the country of the **Doānai**—a people living, he says, along the river of the same name. He does not give us any further particulars about either the people or the country, but simply states that to the latter succeeds a mountainous region adjoining the land of the **Lēstai**, wherein are found elephants and tigers. This mountainous zone must be identified, I think, with the territory of the present States of C'hīeng-māi and Nān, that is, Western Lāos, and with the hill tracts that bound the Më-Khōng's bend at C'hīeng-Khān on the south and form the watershed between it and the Më-Nạm. In this region elephants and tigers are plentiful, in fact, up to this day, and the designation of *Lān-c'hạ̄ng* given from times immemorial to the territory of Eastern Lāos and its capital—and adopted by the Chinese under the form *Lan-ts'ang* for the stream that runs through that territory, namely, the Më-Khōng River—contains an allusion to the presence of elephants in the region now under consideration. *Lān-c'hạ̄ng* means, in fact, as I shall point out with more details in the sequel, 'the Elephants' pasture-grounds.'

Previous to this designation being applied, however, or soon after its origin, the country of the Lāu was classically known as *Mālava-deśa* or *Mālvā*, a name which it retained up to quite recent times, but under the corrupt forms of *Malā*, *Mālā*, or *Malāva*. In native records of the last four centuries, the State of C'hīeng-māi is often spoken of as the *Mālā* or *Malāva* country, and those of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and Wīeng-Chan as the

Savaka-Mālā, or *Savaka-Malāva* kingdom.[1] But in Ptolemy's time, and probably for several centuries earlier, either the latter kingdom or its capital city was, as we learn from our author himself, named **Dasana** or **Doana**. As the term *Mālava* collectively applied to the whole region of Lāos was imported from Central India, where it designated the country presently known as Mālvā, so was the term *Daśārṇa* introduced from the same quarter, and, as there it denoted the eastern part of Mālava, it was by analogy given in Further India to the corresponding portion of the Indo-Chinese Mālava, i.e. Eastern Lāos. The term Daśārṇa thus becomes identical with Ptolemy's **Dasana**. It must be remarked that, but for our eminent geographer, we could never have known that Eastern Lāos and its capital once bore such a name. For, although we shall meet with traces of it in the legend of the foundation of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, it is certain that Daśārṇa, as an appellative for that district and town, has long become forgotten, being superseded by the alternative designation Savaka Mālā and others, which we shall have occasion to notice in the sequel.

It is difficult to believe that the name Mālava was given to the region of the Lāu by mere accident. The most natural inference seems to be, that it must have been suggested by the presence in that region of tribes calling themselves *Lāu* (Lāva) and *Lawā* (Lavā). The former, known to the Chinese since A.D. 47 under the name of *Ài-Lāu*, had undoubtedly been, for some centuries previous, in occupation of the western part of Yünnan, whence they extended southwards along the Më-Khōng and westwards towards the Irāvatī. It was they, or an elder branch of their race, who founded on the banks of the latter-named river that kingdom of Sein, Cīn, or Shen alluded to in a former section of this paper (p. 62 *supra*). Those who advanced down the Më-Khōng,

[1] In Siāmese: *Malā prathēt*, *Mālā prathēt*; or *Malāva prathēt*, *Mālāva prathēt*; and *Savaka Malā*, or *Savaka Malāva*, *prathēt*. The Siāmese term *prathēt*, though thus pronounced, is written *pratheś*, and thus it is equivalent to the Sanskrit *pradeśa* or *deśa*.

into the country which forms the present habitat of their descendants, retained their name of *Lāo* or *Lāu*, by which they have been known up to this day. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the region in which they settled was designated Mālava or Mālvā with special reference to their tribal name. In the dialect of the Northern Shans (Lāu) the term *Müang*, meaning a country, is pronounced *Mō*; hence Lāu's Land, called in modern Siāmese *Müang Lāu*, would be termed *Mō-Lāu*, a name which immigrants from the districts of Northern India where Prākṛt tongues were spoken, would soon classicize into *Mālava* or *Mālvā*, thus identifying, as it were, the new country with a district of their venerated fatherland.

As regards the Lawāṣ, Lawaḥ, or Waḥ, known to have occupied from a very early period the whole mountainous region between the Më-Khōng and the Salwīn rivers, and now restricted mostly to the wild tracts of the main watershed between the 18th and 23rd parallels, they are essentially a hill people, as exemplified by the term *Dōi* (meaning a mountain), applied to them by the Lāu. Though they appear to have at one time held the country to the east and south of the upper Më-Khōng bend as well, they were driven off to their present haunts by the Lāu; hence it is unlikely that they are the people alluded to in the name *Mālava-pradeśa* applied to the country whence they were so early expelled. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the Lawāṣ were actually so called at that period. The only name recorded for them or the early ancestors of their race is that of *C'hīeng*, meaning an elevated place, hill, or plateau, which I think to be identical with the Chinese 京 (*ching*). Their cities, from being generally built on some eminence, were likewise termed *C'hīeng*, e.g. C'hīeng Tung, C'hīeng Rung, etc., which the Burmese write Kyaing Tôn, Kyaing Yôn, etc.; and their country was called the *C'hīeng*, i.e. 'Hilly,' Country.[1] The branch of

[1] I cannot agree with Mr. E. H. Parker's opinion expressed in the *China Review* (vol. xix, p. 75, n. 65; and vol. xx, p. 340), that the prefix *Kiang* [C'hīeng] of Kiang-tung, etc., is identical with *Kien*, the Nan Chao

the Thai race that conquered their territory was, as a consequence, named *Thai-C'hīeng* or *Lāu-C'hīeng*, and continued to prefix the term *C'hīeng* to the names of the cities it established in the sequel, such as, for instance, *C'hīeng-mãi*. In the course of time the word *C'hīeng* thus became synonymous with *Müang*, the Thai term for city, district, etc. But its original sense remained embodied in several expressions employed to designate products of the hills and woods, e.g. *C'hamot-c'hīeng*, *Kôt-c'hīeng*, etc., meaning up to the present day, respectively, musk and medicinal bulbs of the hills.[1]

word for 'department,' and that it "practically means the same as *müang*." The actual Siāmese word for department is *krom*; and this is, I think, what *kien* means. The *C'hīeng* here alluded to is evidently identical with the Chinese 京, which means, as explained in Giles' Dictionary, s.v. 2140, 'a height, an eminence. A capital; a metropolis.' The same interpretation applies, word by word, to the term *C'hieng*, which denotes at the same time a height and a city.

The Sanskrit *Mālaḥ* or *Mālaṁ*, denoting a mountaineer and also a high ground, is pretty well equivalent to C'hīeng; and the name *Mālā-pradeśa* may have been derived from it, in which case it would mean 'the highlands,' 'the country of mountaineers.'

[1] According to the traditions of the Lawās, or *C'hiengs*, their ancestors had founded a powerful State, several centuries before the Christian Era, which extended eastwards to the frontiers of Tonkin. Their chief or king, styled *Khún Chữang*, resided in the city of *C'hieng Chữang*, now called *C'hieng Chông*, situated somewhere about Müang Lĕm, near the watershed between the Mĕ-Không and the Salwīn. It was also the *C'hieng* who established the once famous State of Müang Yông or *Mahiyaṅgana-nagara*, further down the Mĕ-Không Valley. The latter was overthrown, as I learn from the Müang Yông Chronicle, about 100 years before the Buddhist Era, or *circa* 644 B.C., by Sunanda Kumāra, the second son of the Thai chief of *C'hieng Rung*, who murdered all the *C'hieng* chiefs, making himself master of their country. The defeated *C'hiengs* then fled towards Lān-C'hāng, and settled along the Mĕ-Không.

After the Lāu had conquered C'hieng Rung, Müang Yông, and other foundations of the *C'hieng* people, and had practically become masters of the region occupied by the latter, they were thenceforward known as *Lāu C'hieng*, i.e. 'the Lāu of the C'hieng country.' They are, however, also termed *Lāu C'híeng*, on account of their still worshipping, in common with the Lawās and other hill tribes of non-Thaic race, several objects which they say once belonged to a superior being, perhaps a king or hero of the former *C'hieng* (Lawā) empire, by the name of *C'híeng*. These objects are:—

1. The *Mahoradhika* drum, a brass tymbal open at the bottom and ornamented on the top by four raised figures of frogs, disposed round the rim at equal intervals; whence its vulgar name of *Klông-kob*, meaning 'frog-drum.' It has

The peoples of the Thai race are, contrary to the Lawās and other mountain tribes, a valley-dwelling population, and are wont to settle only on the banks of streams or lakes. Hence the Chinese called them *Pa-i*, a term meaning 'valley barbarians.'[1] The corresponding Sanskrit word is *Droṇaka*, the sense of which is 'people of valleys,'[2] or rather of lakes, and occurs as the name of a tribe in the Mahābhārata's list, where *Proṣaka* is given as an alternative term. In Northern Indo-China the term *Droṇaka* appears to me to be represented by

been adopted from an early date in Siāmese State ceremonies, and is much prized, besides the Lawās, by many other hill tribes of the same race, such as the Karens, etc. (See McMahon's "Karens of the Golden Khersonese," pp. 279, 280.)

2. The *Thèn Lō*, a kettle-drum similar to the preceding, but of a ruder make. As to the use of gongs or tymbals in healing sickness among the rude tribes of Yünnan, see Ma Tuan-lin, article *Ye-lang*.

3. Pieces of hyaline quartz, chalcedony, or even sandstone, bored through the centre and strung up together. This litholatry also predominates among certain tribes of Kamboja, e.g. the C'harāi, Stīeng, etc.; and the Karens of Burmā, especially the Bghāi, Sgaw, etc. (see "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 241), who sacrifice animals in their honour, offering up the blood to them.

The term *C'híeng* also means 'mixed' or 'crossed,' like the Sanskrit *Yavana* and *Kiraṇa* (for which latter see Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," p. 509); and is employed to denote a mixed population or crossed race, especially of new settlers with aborigines or hill tribes, such as expressed in the words *Khōm C'híeng*, 'the mixed *Khōm* or Kambojans'; *Lāu C'híeng* or *Thai C'híeng*, 'the mixed Thai or Lāu.' The term *Lāu C'híeng* referred to above as originating from the *C'híeng* worship adopted by this people from the Lawās, means therefore as well, 'Lāu that have become mixed or crossed up with the hill tribes (Lawās, etc.).' Here we have the key of the mystery by which the term *Yona* or *Yavaṇa* was applied to that branch of the Thai race that settled in the country of the C'hīengs or Lawās, commonly known to Europeans as Western Lāos or Shan country. The same region is, therefore, often spoken of in native records as *Yonakadesa*; and its Lāu or Thai inhabitants are named *Yuen* (i.e. *Yavana*) by their white-bellied brothers of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, *Yun* or *Yôn Shans* by the Burmese, and *Lāu C'híeng* by Siāmese, all these terms being equivalent in meaning.

[1] "The cultivated valleys and uplands among the hills of Western Yünnan are called 'Pa'; 'I' means barbarian. Thus 'valley barbarians.'" (Ney Elias' "History of the Shans," p. 37, n. §.) — The Chinese spelling is: 白, 百, or 擺, 夷 = *Pai-i*, or *Po-i*. 白 means 'white'; 百 means 'a hundred,' 'all.'

[2] See Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," Hall's ed., vol. ii, p. 187.

Ptolemy's **Doānai** and the *Ts'wan* of the Chinese, while its alternative *Proṣaka* remains probably preserved to us in the name of the *P'u-tsz* or *Peh-tsz*, a tribe undoubtedly of the same (Thai) race, which may be connected with the city of Western Yünnan that Ptolemy names **Posinara.**[1]

One should not be in the least surprised at finding so many Sanskrit names of peoples, regions, and cities transplanted here from India, especially from its northern part, and often distributed in a similar topographical order as they originally occurred there. This latter circumstance is peculiarly interesting, and constitutes, perhaps, the most striking example of what we may be permitted to term toponymic mimicry that we know of. Already we have noticed the homology in the distribution and relative location of geographical names, between the coast of Arakan and the western seaboard of India at similar latitudes. Want of space prevents us from going into further details, beyond saying that the same imitation is carried on with some degree of accuracy, in so far as the relative positions of the topographical names are concerned, from the Gulf of Martaban across to Lāos and the greater part of Northern Indo-China. In fact, while we have here a second Mālvā and another Daśārṇa, representing, respectively, Western and Eastern Lāos, as already noticed, we find further north, in Yünnan, a second *Gandhāra*, as well as *Mithilā* and *Videha* or *Videhā*; a *Campā* in the east (Annam), and a *Malaya* in the south (Malay Peninsula).

The rule does not, of course, apply to every place of Indo-China; but, in general, it may be assumed that its northern districts have been given names corresponding to ancient districts of Northern India; while its southern divisions, including the Malay Peninsula, were called after

[1] "Prince Hassan, son of the unfortunate Sultan Tu Wên-siu [of Ta-li] informs me that the Nan-Chao were the *p'u-tsz* (as he calls them) or *peh-tsz*, and not the Shans or *pai-i*; but, though this tribe may have been predominant, it must have been a Shan or Thai tribe, for the general evidence to that effect is overwhelming." (E. H. Parker in the *China Review*, vol. xx, No. 6, pp. 339, 430.)—The Rev. Geo. W. Clarke, in the *Chinese Recorder*, vol. xv, p. 382, explains the term *Pai-tsz-chï-tsu* as meaning 'the ancient Yünnanese.'

similarly located regions of the south of India. Such coincidences are due to the fact that a double stream of emigrants from India flowed into Indo-China at a very early period. One, proceeding from the north, advanced overland through Maṇipur and Burmā, and influenced the northern part of Indo-China as far as the Tonkin Gulf and the Chinese borders; the other, coming from the south, reached Indo-China by sea, and its influence extended mainly over the Malay Peninsula, Siām, Kamboja, and Southern Annam. Thus it will be seen that Northern Indo-China owes its early civilization to settlers from Northern India; while its southern portion, including the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, is indebted for its ancient development to adventurers and colonists from the Coromandel and Malabar coasts. Once this point, never hitherto cleared up, is well understood, much that is yet incomprehensible and obscure of the early history of Indo-Chinese nations will appear more distinct.

For the present we are concerned only with that stream of emigration which flowed into Northern Indo-China from Northern India. That such a movement occurred is amply proved by the fact that during the three or four centuries preceding the Christian Era we find Indū dynasties, established by adventurers claiming descent from the Kṣatriya potentates of Northern India, ruling in Upper Burmā, in Siām and Lāos, in Yünnan and Tonkin, and even in most parts of South-Eastern China. From the Brahmaputra and Maṇipur to the Tonkin Gulf we can trace a continuous string of petty States ruled by those scions of the Kṣatriya race, using the Sanskrit or the Pāḷi languages in official documents and inscriptions, building temples and other monuments after the Indū style, and employing Brāhman priests for the propitiatory ceremonies connected with the Court and State. Among such Indū monarchies we may mention those of Tagōng, Upper Pugān, Prome, and Sé́n-wī (Theinnī), in Burmā; of Müang Hāng, C'hīeng Rung, Müang Khwān, and Daśārṇa (Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng), in the Lāu country; and of *Agranagara* (Hanoi) and Campā,

in Tonkin and Annam. As far as Yünnan is concerned, we learn from Chinese historians that a Jên-kwo, claiming descent from Śukladhānya-rāja, fifth son of Śrī-Dharmāśoka of Magadha, was, as early as B.C. 122, reigning at Pêh-ngai, to the south-east of the Ta-li Lake, and had, shortly afterwards, conferred upon himself from the Chinese emperor the sovereignty over the whole territory of *Tien* (Yünnan).[1] We hear, moreover, that "the oldest traditions connect the Ai-Lao State of Yung-ch'ang with *Mêng-chia-ch'wo*, son of Aśoka."[2]

If we do not know more of the Indū dynasties founded in the south of China and on the shores of the Gulf of Tonkin, it is due, no doubt, to the fact that the Chinese looked upon the States lying outside the borders of their empire at that period as barbarous, and therefore concerned themselves very little about them. But the names of peoples and cities recorded by Ptolemy in that region, however few and imperfectly preserved, are sufficiently significant to prove the presence of the Indu ruling and civilizing element in those countries, undoubtedly not so barbarous as the Chinese would make them appear. A different complexion is thus put on the past of those

[1] See E. H. Parker, in *Chinese Recorder*, vol. xxv, p. 104. The present *Min-kia*, or *Min-chia*, living along the shores of the Ta-li Lake are said to claim descent from the same *Pai-fan-wang*, or 'White Rice Prince' (Śukladhānya). See op. cit., vol. xv, p. 384.

[2] Ibid., in *China Review*, vol. xx, p. 394. The name of Aśoka's son is there given in Chinese characters, which I have transliterated as above. In Cantonese they would be pronounced *Mung-ka-ts'uk*. Mr. Parker adds that "these characters suggest the word Magadha, and an Indian origin for the ruling Ai-Lao family." *Māgadhas* or *Magasas* is the name of the Kṣatriya caste in *Śaka-dvīpa* (Siām and Kamboja) according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (bk. ii, ch. iv). But the above characters seem to me rather to represent some Pāli term like *Mañjūsaka*. The Rev. Geo. W. Clarke, in his article "On the Aboriginal Tribes of Western Yünnan" which appeared in the *Chinese Recorder*, loc. cit., quotes a native historical work where a Ti Mingtso [*Ti Mêng-chü*, evidently the same personage as the *Mêng-chia-ch'wo* alluded to above], son of Prince Ahiu [*Aśoka*] of the Mo-chie [*Magadha*] kingdom in India, is made to settle in Yünnan with his nine sons, who became the rulers of as many different nations, both in Yünnan and in the neighbouring countries.

countries and of China withal; for while, according to Chinese accounts, the Chinese appear as the civilized nation *par excellence* and the populations outside their southern borders as barbarians, the truth seems to lie rather in the opposite direction, as it was evidently through the medium of those barbarians that China received part of her civilization from India. As a matter of fact the Chinese never yet mentioned or admitted this; but it is as plain as can be that their astronomical knowledge, their calendar, and many of the arts and sciences for which they stood long celebrated as the original inventors, were introduced among them by Indū travellers or acquired by the Chinese themselves through contact with the barbarians of their southern borders where Indū influence had long been predominating. The embassy that the emperor Ming-ti sent in A.D. 65 to India, whence it brought Buddhism to the Chinese, was very likely prompted by and despatched upon the advice of Indūs then at the Chinese Court. It seems, in short, to me, that there is ample evidence as to the presence, within Chinese borders, of Indū and other western foreigners —whether adventurers, traders, or missionaries—early before the Christian Era and before active intercourse by sea could have been established. The presence of this western—chiefly Indū—element and its influence upon the development of Chinese civilization at a far earlier period than has hitherto been known or even suspected, commands attention, and can henceforth be hardly overlooked by Sinologists. But, reserving our further remarks on this highly important subject to a more suitable occasion, we shall here resume our discussion on the **Doānai** and their country just a moment ago interrupted.

As we remarked, Ptolemy's **Doānai** represent a valley-dwelling people, such as are termed in Sanskrit *Droṇaka* and in Chinese *Pa-i*; and undoubtedly correspond to the *Ts'wan*, *T'wan*, or *Doan* tribes of Eastern Yünnan. It was they, apparently, who overthrew the Indū kingdom founded at Daśārṇa or Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng. They were—like the *Ài-Lāu* and their kinsmen, the *Kāu*, still existing at present

in the Lower Më-Khōng valley under the name of *Lāu-Kāu*—a people of Thai race. Ma Tuan-lin[1] mentions the *Ts'wan* (**Doānai**) as inhabiting, in the seventh century, the territory of K'un-ming to the east of the Ta-li Lake, thus bounding on that side the State of Nan-Chao or Thai empire of Mêng-shê, now Mêng-hwa T'ing. Parker, in his article on the Nan-Chao,[2] says that the *Ts'wan* tribe "must have extended far east into Kwang-si, for the *Sui-shu*, which treats of a period earlier than this by two centuries [fifth century], says that General Shï Wan-sui was appointed commander-in-chief of a force sent to quell an insurrection of the Nan-ning barbarian *Ts'wan Wan*, and that he advanced as far as Nan-chung." But, early before that period, the *Ts'wan* must have extended to the south as well, thus occupying the high valleys of the Song-kā, of the Song-kōi or Red River, and of the Song-bo or Black River, whence they advanced into the basin of the Nạm-Ū through Dien Bien-p'hū or Müang Thến (*T'ien*); and thence to Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and the Middle Më-Khōng, as told in the chronicles and traditions of the Eastern Lāu. In A.D. 550 we find them in the country termed *Da-nan-dông* by the Annamese annalists,[3] situated about the sources of the *Dāo-giang*, a stream which I identify with the *Nạm-Tāu* or Red River, Ptolemy's **Dōrias**. About 960 A.D. we find the *Dôan* (*T'wan* or *Ts'wan*) tribes in occupation, jointly with the *Kāu*, of the same territory on the Red River[4] which was, several centuries previous, held by the Āi-Lāu. Moreover, in A.D. 819 we hear of the *Huang-dông* or *Huang-tong*, tribes of the *Hsi-yüan-man* inhabiting the valleys of Huang-ch'êng on the eastern borders of the territory of Nan-Chao,[5] attacking Tonkin and killing its Chinese governor.

Although the term *Doan*, *T'wan*, or *Ts'wan* disappeared,

[1] In Hervey de Saint-Denys' translation, vol. ii, "Peuples Méridionaux," p. 190.
[2] *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 72.
[3] Des Michels' "Annales de l'Annam," vol. i, p. 144.
[4] Ibid., p. 146.
[5] Ibid., p. 178; and Ma Tuan-lin in Hervey's translation, vol. ii, p. 236 seq.

and so did in Indo-China its Sanskrit equivalent or prototype *Droṇaka*—only those of *Lāu-Kāu* and *Lāu-kiao-wā*, *Javā* or *Chua* (老 撾), remaining—the Doans may be easily recognized in Ptolemy's **Doānai**. They evidently were a non-tattooing population, unlike the Āi-Lāu, who, on account of their tattooing their bodies with dragons and wearing tails to their clothes, were nicknamed *Ngīeu*, a Lāu term identical with the modern Siāmese *Ngū*, which means 'snake.' For the same reason their successors in Yünnan, the Nan-Chao, were by the Chinese termed *Lung-wei*, i.e. 'Dragon-tails.'[1]

"The *Ts'wan*," says Parker,[2] "are stated by K'ang-hi to have been an influential clan in modern Yün-nan Fu." Ma Tuan-lin has a notice on the *Ts'wan*, under the name of *Liang-ts'wan-man*, meaning 'the two [clans of the] *Ts'wan*,' to wit, the 'white' or 'western' (*Pai Ts'wan*) and the 'black' or 'eastern' (*Wu Ts'wan*). According to his information, they must have extended from the headwaters of the Red River to as far east as Kwang-si. This coincidence in location of the *Ts'wan* with the *Doan*, or *T'wan*, and the *Kāu* of the Annamese historians, coupled with the fact that *T'wan*, or *Doan*, is the Annamese pronunciation of the Chinese term *Ts'wan*, is sufficient evidence to show, I think, that they really were the same people.[3] Similar coincidences in names and location also indicate them to be identical with Ptolemy's **Doānai**. It is therefore pretty certain that in our author's time a conspicuous portion of this people had already advanced into Eastern Lāos or Daśārṇa, which they held under sway.

The tradition of the Lāu of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng is, that their early ancestors settled first at Müang Thến, the Dien

[1] See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 189, article *Nan-Chao*, and p. 271 seq.; also Parker in *China Review*, vol. xix, No. 2, p. 68, note.

[2] Loc. cit., p. 73, note.

[3] A clan of a similar name, the *Tuan*, ruled over Nan-Chao, and subsequently over the Ta-li State. All these tribes were evidently of the same, i.e. the Thai, race. Mr. Parker thinks the *Ts'wan* to have been the forbears of the *Lolos* (see *China Review*, vol. xxiii, p. 182); but this has yet to be proved. *Lo-lo* is a very vague and elastic tribal designation, and it may have formerly been applied to peoples of Thai race (*Nora* or *Nara*), the *Ts'wan* included.

Bien-p'hu of the Annamese, so called, to my belief, either from 滇 (*Tien*), the ancient name of Yünnan, their preceding seat, or 天 (*T'ien*), the Chinese word for heaven and its Lord, identified by the Lāu with the Indra of the Indūs. The latter hypothesis seems preferable from its being in accord with the legend of the Lāu as to their having received, while settled at that place, a king from heaven by the name of Khún Borom (*Parama*), meaning 'most excellent ruler.' He was the son of *P'hyā Thēn*, i.e. 'the Lord *T'ien*,' whom the Lāu now identify, as I said, with Indra. Soon after his advent they divided into seven branches, each led by a son of Khún Borom, and set off for the surrounding countries, which they occupied as far as the frontiers of: Tonkin on the east, Burmā on the west, and China on the north. The northern branch settled in Yünnan, where it founded the kingdom of *Müang Hō*, or *Hō-tē*, by which I believe the Nan-Chao State is meant, as Ma Tuan-lin gives *Ho-chê* (鶴 柘), or *Ho-shih*, as one of the names under which the Nan-Chao were known.[1] The eastern branch is said to have founded the kingdom of *Culanī*, *Cūḷāmaṇi*, or *Cullamālinī*, which must be identified, as we shall see in the sequel, with *Lin-i* or *Campā*. As the above legend is possessed by the Lāu of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng in common with the Mau Shans (Thai Mau) and the Ahom of Asam, it is likely that the branching off took place rather at Tien (Yünnan) than at Müang Thēn, and at a date much earlier than the one obtained by Ney Elias from Mau records, i.e. the year 1111 of the Buddhist Era, or 568 A.D. If we are to judge from the fact that in the first century A.D. the western branch of the Lāu had already founded the kingdom of *Shen* in Northern Burmā and their eastern branch occupied the Middle Mē-Khōng valley, becoming soon afterwards known to Ptolemy under the name of **Doānai**, we must place the event of the first branching off of the Lāu from Yünnan at a date not later than the beginning of the Christian Era; but I think that two or

[1] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 189, article *Nan-Chao*.

three centuries earlier represents perhaps a more approximate estimate, as these people must have taken some time on the way before reaching their present seats.[1]

At any rate, the branch that wended its steps towards the Nạm Ū and, descending its course, reached the Më-Khōng at Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, found, according to the chronicles, the *Khā Kanrāng* tribe in occupation, who blocked the passage at the confluent of the Nạm Ū, and had to be overcome before any further progress became possible. The *Kanrāng* were driven up the Më-Khōng as far as the districts of P'hū Lāu and P'hū Khā, near the present C'hīeng Khóng, where, from their arranging the hair in a lump tied on the top of the head, they were since known as *Khā Kàu*; in Siamese, *Khā Klàu*. These Khā tribes, say the chronicles, were of the *Chëḥ*, i.e. the C'hīeng, race.[2] They evidently came from Kwang-si and Kwei-chou. It is worthy of remark that tribes of an identical or a very similar name, the *Kanrān*, are mentioned in the chronicles of Burmā as having constituted,

[1] Compare, in fact, the tradition of the exodus of the various tribes of Yünnan under the leadership of King Ti Mêng-chü's sons, as given by the Rev. George W. Clarke in the *Chinese Recorder*, loc. cit. The event alluded to must have taken place about B.C. 250, and it is quite possible that the emigrants were populations of the Thai race, for the tradition looks substantially identical with the one possessed in common by the Lāu of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and the Shans of Burmā as referred to above.

[2] *Chëḥ* is, in my opinion, but a contraction of either *C'hīeng* or *C'híeng*; and although it has nowadays become synonymous, to a certain extent, with *Chek* or Chinese, it originally designated those populations, undoubtedly of Môn-Annam race, who peopled the one hundred *Yüeh* (*Pë Yüeh*) or districts of the South-Eastern Chinese border. Hence we obtain the following equation: *Chëḥ* = *C'híeng* = *Yavana* or *Javana* = *Yüeh* = *Chek*, by which alone we can arrive at the solution of certain intricate questions connected with the origin and identity of the early races that peopled the north of Indo-China. The Lāu term *Chëḥ*, which became *Chek* in Siāmese, assumes the forms *Khach* or *Chek* in Annamese, *Krak* (pron. *Chök*) in Môn or Taleng, and *Chök* in Chām. The Chām still employ it to designate the Annamese. The present *Khmu* or *Khamu* of the State of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, and other tribes along the Më-Khōng are, by the Lāu, said to belong to the same race as the *Khā Chëḥ*. It is therefore evident that *Chëḥ* is but another name for the Môn-Annam race.

The term *Khā* in Lāu is equivalent to *Khà* in Siāmese, though pronounced in a different tone, and means a servant or 'slave.' It is indiscriminately applied to all tribes which the Thai or Lāu reduced to obedience.

together with the *P'hyū* (Prū) and *Sak* (Suk, Chëḥ, Chek?), its early population. They are said to have subsequently shifted on to Arakan. This shows that the advance of the Lāu or Thai was, both in Northern Siām and Burmā, confronted by populations of the same (Mōñ-Annam) race, by the name of *Kanrān* and *Prū*, who had long been in occupation of the country, and who had either to be repelled or subdued. The early *P'hyū*, or *Prū*, and *Sak*, on the Siāmese side, are still represented by the present *Prū*, *Por*, or *Poru*, and *So*, *Suk*, or *Sak*, of Kamboja. From linguistical and other affinities I have, moreover, come but recently to the conclusion that the *Khami* of Arakan and the *Khamu* of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng must have been in origin the same tribe.

According to Professor Lacouperie, the Por, Poru, or Prū, and their cognate tribes in Kamboja, were driven out of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si B.C. 215. This appears to agree with the statement of the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng chronicles that the *Kanrāng* and similar tribes were of *Chëḥ* or Southern Chinese origin, though the date given above refers, no doubt, to the exodus of the last remnants of those tribes; judging from the fact that the first inroads of the Lāu into the Middle Më-Khōng valley must have occurred within the two centuries preceding the Christian Era, as I suggested above, and that at that period the Lāu found the Kanrāng and other tribes of the *Chëḥ* stock already in occupation of the country. As to the elder offshoots of the *Chëḥ* race, such as the C'hīeng or Lawā, they must have found their way to Central Indo-China much earlier; and the Mōñ and Khmer must have long preceded them, the date of their advent most probably coinciding with that of the establishment of their kinsmen on the shores of the Gulf of Tonkin some eleven or twelve centuries B.C. In the C'hīeng Sēn Chronicle the *Khōm* (Khmer) are spoken of as having been in occupation, long before 675 B.C., of the tract of country between the Më-Khōng at C'hīeng Sēn and the headwaters of the Më-Nam, whence they were not finally expelled by the Lāu until A.D. 376.

The *Poru*, *Brau*, or *Prū*; the *Bahnar*, and cognate tribes, were very likely the **Barrhai** whom Ptolemy places to the south of Yünnan and to the west of the **Kudutai** and **Indoi** of Tonkin.

From the foregoing considerations the movement and distribution of races in the north of Indo-China appears in a clearer light than hitherto depicted; and it becomes evident that prior to the advance of the Lāu or Thai in Siām and of the Tibeto-Burmese into Burmā, both these countries were occupied by tribes of the Mōñ-Annam race originally from Southern China, chiefly from Kwang-si and Kwei-chou, who had long preceded them. These tribes were obviously of the very same stock both in Siām and Burmā; hence the unexpected disclosure follows that the famed *Kanrān*, *Prū* or *P'hyū*, and *Sak*, hitherto held to have formed the bulk of the Burmese nation, were instead tribes of the Mōñ-Annam race whom the Tibeto-Burmese found already settled in the country, and whom they had to face and repel before being able to obtain a footing in it.[1]

According to Aymonier,[2] the popular name of *Jök* or *Chök* applied to the Annamese by the Chām, is synonymous with the literary term *Yuan* or *Ywan* (Yavana) by which the former are designated throughout Indo-China, except in Annam itself, and which the Annamese pronounce *Ngüen* or *Ngüyên*. This term I take to be identical with the Chinese 原 (*yüan*), meaning 'a high level, a plateau,' and synonymous with 京 (*ching*) or *C'hīeng* and the Sanskrit

[1] "In A.D. 796," says Parker (*China Review*, vol. xx, p. 393, notes), "the Nanchao conqueror Imousün established the Jwan-hwa prefecture at the modern T'êng-yüeh or Momien, then inhabited by three tribes called *P'uh*, *P'iao*, and *Och'ang*. This disproves Prince Hassan's assertion that the *P'uh* were the ruling Nanchao tribe: it also suggests that *the Pyu tribe of Burmans then extended into modern China, or at all events worked their way down from the Tibet direction that way*. The *Och'ang* are the Lisu." The italics are mine, and the sentences set up in them well show into what ethnological chaos we get entangled and what mess we make of tribal origins if we follow in the old lines and admit, as the authority just quoted does here, that the P'hyū (Prū) were a Burmese (i.e. Tibeto-Burman) tribe. The above extract plainly demonstrates that remnants of the old Mōñ-Annam tribes were still in the country at that period, mingled with new arrivals, e.g. the Lisu.

[2] "The History of Champa," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1893.

Māla. It occurs in the name of the *Hsi-yüan-man*, called *Tai-ngüyên*, or *Têi-ngüen*, by the Annamese, whom Ma Tuan-lin[1] locates on the north-eastern frontiers of Tonkin and makes conterminous with the Nan-Chao on the west. It follows, therefore, that the early settlers in Tonkin and Annam must have been of the same stock of the *C'hīeng*, who peopled *Māla* or *Mālava-deśa*, i.e. the present Lāos, before the Lāu or Doans. Both the *Ngüyên* or *Ngüen* and the Lawā or C'hīeng originated from the race and country of *Yüan*, i.e. Kwang-si, which was part of *Yüeh*, i.e. Southern China; hence we see the terms *Chök*, *Chĕḥ*, *C'hieng*, *Yavana*, and *Javana* — which mean, respectively, 'tribes of South-Eastern China,' 'hill tribes,' and 'mixed tribes'—applied both to the early invaders of Tonkin and to the elder settlers in Lāos.

One of the ancient names of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng was, in fact, *Javā* or *C'hawā*, which the Lāu found on their arrival thither, and which they pronounce *Savā*. I have not the slightest doubt that this term is but an abridged form of *Javana* or *Yavana*; while its existence at so early a period is a proof that the city and the surrounding country then really belonged to the *Yüan* or *Yüeh*, namely, the *Yavana*, *C'hīeng*, or *C'hieng*. The name *C'hawā* or *Javā* was preserved in the country up to comparatively recent times, when the Chinese wrote it down as 過 (*Chua*, *ch'ua*, *chwa*, or *kwa*) and 老 過 (*Lao-Chua* or *Lau-Ch'ua*).[2] On the other

[1] Op. cit., pp. 236–7.

[2] It is interesting to remark that the Miao-tsze term the Chinese *shua* (vide *China Review*, vol. ix, p. 341). If this term corresponds, as I suppose, to the *C'hawā*, *Savā*, or *Javā*, mentioned above, it must have been originally employed by the Miao to designate not the Chinese people proper, but the pre-Chinese populations, chiefly of Mōñ-Annam race, inhabiting in the early periods the southern portion of China. Concerning the above term Mr. E. H. Parker observes (op. cit., vol. xii, p. 59) that the concurrence of sounds such as *shua*, *sia*, *sha*, etc., "would seem to point to some general name for the southern Chinese or some Chinese aboriginal race." The Hakkas, the same authority proceeds to say, often call *Puntis* (the natives of Kwang-tung) *Sha-ma*, a term which may correspond to the *Sia-po* of Fu-chou, the *Zik'abu* of Wên-chou, etc. It seems to me quite possible, in fact, that *Sia-po* and *Sha-ma* are connected with *Savā* and *Javā*. The inference would thus be that *Savā*, *Javā*, *Chĕḥ*, *Sia-po*, *Shua*, etc., represent, under different forms, the name of the race which

hand, from *Java* or *Savā*, and *Māla* or *Mālava*, sprang the denomination *Javaka-* or *Savaka-* (often wrongly spelled *Sevaka*) *-Mālā* for the same district, which we have mentioned at the outset. The first term of this compound toponymic was, in its turn, recorded by the Chinese annalists under the form 闍家 (*Chwa-kia*), and at times employed in the place of its synonym *Lao-Chua* to designate the State of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng.

It strikes one as very curious in this connection that, while the Lāu of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng ought, like their western kinsmen and for the same reason, to be termed *Yüan* or *Yuen*, they reserve this epithet, under the Pāḷi forms *Yona* or *Yón*, and the Sanskrit dress *Yavana* modified into *Yuen*, for their tattooing relatives of the C'hīeng-māi principality. Hence the designation *Yonaka-desa* for the region of Western Lāos so often met with in local literature. Evidently no race likes to be called *Yavana* or 'mixed,' and the Annamese do not feel less aversion for such an epithet. The C'hīeng-māi Lāu, however, retaliate upon their brothers of beyond the Më-Khōng by calling them *Këu*, thus insinuating that the latter are of the race of, or dependent from, the *Kïao* or *Chiau* of Kiao-chi (*Chiau-chih*) or Tonkin. Remnants of the ancient *Chëḥ* race still bearing the original name exist up to the present day in the state of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, and they are called *Khā Chëḥ* or *Khamu* (Khamuḥ). They dwell on the mountain slopes, a fact which evidences their character of hill-tribes; like their kinsmen the *Khā Kàu*, the *Sǫ́* or *Kasǫ́*, and the Suk or Sak, etc., they speak a language of the Mōñ-Annam class; and prove extremely meek and submissive. They consider themselves, in fact, as slaves of the Lāu, and accept without reluctance this condition of inferiority and

originally occupied the greater portion of Southern China before the advent of the Chinese proper, and that such a denomination continued to be employed to denote the natives of the various provinces of that region (whether or not connected by descent with that race) in order to distinguish them from immigrant Chinese from other provinces. Thus the terms referred to lost their original signification and became synonymous with 'indigene,' 'native.'

subordination to the latter, owing to a legend of their own according to which their ancestors were worsted in several competitions with the pioneers and progenitors of their present masters. The disgrace of the Khā Chĕḥ dates, in fact, from the day that the Lāu entered their country. Prior to that period they, and their kinsmen the Khā Kanrāng (Khā Kàu), appear to have been blessed with a far more civilized status than at present; for, as the chronicles of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng declare, at the time of the Lāu's advent into the country, the Khā Kanrāng were governed by a chief with the title and authority of king, who appointed ministers over the agriculture, fluvial communications, forests, etc.; and they had brought under cultivation the territory along both banks of the Mĕ-Khōng, as far up as the Nam-P'hā—an affluent joining the Mĕ-Khōng at C'hīeng Lap, below C'hīeng Khĕng (Kêng-Cheng of the maps) and Müang Sing. From these data we are enabled to form an estimate of the extent of that ancient kingdom of Eastern Mālava or Daśārṇa founded by the *Chĕḥ* race under Indū auspices and conquered afterwards by the eastern branch of the Lāu, T'wan, or Doans. Indū influence had, no doubt, made itself felt in the country long before the Lāu's advent, as it had indeed spread also further east and north into what we now call Tonkin and Yünnan; the probability is, therefore, that monarchs of Indū descent occupied the throne in Daśārṇa as they did in many a neighbouring State.

The foundation of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng is, in fact, ascribed by the native historians to adventurers from India, a circumstance which sufficiently demonstrates the Indū origin not only of the reigning dynasty, but also of the names for both city and State. *Daśārṇa* was apparently the denomination given the latter, while *Java*, *Javaka*, or *Yavana* more properly designated its capital, as well as the race that peopled the country. Already I have pointed out the connection of these terms with *Yüan*, *Yüeh*, *Ching*, *C'hīeng*, and *Chĕḥ* or *Chök*; more especially with *C'hīeng*, which I consider as a Thai synonym of the

Chinese *Yüeh*, in Annamese *Viet*.[1] I believe that it is this term *C'hí́eng* which suggested to the early Indū adventurers the Sanskrit word *Yavana* as a designation for the race whom they found in occupation of the country. It may be safely asserted at any rate that *Yavana*, *Yona*, *Yôn*, and *Yuen*, if not translations of *C'hí́eng*, must be imitative renderings of *Yüan* and *Yüeh*.

Having thus shown the origin and meaning of the terms which Ptolemy has preserved for us in connection with the people and country of Lāos, we shall now proceed to briefly examine each individual name of cities and rivers in this region.

Doanas River (Nos. 118 and 182).

According to our author it is formed by two streams, one from **Bēpyrrhos** and the other from the **Damassa** range, which unite in about long. 99° 31′ and lat. 22° 37′, corrected. The confluence would thus fall a little to the north-west of C'hīeng Rung. While the branch from **Bēpyrrhos** is made to rise in the Southern Himālayas of Asam, a little to the east of Tawang, the source of the eastern branch from **Damassa** is located in the north of Yünnan, a little west of Yung-ning—a very close approach indeed to the true position of the upper course of the Më-Khōng. Misled by a similarity in names, Ptolemy makes the **Doanas** debouch through the Dahan or Thuān-an River on the coast of Annam, in the Quang-tri district. He appears, in fact, to have been quite in the dark as regards its lower course; while, on the other hand, he traces it with remarkable correctness from the neighbourhood of the Ta-li Lake in Yünnan down to Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and even further, as a glance at our map will show. Its name of

[1] The sense of *C'hí́eng*, 'mixed, crossed, overlapping, diagonal,' seems to me to be presented to some extent by the Chinese *Yüeh*, Annamese *Viet* (越), meaning 'to overstep, to encroach on, to transgress, to cross.' Compare also *Këu* and 交 (*kau*, *kiau*, *chiau*, *giau*) = 'to interlock, to blend' = *Javana*, *Yavana*.

Doanas he derived either from the people inhabiting its banks, the *Doan*, *T'wan*, or *Ts'wan*, or from the Dahan or Thuān-an River, its supposed outlet. No such or similar name has, within my knowledge, ever been given to the Më-Khōng. The denominations which I find recorded for this important watercourse are, in its upper portion, that flows in Thibetan territory: *Nam-Chu* and *Chiamdo-Chu*. After it enters Yünnan, it goes by the name of *Lan-ts'ang*, by which it has always been known to the Chinese. There is no doubt that the latter named the river after the country or State of *Lān-c'hạng*, the Lāu designation for the territory of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng.[1] The Western Lāu term the

[1] In the Chinese 瀾 倉 (*Lan-ts'ang*), *Lan* means an orchid, and also 'scented,' 'numerous'; while the second term, *ts'ang*, stands for 'granary,' thus corresponding, or being in fact equivalent, to the Siāmese *c'hẳng*, having the same meaning. The Chinese rendering of the Thai *Lān-chạng* is, therefore, merely phonetic and imitative; unless it be assumed that, like early European travellers, they took the Thai *Lān* to mean 'a million,' and, figuratively, 'numerous'; and they confused, moreover, *c'hạng*, 'an elephant,' with *c'hẳng*, 'a granary.' The second term is, however, sometimes spelled 滄 (*ts'ang*) = 'an expanse of water.' The most common Chinese name by which the Më-Khōng is now designated in the portion of its course which lies within Yünnañ is *Chiu-lung Chiang* (Kiu-lung Kiang), and means, taken literally, 'Nine Dragons' River.' This has in our days become a favourite term with cartographers, who, as a rule, absolutely ignorant of the meaning of the exotic toponymics with which they fill their maps, use it indiscriminately for the whole of the river's lower course, and even note it down at its mouths in Kamboja. It will surprise these gentlemen not a little to learn that *Chiu-lung Chiang* simply means 'C'hīeng Rụng River,' as 九 龍 (*Chiu-lung*, *Kiu-lung*, or *Kau-lung*) is but a rough Chinese rendering of C'hīeng Rụng, *alias* Kiang Hung, employed at times in the place of the better known term *Ch'é-li*. It follows that the designation *Chiu-lung Chiang* should be applied only to the portion of the river's course comprised within the limits of the State of C'hīeng Rụng, and not elsewhere.

Other less generally known Chinese names for the Më-Khōng are: 喢空 (*Ch'iang*, pron. *K'oung* in Annamese), evidently a phonetic transcript of the Lāu *khống*; 風 (*Fêng* = 'wind'); 澥 空 江 (*Shên-k'ung Chiang*); 涔 (*Wan*), etc. (see *China Review*, vol. xx, p. 328). The last one bears some faint resemblance to *Doan* or **Doanas** without the initial D; but this is no sufficient reason for us to deduce that a connection exists between the two names. The Annamese (*Song-lôn*) and the Khmer (*Toulé-Thom*) designations for the Më-Khōng are generic terms simply meaning 'Great River,' while our (originally

Më-Khōng *Nam-khài*; the Eastern Lāu call it *Nạm-Khǒng* or *Mè-Khǒng*; and the Siāmese, with but little variation, name it *Mè-Khǒng* or *Mè-nạm-Khǒng*. I find, moreover, in native records, among which is the Müang Yōng Chronicle, that the portion of the Më-Khōng running through the Lāu States was termed *Yamunā-nadī*, probably in analogy to the Yamunā or Jumna of Northern India, some of whose affluents flow through Mālava and Daśārṇa. At times it is mentioned under the name of *Mahānadī*, whether in allusion to the Mahī or not I am unable to say. In the Pāli history of the *Sihiṅ* statue of Buddha, compiled in C'hīeng-māi by Bodhiraṁsi Mahāthera towards the end of the fourteenth century, the Më-Khōng is referred to (ch. vii) as *Khuraṅga-māli-nadī*; while in the C'hīeng-sën Chronicle it is, at the outset, termed *Khara-nadī* or *Hùei Khại*, and the denomination Më-Khōng is introduced later on, with a futile attempt to explain it by an absurd Buddhist legend, which it would be mere waste of space to reproduce here. *Khara-nadī* means 'the rough, or fierce, river'; *Hùei Khại* may be rendered as 'the stream that extirpates, or ravages.' This is also, on the whole, the sense conveyed by the word *Khǒng*: 'impetuous, violent.' But in the lower portion of its course, which lies through Kamboja, the Më-Khōng is, in some native accounts, styled *Sīdantara*.[1] This word, commonly pronounced *Sīthandōn*, is also the official Siāmese name for Müang-Khōng, a township on an island in the middle of the Më-Khōng, above Stüng-trëng. The suggestion made by some authorities[2] that

Portuguese) 'Cambodia River' can no longer be accepted as a strictly correct appellation in our present day. The foregoing remarks will have made it evident that *Lan-ts'ang* and *Më-Khǒng* are the only two names which should be preserved, on account both of their antiquity and wide application, for that majestic watercourse.

[1] *Sīdantara* or *Sīdanta-sāgara* (from *sīdati* = 'to sink') is the name given to the oceans between the seven rocky circles of the *Cakkavāḷa* in Buddhist cosmology. They are so termed on account of their waters being so light and subtle, it is said, that no raft or vessel can float on them, and even the eyed tip of a peacock's feather would sink right down to the bottom.

[2] Among whom Aymonier, in his "Voyage dans le Laos," t. i, p. 38, Paris, 1895. Garnier, whom this author criticizes for having said that Sīthandōn is the name of the mythical sea around Meru, was quite right.

the name of this township is a corrupt form of the Siāmese *Sī-p'han-dōn*, meaning 'four thousand islands,' is simply ridiculous, to say the least of it.

The popular notion among Siāmese and Lāu alike has ever been that the Më-Khōng flows through *Nóng Sī*, i.e. the Ta-li Lake or Hsi-êrh-hai, and that before reaching it, it travels underground through a tunnel for a distance taking eight days to a boat propelled by means of poles to traverse. Here and there, tell native accounts, funnel-shaped holes in the roof and sides of the tunnel admit of the passage of light. This is, of course, but a repetition of the tradition concerning the Hsi-êrh-ho, the stream which crosses the Ta-li Lake, joining afterwards the Yang-pi, an affluent of the Më-Khōng, and has nothing whatever to do with the last-mentioned river. Colborne Baber deems it impossible for boats from the Më-Khōng to reach the lake through the Yang-pi and its small tributary.[1]

In conclusion, there is no indication as to the Më-Khōng ever having borne the name of **Doanas** assigned to it by Ptolemy,[2] and we feel therefore justified in assuming that this name must have been given to it by our author either in reference to the people on its banks, the *Doans* or **Doānai**, or to its supposed outlet on the coast of Annam, the Thuān-an River. A very early, if not the oldest, name for the Më-Khōng is no doubt the one by which it is still known to the Chinese, i.e. *Lan-ts'ang*—or, as the Siāmese pronounce this term, *Lān-c'hāng*—which is alluded to in the ballad quoted by Ma Tuan-lin as being already old in

[1] See his "Travels and Researches in Western China" in the "Supplementary Papers" issued by the R.G.S., vol. i, p. 161. Here the author describes having seen "the river which issues from the lake [of Ta-li] suddenly plunge under a natural bridge of rock," a circumstance which may in part account for the origin of the tradition as regards the subterranean passage referred to above.

[2] Unless sufficient proof is forthcoming to show that the above cited 湾 (*wan*) is a surviving fragment of that name.

his time,[1] and cannot at the present day be ascribed an antiquity less than some fifteen centuries.

Rhingibēri, a city (No. 72).

This is no doubt C'hīeng Rung—the Kiang Hung of the maps[2]—the well-known capital of the twelve *P'han-nā* townships of the *Lü*-Shans (*Sib-sŏng P'han-nā Lü*) on the Upper Më-Khōng. Its official name is *Jotana-pura rājadhānī*, 'the Resplendent Capital,' appearing under the form *Jotinagara* in the Burmese Po-U-Daung inscription of A.D. 1774. The derivation is from the Sanskrit word *Jyotis*, meaning 'light' or 'brightness,' which occurs in *Prāg-jyotiṣa*, the ancient name of Asam.

Rhingibēri may be easily recognized in the compounds *Ringi-pura*, *Raṁga-pura*, *Rung-pur*, etc., which have as well their counterparts in Asam, in *Rangāmati*, *Rangā-bāṭi*, or *Rangabari*, on the Brahmaputra. This homonymy has misled Saint-Martin and Yule into actually locating Ptolemy's **Rhingibēri** in Asam. But, accustomed as we are to such repetitions of topographical names from India in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, of which we have given many an instance, we shall not fall a victim to the same error, especially since our calculated results indicate a place of the exact latitude of C'hīeng Rung, and not very different from the latter in longitude. The very name C'hīeng Rung, in its present Siāmese form, well represents the Sanskrit compound *Raṁga-pura*, for in it the prefix *C'hīeng* stands for *pura*, 'a city,' and the second term *Rung* for *raṁga*, which means 'colour,' 'hue,' and thus conveys a sense not very dissimilar from the word *jyotis*, in Pāli *joti*. But I shall now demonstrate that the denominations *Raṁga-pura*,

[1] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 177, art. *Ai Lao*.

[2] Termed 車里, *Ch'ē-li*, by the Chinese, and, at times, 九龍, *Chiu-lung* (see above, p. 135). I am of opinion that the term *Ch'ē-li* is a phonetic rendering of the compound *Chëḥ-lü*, in which *Chëḥ* (written exactly as in the name of the *Chëḥ* race) represents *Müang Chëḥ*, anciently the northernmost of the three divisions of the C'hīeng Rung Kingdom; and *Lü* stands for the name of the

Joti-nagara, and *Jotana-pura* are but classical adaptations by Indū adventurers of the original name for the city and district, which undoubtedly was C'hīeng Rụng — in Lāu pronunciation, *C'hīeng Húng* — and had a similar meaning. *Rụng*, in fact, in modern Siāmese, and *Húng* in Lāu, mean a 'rainbow'[1] — in Shan (Lāu of Burmā

branch of the Thai people inhabiting that region. The other two divisions were Müang Yōng and Müang Síng; hence, according to the Müang Yōng Chronicle, the three princes once ruling over them—who were brothers, being all sons of the C'hīeng Rụng king—became vulgarly known, respectively, as *Ȁi Chëḥ*, *Yī̄ Yōng*, and *Sā́m Sing*. (*Ȁi*, *Yī̄*, *Sā́m*, *Sái*, *Ngua*, *Lọk*, etc., were the ordinal epithets employed up to a comparatively recent period to distinguish male children in the order of birth—as may be seen from the law of A.D. 1731 in the collection of the Old Laws of Siām, vol. ii, pp. 7–26 — and mean 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. From this we see that the prince ruling over Müang Chëḥ was the eldest, the Müang Yōng one the second, and that of Müang Síng the third of the sons of the C'hīeng Rụng king. The prince of Yōng was, in the present instance, the Sunanda Kumāra referred to at p. 119 above.) This political division of C'hīeng Rụng into three principalities continued until A.D. 1399, when, in consequence of an attack made by the Chinese from Yünnan upon Müang Yōng and C'hīeng-māi, which was successfully repelled by Prince Khún Sén from the last-named State, Müang Yōng became part of the C'hīeng-māi dominions. The rearrangement of C'hīeng-Rụng into twelve *p'han-nā* districts for administrative purposes then followed, but Müang Chëḥ and Müang Síng continued to retain their character of principalities. The state of affairs prior to that period, however, explains the expression *San-mêng* (*Sam-maing*, i.e. *Sā́m-Müang* = 'Three Districts' or 'Principalities'), which has so much puzzled Devéria (see his "La Frontière Śino-Annamite," p. 154), and misled Parker (*China Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 54) into believing it a clerical slip for *Shih-san-mêng*, judging from the standpoint that 十二 (*Shih-êrh* or twelve) is oftener than not in Chinese records misspelled 十三 (*Shih-san* or thirteen) in the expressions 十二猛 (*Shih-êrh-mêng*) and 十二板那 (*Shih-êrh-pan-na*), employed to denote the 'twelve *P'an-nā* districts,' i.e. the State of C'hīeng Rụng. It will now clearly appear that *San-mêng* must have been meant for the three *Müang* principalities of Chëḥ, Yōng, and Síng, referred to above.

[1] The full name for rainbow in Siāmese is *Rụng-kin-nạm*. In Lāu *Rụng* or *Hụng* is also the name for the Brahmanī kite. Hence the Siāmese expression means 'the kite drinks out the waters.' Its origin is to be found in the popular belief that the rainbow is due to the trail of coloured rays left behind by the celestial kite when flying down to the earth to feed both on land and on the waters. The phenomenon is by some ascribed to the light emanating from

or *Thai Yāi*) (*Hûng*), or (*Hûng-hâi*)—and are identical with the Chinese 虹 (*Hung*), conveying the same sense. *Rùng*, moreover, in a slightly different tone in Siāmese, *Hūng* in Lāu and in Shan (晃 or 煌 in Chinese), mean 'bright,' 'shining.' Whether it be for the reason that the idea of colour is associated with that of light or brilliancy in the rainbow, or that the two terms expressing separately these ideas are easily mistaken the one for the other, owing to an almost imperceptible difference of tone existing between them, the fact is that the early Indū travellers who arrived into the country by the Maṇipur route from Asam, translated *hûng* or *ruṇg* by *raṁga* and *jotis*, thus transplanting on the banks of the Më-Khōng two of the topographical names which they had met with *en route* on the banks of the Brahmaputra. Ptolemy's **Rhingibēri** becomes therefore identical, on both geographical and linguistic grounds, with *Raṁga-pura* or C'hīeng Ruṇg.

Lariagara, a town (No. 73).

Probably Müang Lëm, or Rëm, which has its exact latitude and is situated on the Nam Lëm, a right tributary of the Më-Khōng. Müang Lëm is nowadays the centre of the country of the independent Lawā or Waḥ. The name of the town here referred to by Ptolemy may have some connection with a possible Prākṛt form *Lāri-āgāra*. In India we have *Lār* or *Lār-deśa*, in Sanskrit *Lāṭa*; a *Lauriya* in the ancient Mithilā, east of the Gaṇḍak River; and a *Lehri* and *Laragari* towards the north-west frontier.

a dragon. I believe, therefore, that some misconception arose from the similarity of the term *Ruṇg* with *Rông* or *Ma-rông*, which is the old word for 'dragon,' taken from the Chinese 龍, *lung* or *long*.

As names of peoples we have *Lārga* as a variant of *Bharga* in the Mahābhārata;[1] also *Laraka*, meaning 'warrior,' which is the designation the Hor of Sing Bhūm give themselves.[2] So little is known of Müang Lëm and of the surrounding country that it is for the present impossible to ascertain whether any of the above terms apply to its territory or to its inhabitants.

In the tables I suggested also, but doubtfully, Legya, often appearing in the maps as *Ledeah*. Its real name is, however, purely Thai, and ought to be written *Lài-khā̃*, which is the Lāu form of the Siāmese expression *Dài-khà* (Shan ထ်ၵၢ), meaning 'slaves [were] obtained [here].' Forchhammer was mistaken in believing the name of Legya to be of Indū derivation, thus identifying it, wrongly, with the *Lakkhiya-pura* of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions of Pegu (A.D. 1476). At the same time, not far to the south-east of Legya and to the north-east of its sister Shan town of Moné (more correctly *Mo-Nāi* = *Müang Nāi*; anciently *Müang P'hōng*), Dr. Richardson in his journeys of 1830–37 discovered some ancient ruins with sarcophagi and other monuments which may mark the site of some forgotten chief-city of the C'hīeng or Lawạ̄, and thus justify the name *Rājagṛha*, which I find applied in native records to either Legya or some other city in its neighbourhood.

In my opinion, however, Legya is too far out, both in latitude and longitude, of the position where we should expect to find Ptolemy's city. If due regard is to be had to the location assigned by Ptolemy to Lariagara in respect

[1] Hall's ed. of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 171.
[2] Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," Buddhist Period, p. 507.

of **Rhingibēri** (C'hīeng Rụng), we see that the site of Müang Lëm is the one which best answers all requirements. I do not therefore hesitate to discard Legya, and to pronounce myself in favour of the above-named township.

Lasippa or **Lasyppa**, a town (No. 76).

This city proves no less difficult of identification than the preceding, owing to the scarce, and at the same time conflicting, evidence which we obtain from the maps. Its name at once suggests *Sīpoḥ*, the Thibo of European maps, in the Shan State of *Sḗn-wī́* (Theinnee);[1] or, what may appear to be yet more preferable, Lashio, in the same district. Though the resemblance in names, especially in the case of the last-mentioned place, is striking, the positions in latitude of both Sī-poḥ and Lashio of some four degrees to the north of Ptolemy's city, dispose of at once, I think, of their identification with the latter. If I referred to them here and in the tables, it is more for the sake of completeness than because I deem either of them to be really the place meant by our authority. My opinion is, in fact, that in the case in point, as well as in analogous ones when close similarity of names comes into play, we must not rely

[1] In Lāu records *Sḗn-wī́* and *Sī-poḥ* are very often mentioned bound up together in a single compound, thus: *Sḗn-wī́-sī-poḥ*, because of their forming part of the same State. The classical name of this principality is *Śivi-rāṣṭra*; not "*Thiri-* [or *Siri*] *-rata*" as given by Ney Elias, which is undoubtedly wrong. *Sī-poḥ*, in Shan ᨱᩦᨻᩬᩲ, in Siāmese *Sī-ploḥ*, is a Thai expression, meaning 'four tufts.' But this is probably a mere corruption or imitation of the original Sanskrit name of the city or State, which was apparently *Śibi* or *Śivi*. Otherwise *Sī-poḥ* may be connected either with the 濮 (*Pu*) tribes which Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 298–306) locates about this region, or with the 棘 (*P'u* or *P'uh*), the ruling Nan-chao clan (*v. supra*, pp. 121 and 130), which Mongol history places exactly in Theinnee (see *China Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 158).

upon homonymy alone, discarding the evidence afforded us by calculation, unless the results issuing from both sources are in fair agreement. Taking, therefore, for our guide the calculated result which has, in other instances, proved so remarkably near the truth, we see that the position of **Lasippa** falls between C'hīeng-māi and Nān, and precisely at Müang Ngū, closely above which Monsieur Pavie's map notes a small township under the name of—I use the same spelling—*Wieng Sipou-kay*. In the neighbourhood we find similar geographical names, such as: *Müang Saïeb*, a little to the east; and a small stream, the *Si-pan*, an affluent of the Mē-Yom, on the south. Of course, we must not become too sanguine in the face of these results. But in a country which, like that of the Lāu, has seen so many political revulsions, half-forgotten names of out-of-the-way and nowadays comparatively insignificant places often represent cities and marts once important and flourishing; and must be carefully examined into before being definitely rejected in a retrospective inquiry like this.

Besides, names similar to **Lasippa** are common all over the country. In the tables I have pointed out one instance: *Lā-siep* or *Lā-siet*, the name of an islet and of an ancient city on the *Mè-P'hing* (pronounced *Mè-Ping* by the Lāu, the western upper branch of the Mē-Nam River) some 2° of latitude south of C'hīeng-māi and just above Kamp'hēng P'het; wrongly spelled in Pavie's map as "*B. Kao* [*Bān Koh*, i.e. 'village of the island'] *La-kiet*." The city once existing there was, according to the Lamp'hūn chronicles, founded by *Cāma-devī*, the first queen of that State, in A.D. 528. But the name of the islet and district may have existed long before that; and very likely they were formerly occupied by some Lawā settlement similar to the apparently more important one which the same people had a little further up, above Rahēng, by the name of Müang Sōi, of which conspicuous ruins still exist. Many places bearing names beginning with *La* or *Lā* are extant, moreover, all through the Lāu country, such as, for instance, *Laming* or *Raming*, often misspelled *Lamaing*, the name

of the ancient site and stream of C'hīeng-māi. Under the form *Hlay-tshīep*[1] the term **Lasippa** is also met with in Lower Burmā, particularly in the Henzada and Hlaing townships. These facts tend to show that it must belong to the vernacular of the ancient settlers, whether Mōñ or Lawā, and that it is therefore a local term and not of Indian origin; though it might be traceable to some Sanskrit-Pāḷi form like *Lakṣiva*, *Lakṣibha* (one *lak* of elephants?), etc. In Yünnan there is a chief city of the Hō which the Lāu chronicles call *Müang Hō-wōng*, giving the term *Lakṣa-guhā* (= one *lak* of caverns) or *Lakṣa-gṛhā* (one *lak* of houses) as its classical equivalent.[2]

Subsequent inquiries may disclose the correct name and site of Ptolemy's **Lasippa**; at our present stage of incomplete knowledge of the history and geography of the Lāu States we must remain satisfied with locating that city in the present C'hīeng-māi district, and provisionally at Wīeng Si-pou-kay above Müang Ngū, until a more satisfactory site can be suggested.

Dasana or Doana, a town (No. 74).

The remarks prefaced to this section, as well as the result obtained from calculation for the position of this city, sufficiently prove that the latter can be no other place but Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, the present, as well as the earliest, capital of Eastern Lāos. In all Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng chronicles and records which I had occasion to examine,

[1] "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 190.

[2] This is probably Mēng-hwa, the ancient *Mêng-shê*, the chief city of the Nan-chao. The name of the *Müang*, or city and district, *Hō-wōng*, seems to me to represent the Chinese 鶴王 or 獲王; perhaps 河皇; i.e. [capital city of the] king of the *Ho*, *Huo*, *Ho-chê*, or *Ho-man*. I have remarked (p. 127 *supra*) that the Nan-chao were known as *Ho-chê*; the *Ho-man* ('river-barbarians') are, I think, the same people, to wit, the *Droṇaka* or *Pai-i*. Yünnan is known up to this day to the Siāmese under the name of *Müang Hō*. Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 154) mentions a chief of that region, a certain 孟獲, *Mêng-ho*, or *Mêng-huo*, evidently *Müang Hō* in Siāmese—against whom the famed Chukoh-liang had to fight in A.D. 221.

the foundation of this city is ascribed to two brother ascetics from India, the elder of whom bore the name of *Thōng* (gold) and the younger that of *Dvādaśan* or *Dvādaśaḥ* (twelfth). They were represented as having marked off the site of the city by means of golden and silver posts. The first of these was set up on the spot where now rises *Wat C'hīeng-thōng*, a Buddhist monastery, at the upper extremity of the city; a second one was stuck at the confluent of the Nạm Khān (*Khāra*) with the Mẽ-Khōng in order to delimit the lower end of the town; and three more pillars respectively of gold, silver, and stone were erected by the side of a gigantic coral-tree (*Erythrina Indica*, in Lāu *Mại Thōng* or 'golden tree,' in Siāmese *Thōng-láng*; evidently the Chinese 扜 琅) which then stood near the site of the present Wat C'hīeng-thōng, in order to mark the auspicious site of the future royal residence. After these preliminaries the two ascetics summoned forth the seven mighty *Nāga* (serpent-gods) dwelling in the streams, mountains, and grottoes of the neighbourhood (who are even up to the present day worshipped by the Lāu), and committed the territory to their custody. The elder of the hermits then left *Dvādaśan* in charge of the work of completion of the city, and ascended to heaven to pay P'hyā Thẽn (the god Indra) a visit, and ask him to send one of his sons (Khún Borom) to reign upon the newly formed State.

The first set of names that the city received was, always according to the chronicles, *C'hīeng Ḍong-C'hīeng Thōng*— in allusion, respectively to the Nạm Ḍong rivulet flowing to the south and below the town, and to the coral-tree towering as a monarch of vegetation at its upper end.

An alternative designation was given to the city in reference to the configuration of its territory, which, the two ascetics had remarked, resembled the body of a snake lying with its head at the confluence of the Nạm Khān and with its tail on the strip of land between the latter-named watercourse and the Mẽ-Khōng; the ridge of the *Chōm-Śrī* Hill running through the middle of it representing, as it were, in its undated outline, the ophidian's

spine. From this circumstance the city was styled *Śrī Sattanāgaṇahuta.*[1]

A third name was yet given to it, viz. *Lān-c'hāng*, meaning 'the elephants' grazing ground,' or 'the elephants' lawn.' This was in allusion, it is said, to the shape of two hills, rising one to the east and the other to the south of the city, which resemble in profile two huge

[1] In this compound term *Krung* ('river') means a capital city, or *nagara*. *Sattanāga* stands evidently for 'seven snake-gods.' *Ṇahuta* or *nahuta* is a vast number said to be equivalent to one unit followed by twenty-eight ciphers; hence it may be intended to express the idea of abundance. Native authorities, however, state that *nahuta* means also 'crest, hood.' Such being the case, the sense would be, 'Glorious capital-city of the seven Nāga crests,' or, possibly, 'of the seven-crested Nāga.' The seven crests are explained to be the summits of as many hills inhabited by Nāga chiefs, which lie within the limits of the territory. I do not, however, find the term *nahuta* for 'crest' in any Sanskrit or Pāli dictionary. The nearest word is apparently *nahuṣya*, meaning a 'man.' Again, *Nāga* denotes not only a snake, but also an elephant. I trust, nevertheless, that the interpretation given above is correct; at any rate, the native authorities hold such to be the sense that must be ascribed to the city's name.

A city bearing the denomination of *Cūḍāmāla-nagara* or *Cūḍāma-nagara* is mentioned in two inscriptions, one from Sukhothai and the other from Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, in terms which lead one to conjecture it to be Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng itself, or anyhow a city not very far from it. Should further evidence be forthcoming to prove that it is actually Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, the explanation given above of *Satta-nāga-ṇahuta* would also receive endorsement, because *Cūḍā* in Sanskrit means a 'crest' and would thus prove but an alternative term for *nahuta* in the above compound. It is more likely, however, that *Cūḍāmala* (or *Cūḍāma-nagara*) is but one alternative name for *Cūlaṇī*, *Colaṇī*, or *Cūḷāmāliṇī*, which, as we have noticed (p. 127 above), should be identified with *Lin-i* or *Campā*. It is true that—from the fact of the State of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng having been both historically and etymologically connected with *Hsiang-lin*, the name which the *Lin-i* district was given under the Han—Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng also may have shared with the latter the denomination of *Cūlaṇī* or *Cūḷāmāliṇī*; but of this we have not as yet any positive proof. As a last hypothesis I may point out that, owing to the belief of the *Nāgas* being jewel-crested, the designation *Cuḷāmaṇi*, *Cūḍāmaliṇī*, or *Cūḍāmāla* may also have been applied to Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, quite independently of its connection with *Lin-i*. I shall revert to these points in due course when dealing with the geographical terminology of the ancient kingdom of *Champā*.

The particulars given above anent the foundation of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng clearly show that its original builders were spirit and serpent worshippers. So have become, and to a certain extent remained up to this day, their descendants, notwithstanding their adoption, from the middle of the fourteenth century, of Buddhism. As a consequence, at the expiration of each year two buffaloes, of which one is white and the other black, are immolated, and the flesh offered up to the guardian deities of the country on stands erected at each corner of the town. The two hermit founders of the city are also worshipped at the same season on the top of the Chōm S'rī Hill and at the confluence of the *Ṇam Khān*. It will be observed that this kind of worship is common to the Chinese, and was evidently brought by the Lāu from their ancient home in China, where it is a time-honoured custom, sanctioned by law, to offer bullocks to the spirits of the mountains, streams, and land, to the spirits of the dead, etc.

elephants.[1] Accordingly, they were termed one the major and the other the minor elephant, and the open grassy plain stretching between them was assumed figuratively to be the *lān-c'hạ̄ng*, i.e. the pasture-field for the two pachyderms. Thus originated, it is alleged, the name *Lān-c'hạ̄ng*, by which Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and its territory have been longest and best known to foreigners, and after which the Chinese have denominated the principal stream running through that State, to wit, the Më-Khōng River. It should be remembered, however, that the whole of ancient *Chiao-chih*, or Tonkin, including the territory of what became afterwards the kingdom of *Campā*, was, according to Chinese and Annamese records, conquered and constituted into the *chün* (province) of *Hsiang* under the Ts'in, in B.C. 214. Also, that after the second Chinese conquest of B.C. 111, *Lin-i*, a district of the former *chün* of *Hsiang* corresponding, roughly, to the present Ha-tinh province, had its name changed to *Hsiang-lin*. Now, the Chinese term *Hsiang*, meaning an elephant, is exactly equivalent to the Thai *c'hạ̄ng*; and *Hsiang-lin* ('Elephant-grove,' and also, 'Elephant assemblage'), if turned into the grammatical construction peculiar to the Thai language, becomes *Lin-hsiang* and acquires a similar meaning to the Thai *Lān-c'hạ̄ng* ('Elephant grounds'). Here, then, we have a proof that the designation of 'Elephant country,' or 'Elephant territory,' existed for the region immediately to the east of the State of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng from at least as early a date as 214 B.C. Such being the case, the question arises as to whether the designation referred to was invented by the Chinese for the territories of *Hsiang* and *Hsiang-lin* and came subsequently to be applied also to Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng (in a similar manner with the term *Cūlaṇī* alluded to above), owing to its being coterminous with those territories with which it was always more or less connected and often confused by eastern geographers and historians; or whether, *per contra*, the same designation originated in Lúang P'hraḥ

[1] *P'hū C'hạ̄ng-nọ̈i* and *P'hū C'hạ̄ng-lúang*.

Bāng itself and the names *Hsiang* and *Hsiang-lin* were borrowed from it. It is more likely, however, that 'Elephant Country' was in origin but a generic term for the whole of the region extending, roughly, from the Nan-ling Mountains in Kwang-si to the Mē-Khōng at Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and to the shores of the Gulf of Tonkin, as evidenced by the fact that we find the same term localized to three different sections of that region, to wit: Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, *Hsiang-lin*, and even as outlying a district as Hsiang-chou in Kwang-si. In short, under the ancient denomination of *Hsiang*, or 'Elephant territory,' the State of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng must also have been included. Whether the paternity of such a designation is really to be ascribed to the Chinese conquerors of that region or not, it is now difficult to judge. The probability is that the country was so named by its early occupiers, whether of Thai or Mōñ-Annam extraction; for it must be remembered that the term *hsiang*—under its multifarious forms, such as *ch'ang*, *ds'ing*, etc.—is not peculiar to the language of China proper alone, but is equally met with in most languages and dialects presently spoken in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, those of the Malay-Chām group and Annamese being perhaps the only exceptions.

Under these circumstances one feels little inclined to credit the statement of native chroniclers that the designation of *Lān-c'hạng* for Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng was invented by and applied to *in situ* the Lāu. It must have pre-existed, I repeat, as a generic term not only for the territory occupied by that State, but also for the surrounding country, long before the foundation of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng city itself; and its survival as a name for the latter is merely one separate instance of its subsequent localization to distinct parts of that region.

In Ptolemy's time it still existed for both Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and Hsiang-lin; but he referred to the former State, or its capital, under the name of **Dasana** or **Doana** (i.e. 'Country of the *Ts'wan*') and to the latter as **Kortatha**, a term which, we shall see in due course, represents *Kau-tê* or *Chiu-tê* (in Annamese *Kü-dük*), the ancient name for the Hsiang-lin or Lin-i district. While thus not making any

explicit mention of the term 'Elephant Country' for either of the above territories, Ptolemy appears nevertheless not to have been totally ignorant of its existence in so far, at least, as Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng is concerned, for he speaks, as we have already noted at the outset of this section, of elephants being found in the mountainous tracts dividing the country of the **Doānai** from the home of the **Lēstai** (Lower Siām and Kamboja). If the designation of *Lān c'hạ̄ng* for the territory of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng can thus be traced back to B.C. 214, it is very likely that the date at which it was first applied to the adjoining Më-Khōng River is scarcely less remote, and thus our previous remarks on this subject receive further confirmation.[1]

We now come to the fourth name of the city, or rather of its territory, which is given as *Javā, C'hawā,* or *Savā (Müang C'hawā)*. This term is stated in the local chronicles to have existed previous to the advent of the Lāu, it having been, in fact, adopted from the name of the first

[1] The Portuguese historians refer to the State of *Lān-c'hạ̄ng* under the name of *Lanjão* (see Bocarro, "Decadas da India," p. 117, in *Collecção de Monumentos Ineditos*, etc., t. vi). The Italian missionaries term it the kingdom of the '*Langioni*.' This word is explained by Marini (*Delle Missioni*, etc., Rome, 1663, p. 448) as meaning 'migliaia di elefanti' (thousands of elephants); which shows that he mistook the term *Lān*, natural tone, for *Lạ̄n*, emphatic tone, which means 'a million.' The same error is repeated by Tosi (*Dell' India Orientale*, vol. ii, p. 142), who calls the capital city *Langiona* (p. 139). The capital was at this period *Wieng Chan* (Candrapuri), which bore in consequence the same title of *Nagara* (or *Krung*) *S'rī Sattanāga-ṇahut Lān-c'hạ̄ng* belonging to the former capital Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng. The name Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng for the latter only came into use when it ceased to be capital in A.D. 1565. The city was then left under the nominal protection of the famous statue of Buddha known by the name of *P'hraḥ Bāng* (*Vraḥ Pāṅga*), and under the care and guardianship of the chief priests; thence its name of *Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng* or *Müang Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng*, 'the capital-city of the sacred *Bāng* statue of Buddha,' by which it has always been known from that date, even after it became the capital of a separate kingdom from that of Wieng Chan later on. The Chinese corrupted *Lān-c'hạ̄ng* into *Nan-chang* (南掌), this being the form under which they refer to Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng in their records after A.D. 1730. A much more accurate rendering was the one adopted long before that for the Më-Khōng, i.e. *Lan-ts'ang* (瀾倉); while none proved more exact for the second part of the name than the ancient *Hsiang* (象). The discrepancies in these renderings are no doubt due to differences in the pronunciation of the above Chinese characters at the various periods at which they were employed in the transcription of the name of *Lān-ch'ạ̄ng*.

ruler (referred to as *Khún C'hawā*, i.e. 'King C'hawā' or 'King Javā') of the population of *Chĕḥ* race who originally settled in the country about Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, whence their descendants were driven away, as stated in a former page (129), by the invading Lāu under Khún Lō. It thus appears that *Müang C'hawā* must have been one of the very first names—if not, indeed, the earliest—borne by the territory of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, and, as I have already shown, its connection with the terms *Chĕḥ*, *C'hieng*, *Yüan*, *Yavana*, *Javana*, and *Java*, *Yava*, or *Yüeh*, clearly denotes a country inhabited by tribes of the same race as is known to have held from the remotest time the southern portion of China and to have subsequently spread over the whole of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and part of the Malay Archipelago, all along which it has left standing vestiges of its domination not only in the language but also in the name of *Java*, which it has carried as far as the Sunda Strait. I need not repeat that the great people here alluded to is the so-called Mōñ-Annam race in its manifold ramifications. We shall meet it later on when dealing with the southern portion of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. In the meantime we may call attention to the fact of the persistence of the name *C'hawā* in connection with Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, which is a sure index of its importance. Had it been merely the name of a ruler it would have been no more preserved attached to the name of the country than those of Khún Lō and other monarchs, no matter how illustrious, have been. The reason why it was handed down to posterity indissolubly identified with the name of the country was, then, that it was the name of the race which first occupied it and developed its resources. We have already traced the term *C'hawā*, under its Lāu form of *Sawā*, or *Savā*, in the designation *Savaka-Malā*, or *Savaka-Mālavā*, which the region of Eastern Lāos, and more properly the State of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, have borne down to this day; and we did not omit to remark how both *C'hawā* and *Savaka* (*Javaka*) gave rise to the denominations *Lao Chua* and *Chua-kia*, applied from the earliest period by the Chinese to

the same region.[1] These are, I think, sufficient arguments as to the antiquity of that term and its purport and correct application in so far as the State of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng is concerned.

The Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng chronicles state that in the course of time the early terms *C'hi-ng-ḍong-C'hieng-thōng* and *C'hawā* became somewhat obsolete, and that the style *Nagara Śrī Satta-nāga-ṇahut Lān-c'hāng* was adopted as the official title of the realm and its capital, completed afterwards by the addition of the words *Ròm-khấu*, 'white *chatta* or parasol,' as a reference to the symbol of royal dominion that surmounted the throne of its rulers. The above is, in fact, the usual form under which we find the kingdom of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng referred to in official documents and in the chronicles of Lāos, Siām, and surrounding countries.[2] When, however, the capital was removed from Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng to Wīeng Chan (A.D. 1565), the same style was adopted for the latter-named city, and retained,

[1] Another, so far unexplained Chinese designation for Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng is 牢龍 (*Lao-lung*). It cannot be very old, for it is undoubtedly meant for *Lāu-Lúang*, i.e. the 'Lāu of *Müang Lúang*,' as for brevity's sake the 'Lāu of Müang Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng' are often referred to by the natives. In a similar manner those of their kinsmen who hail from Wieng Chan are termed, simply, *Lāu Wieng*. This conventional tribal name was recorded under the form *Lou-wen* (pronounced *Lau-weng* in Flemish) by Gerard van Wusthof (A.D. 1641), who mistook it for the name of the country and employed it to designate the Mē-Khōng—a stream, he says, usually called 'the *Lou-wen* River.' The illustrious Francis Garnier, his translator and commentator, although he had been over the same ground, was much puzzled by the term *Lou-wen*, and could suggest no explanation (see "Voyage lointain aux royaumes de Cambodge et Laouwen," in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* for 1871, p. 251). Its meaning will now be clear to the reader. It will also appear evident how, similarly to Wusthof with *Lāu-Wieng*, the Chinese took *Lāu-Lúang* to be a name of country.

In the same work Wusthof mentions (p. 274) *Meunswae*, which Garnier identifies with Xieng-hai (C'hieng Kâi). Every reader will now see, however, that *Müang Sawī*, i.e. Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, is the place meant.

The utter inability of a scholarly man like Garnier to identify two well-known names in a region which he had not only visited, but also studied, plainly demonstrates how little reliance can be placed upon the effusions of less gifted travellers—let alone globe-trotters—who, from the mere fact of having journeyed post-haste through a country, think themselves entitled to speak *ex cathedra* upon the most intricate questions connected with its geography, ethnology, etc.

[2] The name of *Śrī Sattanāga-ṇahuta* for Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng already occurs in the Siāmese *Koṭ Moṇthierabān* (*Kaṭa Mandira-pāla*) or "Statutes of Palatine Law," enacted in A.D. 1368 by the king who founded Ayuthia.

even after Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng was restored as capital of a separate kingdom, down to the destruction of Wīeng Chan in 1828. Owing to this circumstance several foreign authorities were misled into believing that Wīeng Chan was the old and original *Lān-c'hạ̄ng*, an absolutely mistaken notion.

I have remarked in a preceding page that traces of the classical name of the country, Dasana or *Daśārṇa*, may be detected in the legend of the foundation of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng. We saw, in fact, that the junior of the two original founders, who afterwards remained alone in charge of the city, is called *Dvādaśan* or *Dvādaśaḥ* in that legend. This name may well be a modification or corruption of some original term like *Daśan* or *Daśārṇa*, representing the name of either the first king of the realm,[1] or of the country itself as designated by the early Indū adventurers who settled in it.

The alternative name *C'hīeng Thōng* given to the city by the Lāu may be, not as the legend says, in allusion to the coral-tree, but to the elder of the supposed hermit founders, who, it will be remembered, is called *Thōng* (gold). The most probable conjecture seems to me, however, that both the terms *Ḍong* and *Thōng*, occurring in the Lāu name of the city, are connected with the name of the Lāu tribes which first occupied it, and with the designation of the country that formed their early habitat. We have remarked that *Ts'wan*, *T'wan*, or *Doan* was the name of the first Lāu occupiers; and that *Da-nan-dông* was the designation of the country at the headwaters of the Red River formerly inhabited by them. Also, that *Huang-dông* or *Huang-tong* was the name of tribes of the *Hsi-yüan-man* living on the eastern borders of the Thai kingdom of *Nan-chao*. We have seen, moreover, that the small watercourse joining the Mē-Khōng below the city of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng is called *Hùei Nạm-Ḍong*, i.e. the *Nạm Ḍong* rivulet, and that from

[1] The founder of Old Pugān (*Bukām*) in Upper Burmā was a kṣatriya prince from Gangetic India by the name of *Daśa* (*Dāsa* ?) or *Daśa-rāja*. See Phayre's "History of Burma," p. 9.

it the city is held to have been named *C'hīeng Ḍong*. Here we are then, from all appearances, in the presence of the same term *Da-nan-dông*, transplanted from the headwaters of the Red River to the banks of the Më-Khōng by the early Lāu invaders—the *Ts'wan*, *T'wan*, or *Doan*—who, we have seen, came exactly from that very spot. *Da-nan-dông* seems to me a purely Thai or Lāu toponymic. It can be taken, in fact, to mean *Thā-nạm-dong*, i.e. 'the landing-place of the forest' or 'the jungle landing.' *Dong*, though often written with a cerebral *d*, can hardly be a proper name; it simply means 'forest, woods'; whence *Nạm Dong* signifies 'forest stream.'

As regards the *Huang-dông* or *Huang-tong* barbarians of the Annamese and Chinese Annalists, although represented as belonging to the *Hsi-yüan-man* stock, they were nevertheless very probably of the same race of the Nan-Chao with whom they were conterminous on the west; for it must be remembered that the Lāu and other offshoots of the Thai race were called *Yüan*, *Yonas*, or *Yavanas*, from the fact of their occupying territories once belonging to Mōn-Annam races, with whom they became to a certain extent intermingled. Besides, *Yüan-man* was, for the Chinese, a generic term by which they collectively designated the pre-Chinese tribes of Southern Kwang-si and South-Eastern Yünnan. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the terms *C'hīeng Ḍong* and *C'hīeng Thông*, by which Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng was at one time designated, were introduced by the *Ts'wan*, *T'wan*, or *Doan*, and perhaps also by some branch of the *Huang-dông* or *Huang-tong*, coming thither from the upper reaches of the Red and Black Rivers through Lao-kai, Lai-chao, and Müang Thến (Dien-bien p'hu).

At the same time the names **Doana** and **Doānai** recorded by Ptolemy for the city or State of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, and for its people respectively, sufficiently attest of the country being, in his time, already occupied by the *Ts'wan*, *T'wan*, or *Doan*. Concerning the intimate connection, if not absolute identity, of the three tribal names just given,

and their application to branches of the Thai race, there can be no doubt; and I imagine that I have given enough convincing arguments to prove both theses. Should, however, any further evidence be required, I might refer to the following point. Some people in the Sibsagar district are, up to this day, called *Doanias*. "These people," says Gurdon in his paper on the Khamtis,[1] "also, I think, are allied to the Khamtis . . . . The Assamese call them Dóanias from the word (Dóaniya) meaning 'interpreter.'" As the Khamtis—or, rather, *Kham-dī*—are a people of the Thai stock, whose early predecessors in Asam, the *Ahom* (Asama), of the same race invaded and conquered the

[1] *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1895. The correct name for the Khamti is *Kham-dī*, a pure Thai expression meaning 'good gold.' *Kham* is still the common name for gold among the Lāu. *Thông*, derived from the Chinese 銅 (*t'ung*)—as *Kham* is from 金 (*chin*, in Cantonese *kêm*)—is often used instead, though it means also 'copper' and 'a yellow metal' in general. In Siāmese always, and in Lāu at times, the term employed to designate gold is a compound of both words, thus: *thông-kham*. It strikes me that the Khamti must be the same branch of the Thai race whom the Chinese term *Chin-ch'ih* ('Golden Teeth') and to whom Marco Polo refers as the *Zardandan* (evidently a corrupt and contracted form of the Sanskrit *Suvarṇa-danta*); and that perhaps their name of Khamti has something to do with their ancient practice of gilding their teeth. In some of the southern Chinese dialects the words *Chin-ch'ih* are pronounced *Kam-ch'i* or *Kam-sī*; and *sī* in Siāmese is a numerical affix employed in the numbering of teeth, while *sī'k* in Shan ( ) is also used as a synonym for tooth. Of course the Thai construction would be *sī-kham* or *sī'k-kham*, which is quite different from *Kam-ch'i* and *Kham-dī*; yet it is evident that both names are connected in some way or other. Should this prove to be the case, the historical inference could be drawn that a branch of the Khamti, if not the entire body of them, was still dwelling in the territory of Yung-ch'ang in Marco Polo's time.

Since writing the above I notice that Mr. J. F. Needham, in his "Outline Grammar of the [*Thai*] (Khâmtî) Language" (Rangoon, 1894, p. i, Preface), gives two different derivations of the term *Khamti*, i.e.: (1) 'tied to the spot,' from *khâm* = 'to stick, to remain where placed' (in Siāmese *khong*), and *tî* = 'spot, place' (in Siāmese *thî*); (2) *khâm-tî* = 'golden locality.' In my opinion both these new-fangled etymologies are absurd and unacceptable, the first one on historical and the other on linguistical grounds, for it being a rule in Thai languages that adjective *follows* substantive, 'golden locality' would be expressed as *Thî-Kham*, and not in the form referred to. I therefore hold, until substantial proof to the contrary is forthcoming, that *Kham-dī* is the correct etymology. Abbé Desgodins, though explaining it 'pays de l'or,' writes *Kham-di* (*Annales de l'Extrême Orient*,' t. iii, p. 43).

country many a century ago, we see that the ancient, probably original, name of *Doan* has been preserved there. And this is evidently no other but the term **Doānai** given by Ptolemy to their kinsmen who settled along the **Doanas** or Më-Khōng River, and in the city and territory of **Doana** or Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng. It conclusively ensues from the above that in Ptolemy's time the State of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng was already occupied by a population of Thai race.

Bareukora or **Bareuathra**, a city (No. 75).

This is undoubtedly Barikan, a township officially known to the Siāmese as *Pariganha-nigama*, sometimes, but incorrectly, spelled *Parikkhaṇḍa-nigama*. It is situated on the Nam Chan (pronounced Nam San by the Lāu), a tributary from the left of the Më-Khōng, at the foot of the *P'hū Ngū* ('Snake-mountain') Range; and usually appears in the maps as *Borikan* or *Barikan*, the common and shortened form in which its name is pronounced. Colonel Yule, misled by a similarity in names with **Barakura**, located by Ptolemy in Arakan, took **Bareukora** to be the same place, and thus assigned to both an identical position at Rāmu, below Chittagong. The difference of 12° in longitude and of over 4° in latitude between the sites of the two cities, as reckoned by Ptolemy, should have proved a sufficient indication that it was a question of two quite distinct places, and not of one only.

The name **Bareukora** can easily be accounted for as a corrupt rendering of *Pariganha-ghara* or *Parigraha-nagara*. One of its *variae lectiones*[1] is **Bareuaóra**, in which I am inclined to recognize the *Po-lo-la*, or *P'o-lo-la*, kingdom located by Chinese authors to the east of *Ch'ih-t'u* (*Sukhada*, i.e. Sukhothai) during the seventh century A.D.[2]

As regards the other form, **Bareuathra**, it presumably stands for *Pāripātra* or *Pāriyātra*, the classical name applied in India to the northern portion of the Vindhya chain of

[1] Given in Nobbe's edition of Ptolemy's Geography, t. iii, p. 207, index.
[2] See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 466.

mountains in which the Mālava people had their dwelling. This term may have been transplanted here, in the Indo-Chinese Mālava country, by the early Indū settlers, and applied to either the P'hū Ngū or other mountain range in the neighbourhood of Barikan. Other possible readings are *Parivastha*, *Parivarta*, or *Parivāsa*, all terms which convey the sense of village, abode, residence, and may, to a certain extent, have done duty at one time for the modern *nigama*.

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(8) *The Country of the* **Lēstai** (*Southern Siām and Kamboja*).

The region of the Gulf of Siām from **Samaradē** onwards to Kamboja and the Cochin-Chinese coast as far as **Zabai** beyond the Mē-Khōng delta, Ptolemy terms the region of the **Lēstai**, a name which by some of his translators has been taken to mean 'Country of the Robbers.' McCrindle, especially, lays great stress on the fact that the *η* in *Λῃσταὶ* has the *ἰῶτα* subscribed, inferring thus that it "is not a transcript of any indigenous name, but the Greek name for *robbers* or *pirates*."[1] This will appear too sweeping an assertion when it is considered that *stena*, *stainya*, *styena*, *laṭa*, and, to a certain extent, *laṭṭa* and *laṭaka*, are Sanskrit terms each denoting a robber, and any of which, if actually found in use in the country at that period, may have suggested to our author the transliteration, and at one time translation, **Lēstai**. It may be as well to remark in this connection that *Kambū*, in Sanskrit, also means a thief or plunderer, wherefore the term **Lēstai** would appear to designate the *Kambū-jū*, i.e. a race or tribe of robbers, who may correspond to the ancient population of the maritime districts of Siām and Kamboja. The coasts of these regions have, up to quite recent times, been noted for piracy, and it is therefore possible that the name of their inhabitants, *Kambūjās*,

[1] "Ancient India as described by Ptolemy," p. 224.

originated from this fact, and was afterwards made to look more decent by a slight alteration of the vowel *ū* into *o*, thus making it identical with the classical name of a people in Northern India. The form it retains down to this day among Siāmese and Khmērs alike is, however, closely similar to the one we have given at the outset, that is Kambūjā.[1] How far the linguistic identity, if any, of the two terms, **Lēstai** and Kambūjās, can be maintained, it is difficult to say at the present stage of our knowledge of the country; I have only hinted at it as a possible coincidence deserving consideration. But as regards the ethnical identity of the two peoples, or at least of the **Lēstai**, with some tribe or tribes formerly inhabiting the territory along the Gulf of Siām, and perhaps also the interior of both Siām and Kamboja, I have not the slightest doubt. I may indeed add that if the term **Lēstai** be taken in the sense of 'bands of armed men,' or 'people organized into armed bands,' it has in some Greek authors, it will be found even in the present day applicable to one portion, at least, of the region now under consideration; to wit, the territory about Chanthabūn, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siām, inhabited by the *C'hōng* or *Lasōng*. These people, who consist to a considerable extent of outlaws from neighbouring tribes, are noted for their habit of forming into separate bands or groups, which are termed *Sòng*. Thence, I think, their name of *Lasōng* has been derived, while their proper and original designation appears to be *C'hōng*. This is, at any rate, the way their name is spelled in Siāmese. It is asserted that in certain traditions still extant in Kamboja this people is alluded to as having been the first to come and settle in the Lower Mē-Khóng valley. Whether such was really the case or not, the *C'hōng* appear at any rate to be the scattered remnants of the ancient population of Kamboja;

[1] In the ancient inscriptions, especially in that of *Pakṣī-cham-krong* (see *Journal Asiatique*, August–September, 1882, p. 151) Kamboja is termed the 'land of *Kambu*,' from a mythical *Kambu Svāyambhuva* regarded as a sort of Manu of the *Kambūjās*, and as the progenitor of their line of kings. But this name *Kambu* is very likely a modification of some closely similar term previously existing in the country.

and the survival amongst them of the practice of forming into autonomous groups or bands, whether for the purpose of plunder or merely in observance to some time-honoured tradition, suggests that such a practice may at one time have been more generally followed among the early settlers of the country. The testimony of the Chinese travellers who visited that region—to which we shall again have to refer directly—tends rather to confirm that opinion.

The description that Ptolemy gives of the **Lēstai** is anything but flattering. "The inhabitants of the Country of the Robbers (*Λῃστῶν*)," he says, "are reported to be savages (*Θηριώδεις*), dwelling in caves, and that have skins like the hide of the hippopotamus, which darts cannot pierce through."[1] This description applies just as well to the natives of the interior as to the Negrito tribes of fishermen anciently occupying the islands and the wild tracts on the littoral. If we compare it with the accounts left us of *Fu-nan*, which corresponded to the region now under consideration, by the early Chinese travellers, we shall find some points of resemblance. From the information gathered by Ma Tuan-lin, it appears that previous to and during the first two centuries of the Christian Era, the male portion of the natives of *Fu-nan* went about quite naked, until the two Chinese envoys who visited the country between A.D. 222–252 having called the attention of its ruler to this impropriety, he ordered his subjects to cover themselves.[2] On the other hand, in a Chinese account of *Chên-la* (Southern Kamboja) of a much later date (A.D. 1295)[3] it is stated that the inhabitants of the country were wont to go about always armed and "*cuirassés*," as if being in constant war. This may help to some extent to explain the invulnerability ascribed to them by Ptolemy as well as his reason for naming them **Lēstai**, supposing that this term refers to their organization into armed bands. As to their dwelling in caves, it may be observed that such has always been the practice of the aborigines

[1] McCrindle, op. cit., p. 222.
[2] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 439.
[3] Rémusat, "Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques," t. i, p. 77.

of those coasts, especially of fishermen.[1] Even at the present day a primitive community of troglodites is to be found in some islets of the former inland sea of Kamboja, now the fresh-water lake named *Thalē Sāb*, which have but recently been explored. Similar cave dwellings can, moreover, be traced all the way, on the path of the C'hīeng race, from Sz'chuen, Kwei-chou, and Kwang-hsi, to the southern end of Kamboja.

The *C'hōng* (Jaṅga) or *Lasōng*; the *Kui* or *Kwei* (also termed *Khmēr-dŏm*, i.e. 'primitive Khmērs'); the *Stīen* or *Stīeng*; the *Kan-chō*, and other semi-barbarous tribes of Siām and Kamboja, are probably the remnants of the presumably mixed population known to Ptolemy as the **Lēstai**. While the *Kan-chō* appear to represent all that is left in Kamboja of the aboriginal Negrito element,[2] the *Stīen*, *Kui*, and other apparently non-Mongolic tribes, are believed by some travellers to be a branch of the Caucasian race that found its way from Central Asia to the south-eastern extremity of Indo-China. This bold assertion,

[1] "Des Cambodgiens habitent cette montagne. [*Ba-Tê Sŏn*, now generally marked *Nui Ba-Tê* in the maps, to the south-west of Long Xuyen on the Mē-Khŏng Delta], *soit dans les grottes ou cavernes qu'elle forme à sa base*, soit sur la montagne elle même. Ces gens-là ont la chasse pour industrie; ils prennent aussi des poissons dans les petits arroyos." ("Gia-dinh Thung-chi," Aubaret's transl., p. 224.)

[2] The term *Kan-chō*—or, simply, *Chō*, *kan* being but a prefix—means 'dogs' (in Annamese, C'hŏng, Suk, etc.), and thus corresponds to *Sakai*, likewise designating a dog (from the Khmēr *c'hakē*, in Por *c'hak*, in Khmu *soh*), the name by which the semi-wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula north of the Pērak River are known to the Malays. The *Sakai* would thus appear to be identical with the *Kukkuras* (dogs) whom in a former section I have located in the territory of **Kokkonagara** (Korbie). They are not, however, Negritos like the *Samang*, from whom they quite differ in physique and in having a fairer complexion; but belong to the C'hīeng race, whose language they speak and term the *Sen-oi* language; though by gradually absorbing into their mass a considerable proportion of the genuine Negritos with whom they have long been in contact, they may have to a certain extent degenerated. In conclusion, the *Sakai* present in my opinion the same admixture of C'hīeng and aboriginal Negrito elements which may likewise be recognized in the *Wah* and in other semi-wild tribes of Siām and Kamboja, and which must have been in Ptolemy's time a feature common to all the populations inhabiting the coasts of Indo-China.

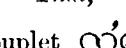
The picture that Moura ("Royaume du Cambodge," vol. i, p. 425) draws of the *Kan-chō* is not a whit more inviting than the one left us by Ptolemy of the **Lēstai**, which it resembles in a remarkable manner. Amongst other things Moura says: "leur peau est rugueuse comme celle du buffle; . . . l'aspect général d'un Cancho est celui d'une bête féroce." If here for *buffalo* we substitute *hippopotamus*, we obtain a description tallying very closely with that of Ptolemy's **Lēstai**.

however, requires substantial proof ere it can definitely be accepted. In the name of the *Stïen* — apparently an abbreviation of a form *Lastïen* or *Lastyan*, as *C'hŏng* or *Jŏng* presumably is of *Lasŏng* or *Lajŏng*—it is possible to recognize a certain resemblance to the term **Lēstai.**[1] On the other hand, if the latter term be interpreted as 'robbers,' the corresponding Sanskrit word *styena* or its homonyms, *steyin*, and *stainya*, may be easily recognized in the name of the *Stïens*. This name, by the way, is usually noted in European books and maps as *Stïeng*; but I hear it pronounced by the Siāmese in the way I write it, *Stïen*, which I therefore take to be the correct form. Though presently occupying a wild tract of country to the east of the Lower Më-Khŏng, the *Stïen* may, at an earlier period, have extended further west as far as the Thalē Sāb, and down to the shores of the Gulf of Siām, whence they were driven out by later invaders of the country. If they really belong to a branch of the Caucasian race that descended from the Central Asian plateau, like the Li-su, Mo-so, etc., they may be connected with people of that stock still to be found along the north-western frontier of Indo-China, such as the *Lu-tze*, *Li-su*, *Let-tha*, and the *Lahu* (the *Mu-sŏ* branch of the Mo-so), who bear names similar in form to those of the *Stïen* (or *Lastïen*) and the **Lēstai.** And if, on the other hand, as indicated by linguistical evidence and other peculiarities, the *Stïen*, like most tribes of Kamboja, belong to the Mōñ-Annam stock, and came from Southern China, whence they were driven out by the impact of the expanding Thai race and the incursions of the Chinese, we find no lack, both on the Southern Chinese borders and on the banks of the Yang-tsz', of similar names to theirs. As an instance, I may mention the *Luh-to*, against whom the Āi-Lāu fought in A.D. 47.[2] We have besides, all over Indo-China, many tribes of both Thai and Mōñ-Annam race, whose names begin by either *Li*, *Lü*, *Le*,

[1] *Lastïen* is the form that the name of Pulastya, the mythical ancestor of the Rākṣasas, has taken in Siām and Kamboja.

[2] Parker, in *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 68.

or *Lu*, such as the *Lāu*, *Lṳ̄*, *Lī* (also called *Le*, *Lai*, and *Loi*), *Lawą̄*, *Lamet*, *Lamāt*, *Lamang*, *Lamī*, *Làn-tên*, *Lasōng* (C'hōng), *Lahu* (Mu-sö), etc., mentioned above.

If it could be demonstrated that any one of the tribes just alluded to as having names beginning with *Le*, *Li*, etc., was, in Ptolemy's time, dwelling in Southern Siām and Kamboja, it would then be possible to assume that the term *Λησταῶν Χώρα*, by which our authority designates the country, stands for *Lē-sthān*, or *Lēi-sthān*, and means 'the land of the *Le*, *Li*, *Lṳ̄*, or *Loi*.' As to the *Lṳ̄*, they are evidently out of the question, no branch of the Thai race having at so early a period reached as far down as the Gulf of Siām. But the same cannot be said of the *Li*, *Lai*, or *Loi*, in whom we can easily recognize the *Dōi* or *Lawą̄* and cognate tribes of the *C'hīeng* race. In fact, by virtue of an interchange of consonants peculiar to most Indo-Chinese languages, *Dōi*, a C'hīeng term for 'mountain,' so pronounced in C'hīeng-māi Lāu, becomes (*Lōi*) in Thai-yāi (*Shān*, more properly *Thai*, of Burmā), and from it is formed the couplet  (*Lōi-lë*) having the same meaning. In some parts of the *Lawą̄* country, moreover, *Dōi* or *Lōi* assumes the form *Hōi*.[1] From this ensues that the *Hoi* of Campā and the *Li*, *Le*, *Loi*, or *Lai* of Hainan are probably the same people as the *Lawą̄*, or that at any rate they belong to the same stock. The term *Dōi*=*Lōi*=*Hōi*=*Li*, *Le*, or *Lai* becomes thus explained as meaning 'mountaineers' or 'hill people.'[2] And as the *Hoi* of

[1] The *Lawą̄* of Müang Yōng and C'hīeng Tung, says Garnier, call themselves *Hoi-mang*, and those of the Salwīn borders *Hoi-kun*.

[2] After writing the above I came across a passage of Ma Tuan-lin wherein it is stated (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 394) that the natives of Hainan call the mountains *li* and the mountaineers *Li-jèn*. This fully confirms the result I arrived at quite independently, on the mere basis of philological investigation. It will be noticed that the identity of the word *Li* (which is also pronounced *Lai* and *Loi*) with the Lawą̄-Shan terms *Dōi* and *Lōi* suggests not only a racial but also a linguistical connection between the *Li* and the *Lawą̄*. I have no doubt that both were originally one and the same people. The Hainanese *Li* speak a language profusely interspersed with Thai words, and on this score they are supposed by some authorities to belong to the Thai race. But this is a mistake: so do the *Lawą̄* speak a language which is to a great extent Lāu in character, and yet they do

Campā are known still to survive in as southern a province as Binh-thuan, and ramifications of the *Lawą̄* or *Dōi* in Siām still exist within a hundred miles of the Gulf in the Sup'han district, it is no wonder if at an earlier period they had been occupying most of the intervening country, thus justifying for the latter Ptolemy's appellation of *Λῃστῶν Χώρα* or 'Country of the *Lōi*, *Lai*, or *Le*.' There are not, as a fact, indications wanting in Kamboja as to the existence of peoples similar in name to the *Lawą̄* or *Lōi*. We have there tribes still known as *Lavë* or *Lovë*, *Vë*, and *Boloven*; and cities or districts called *Lawëk* (*Lava*, *Lavaka*; the *Lovéc* of maps), *Lavā-em* (*Lovéa-em*[1] of maps), etc.: all these being terms that remind us of *Lawą̄* and *Waḥ*. Neither are there lacking indications as to the presence of the term *C'hīeng* in both Kamboja and Campā. The very word 占 for Campā, variously pronounced *Chan*, *Cham*, and *Chieng* in the Chinese dialects and *C'hīem* in Annamese, seems to be connected with *C'hīeng*; and who can tell whether the term *Cama* appearing in the oldest Chām inscriptions as the name of the country was

not belong to the Thai or Lāu races at all. Both the *Lawą̄* and *Li* are *C'hīeng*, i.e. mountaineers, while the Thai or Lāu are a valley-dwelling people. I may add that upon examining several short vocabularies taken down from the *Li* of Hainan, I found that most of the words which are not borrowed from the Thai language are traceable either to Mōñ, Mosso, or Miau-tze; a circumstance tending to show that the *Li* belong to the pre-Chinese hill-race of Southern China. Moura (op. cit., vol. i, p. 509) says that in Cochin-China the *Loi* are called *Hoi*. Bouillevaux (in *Annales Extrême Orient*, t. ii, p. 321) states that the Annamese term also *Höi* the Chām. The ancient Campā kingdom was known to the Annamese by the name of *Bā-Lōi*, i.e. the 'Great *Lōi* (Höi, Hoi, Dōi, or Loi) State' (see "Gia-dinh Thung-chi," Aubaret's transl., p. 177), and is said (ibid.) to have extended to the south-east from the harbour of *Kiao-chih* (Tonkin) to *Ch'ih-t'u* * (*Sukhada*, i.e. Sukhothai). In this *Bā-Lōi* country inhabited by Lōi, Höi, Höi, Dŏi, or Lōi, populations, I think that we have the true equivalent of Ptolemy's **Lēstōn Khōra** (*Lōi-sthān*). Traces of both the terms *Höi* and *Lōi* are met with in the names of *Dong-Höi* (meaning 'Field of the *Höi*, i.e. Chām,' in Quang-binh) and *S'rī Bani* (S'rī Maṇi), termed also *S'rī Ba-nöi* (= S'rī Bā-Lōi?), in that neighbourhood. To these we shall, however, revert more fully in the next section.

* [*Ch'ih-t'u* was also, according to the same work (p. 173) the name of the territory to the east of Bā-ria, which may be the locality meant here instead of Siām. In this case the area of the *Bā-Lōi* kingdom would assume more limited proportions, but our identification would thereby be not much impaired.]

[1] Possibly from *Lavā* (*lovéa* in French spelling) = 'fig-tree'; but it remains to see whether this is not a modern construction put upon the term. As regards Lawëk, its name means 'an opening, an entrance to the forest,' and thus proves identical with the name of Ava, the ancient capital of Burmā, which has

not derived from it? Do not the same inscriptions speak of *Vṛlaḥ-kirāṭa-vṛtas*, 'people (*Vṛlaḥs*) that were *Kirāṭas*,' i.e. mountaineers? Who could these *Vṛlaḥs*, these former mountaineers be, except some branch of the C'hīeng race? These are, however, questions the solution of which depends upon a thorough ethnologic investigation of the numerous hill tribes of Kamboja and Campā as yet so little known; and therefore the definite answer must be left to time. It seems nevertheless pretty certain, that at the period we treat of, a population of the *C'hīeng* or Mōñ-Annam stock occupied almost the whole of Indo-China, extending from the Annamese coast to the Gulf of Martaban and the Arakanese seaboard; and from the southern borders of Yünnan to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. Branches of this race bore different names; but the **Lēstai** referred to by Ptolemy undoubtedly belonged to it, whether they be the *Stīeng* or *Stīen*, the *Dōi* or *Lōi*, etc.

A tribe of Negrito extraction in the Malay Peninsula is actually known by the name of *Udai*[1]; but I am little inclined to believe that they are in any way connected with Ptolemy's **Lēstai**. Of the Negritos of Cochin-China we shall treat in the next section. For the present it only remains for us to add a few remarks in connection with the geography of Indo-China as known to the ancient Indūs.

the same meaning. *Lavaka*, or *Lava*; *Ḍāvaka*, *Dava*, and *Ava* are therefore linguistically connected. There is, however, a tradition among the Khmērs that Lawĕk was originally called *Lawa*, a term which, they say, means 'mixed,' 'crossed.' They explain the circumstance of its having been applied to their ancient capital by a legend to the effect that one of their old kings wedded the daughter of a Chinese trader. A son was born from this union, who killed the heir-apparent to the Kambojan throne, this being the offspring of a native princess and his junior in years, and having thus secured to himself the sovereign power founded a new capital which was called *Lawa*, or *Lawĕk* (*Lavaka*), because of its founder and king being of mixed descent. If so, the terms *Lawa* and *Lawĕk* would be synonymous with *C'hĭeng*, *Yüeh*, etc. The *Cām* are said to call *Lov* the Chinese, probably meaning that the latter are a mixed race (with Tartar blood, etc.).

[1] I am not sure whether this name has been correctly reported by explorers. It may be a mistake for *Hudei*, which is, in fact, the name borne by certain wild tribes in the peninsula. In Eastern Siām there dwell some tribes known as *Ūt* or *Khā Ūt*, about whom almost nothing has transpired.

Nothing can be gleaned from the Rāmāyaṇa except the hint that, beyond the *Lohita* Sea (Sea of the Straits) one enters the Ocean of Milk (*Kṣīroda*), in the middle of which rises a silver-white hill, *Aṅśumat* (or *Ṛṣabha*), where there is to be found a delightful lake known as *Sudarśana*. After it comes the Sea of *Ghee* or *Ghṛtoda*. The Purāṇas place this first and make it surround *Kuśa-dvīpa*; but I preferred to follow the order set forth in the Rāmāyaṇa, which, being anterior in compilation, may be better relied upon. According to the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas the Sea of Milk surrounds *Śāka-dvīpa*, a region which I identify with Siām and Kamboja. The Ocean of Milk corresponds, therefore, with the sea encompassing the eastern littoral of the Malay Peninsula and the coastline of Siām and Kamboja as far as the Mē-Khōng delta; it is, in a word, the southernmost portion of the so-called China Sea, which should be here much more appropriately termed 'Sea of Malaya.' Masaudi names it the Sea of *Kedrendj* or *Kerdendj*.[1] It is not unlikely that these denominations have

[1] The Chinese used to call it the 'Great Bay of *Chin-lin*' (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 511), i.e. of *Kāmaliṅga* or *Kāmalaṅkā*; for 金 隣 (*Chin-lin*) reads *Kam-lun* in Cantonese and *Kim-lan* in Annamese, in which it is also spelled *Kim-trân* (cf. *Kedrendj* and *Kerdendj*; and see Des Michels' "Annales de l'Annam," p. 167). *Chin-lin* is, according to Kāśyapa, the same as *Chin-Chou*, i.e. *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* or *Suvarṇa-mālī-dvīpa* (Malay Peninsula, and not Sumatra as Mr. Takakusu infers in the "Record of the Buddhist Religion," etc., p. 17, n. 3). This identification of mine will be found in agreement both with Hwên Ts'ang's statement that *Kāmalaṅkā* is in a "great bay of the sea," and with Ma Tuan-lin's passage (loc. cit.) that in setting out from *Fu-nan* (Kamboja) one crosses the "Great Bay of *Chin-lin*" (*Chin-lin-ta-wan*). I may add furthermore that the "P'êi-wên Yün-fu" and other Chinese works of reference locate the *Chin-lin* kingdom at 2,000 *li* (i.e. about 400 miles according to the old value of the *li*) to the *west* of *Fu-nan* (see loc. cit. and *China Review*, vol. xiv, p. 40), which is the exact distance from the capital of *Fu-nan* (as identified by me below, pp. 209, 210) to *Kraḥ*, the capital of *Kāmalaṅkā* or *Kāmaliṅga* (over 6° of longitude in the maps). Thus it becomes easily understood how *Chin-lin* could join *Chên-la* (Kamboja) and *Lin-i* (Campā) in supporting the rebel Annamese emperor *Hak-dē* against the Chinese in A.D. 722 (Des Michels, op. cit., p. 165). Sumatra is at about twice that distance from *Fu-nan*; and then, far from being to the west of it, is almost due south. The P'êi-wên Yün-fu (loc. cit.) states moreover that *Chin-lin* produces silver. Well, the galena of the Tenasserim district in the ancient *Kāmalaṅkā* kingdom has been found to yield, on an average, 12 ounces of silver per ton of lead. Argentiferous is also the galena from Toung-ngoo, Martaban, Maulmain, and Tavoy (see "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. i, p. 64); but these places were all, except Toung-ngoo, situated within the territory of that State (v. supra,

been derived from the Sanskrit *Kṣīroda*, *Kṣīrārṇava*, and, perhaps, also *Kadūram*. It is preceded by the Sea of *Shelaheth* (*Srī-lohit*), which we have identified with the Sea of *Selat* or Straits; and followed by the Sea of *Senf*, which, we shall show, corresponds to the *Sarpis* ('clarified butter') Ocean of the Purāṇas, called *Ghṛtoda* in the Rāmāyaṇa, and to the present Gulf of Tonkin. No misconception is therefore possible on the position of the Ocean of Milk and of the region it encompasses, namely, *Śāka-dvīpa*.

That the country here meant is really Kamboja, with the southern parts of Siām and Cochin-China, is unmistakably demonstrated by several coincidences in terminology which can be all but fortuitous. I can only summarily notice the most obvious, reserving a fuller treatment of the subject for a more suitable opportunity. First of all, the region is denominated *Śāka-dvīpa* because, according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, of a large *śāka* (teak) tree being known to grow there. Apart from the fabulous manner in which the names of the various *dvīpas* are accounted for in the Purāṇas, I think that the meaning intended in this case is, that the country abounds in teak-trees. This is actually the fact with the northern parts of Kamboja and Siām, where these trees are called *Mai Sak*, a word evidently derived from the Sanskrit *Śāka*. The name *Śāka-dvīpa* given to this region is therefore amply justified; even if interpreted literally as 'Region of the Teak-trees.' But there is evidence as to some part at least of the country having been once called *Śaka*, apparently from the *Sak* or *Suk* tribes dwelling there along the Më-Khōng banks,[1] who are often alluded to in ancient records, under the classical name of *Śakas*. These people are, as we already remarked, very probably identical with the *Thek* or *Sak* of ancient Burmā.

p. 114), and one has to go as far as the Chindwīn valley in Upper Burmā ere he can find silver-producing ground. As to Sumatra, no silver has, to my knowledge, ever been discovered there. For the "Great Bay of *Chin-lin*" we must therefore understand the Bay of *Kāmalaṅkā*; namely, the Sea of *Kedrendj* or *Kerdendj* of the Arabs, which is our modern Gulf of Siām.

[1] Now still to be found to the east of Bassac and Stüng-trëng, in the Attapü district, formerly called Müang Sok (*Saka*) from them.

A branch of the Chām or people of Campā, coming across the borders subjugated, it appears, the *Śak*, and founded on the banks of the Lower Më-Khōng a kingdom known by the name of *Campāśak* (*Campāśaka*), a term resulting evidently from the union of the names of the two peoples, conquerors and conquered. The new kingdom acquired at one time considerable power, extending down to the mouths of the Më-Khōng; but it was since overthrown. Its name still remains preserved, however, in that of the present district and town of Bassac, more properly known as *Campāśak*; in the denomination of the western branch of the Lower Më-Khōng, termed up to this day *Khwè Pāśak* (or *Bā-Śak*), i.e. 'the *Pāśak* branch'; and in the *Bā-Śak*, or *Pā-Śak*, district, existing up to the end of the last century in proximity to the outlet of that branch of the Më-Khōng, called the *Bā-Śak* Mouth, or *Kwā Bā-Śak*. *Bā* in Khmēr means 'chief, principal, great'; hence *Bā-Śak* may be taken to signify the 'Great *Śak*, or *Śaka*, people (or country).' It would thus appear that the term *Bā-Śak* existed previous to *Campā-śak*, which is probably a contraction of *Campā-bā-śak*.[1] The existence of the term *Śaka* as the name of

[1] In this connection it behoves me to rectify a rather awkward slip occurring in the translation and interpretation of the Po-U-Daung inscription of Burmā printed at Rangoon, 1891. The passage I take exception to is at line 42 and runs in the original text:

စဉ္ဒပုရီ, စမ္ပါ, ပါသက်, မိုင်းလုံ, သဒ်ပြည်ကြီး
တိုဝ့်ဤတည်ရာ, လဝရဋ္ဌတိုင်။

My transliteration is:
Candapūrī, Campā, Pāsak, Maing Lun, tsa-ō pyi gyī dòḥ itīyā Lavaraṭṭha daing.

The translation published in the above-quoted pamphlet is: "Lavaraṭṭha with its districts Candipūri, *Sanpāpāthet* [sic], and Mainglôn." Of these names only two are explained in footnotes: *Lavaraṭṭha* as Lāos, and *Mainglôn* as Mainglôngyi (!). Now the fact is that by *Lava-raṭṭha* Eastern Lāos is meant, *Candapūrī* is Candrapurī or Wieng Chan, while *Campā* and *Pāsak* are intended to represent *Campāśak*, though apparently believed to be two separate States: Campā + Pāsak. This confirms the opinion we expressed above as to *Campāśak* being a contracted form of *Campā-Bā-Śak*. *Sanpāpāthet* of the translator is really delicious, and a good example of the pranks that phoneticism plays with Burmese

a people in Kamboja will contribute, as we shall see in the next section, to accredit the Indū legend of King Sagara to the simple-minded *Cām*,* and make them believe it to be an ancient tradition peculiar to their country. For the present the name of the *Sak* or *Śaka* constitutes for us, together with the fact of the existence of teak-forests, a strong enough argument, I think, wherewith to account for the name *Śāka-dvīpa* as applied to Kamboja.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa states further that the name of the king of *Śāka-dvīpa* was *Bhavya*, and that his sons, after whom its *varṣas* or divisions were denominated, bore the appellations of *Jalada*, *Kumāra*, *Sukumāra*, etc. Among the mountain ranges enumerated are *Udayagiri*, *Śyāma*, and *Astagiri*. Among the rivers, *Sukumārī*, *Kumārī*, *Nalinī*. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives different names for the *varṣas*, i.e. *Purojava*, *Manojava*, etc. Now, I think that I can recognize most of these names in Siām and Kamboja. *Bhava-varman*, one of the early kings, and the only one of this name referred to in the inscriptions of Kamboja—among which that of Han-chei—reigned about 600 A.D., and probably is the Bhavya mentioned above. In *Jalada* one will recognize the lowlands of the Më-Khōng delta, inundated for one-half of the year. From *Jala* or *Jalada*

scholars who, with an obstinacy worthy of a better cause, seem to be determined to stick to the end to their phonetic readings of geographical names, in preference to the written spelling. *Maing Lun* is, of course, *Mūang Lúang* (the major district or town), i.e. Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng. We thus obtain a quite different interpretation of the passage quoted above; for, while the one given in the publication referred to led us to believe that it was question of districts in the Burmese *Shān* States—perhaps of the country of the *Lawā* about *Mūang Lōng* (Maing-long-gyi)—we now clearly see that Eastern Lāos is meant instead, with its States of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, Wīeng Chan, and Campāśak (Bassac) which, at the time the inscription was erected (A.D. 1774), formed three separate kingdoms. The one called *Campāśak* was founded by Lāu emigrants from Wīeng Chan on the ruins of the ancient State of the same name, in A.D. 1712. A village named *Bā-S'ak* had already existed there, however, since about 1630, and was visited in 1641 by Wusthof, who says it had been founded just a few years before.

Since writing the above, I have found *Campāśak* mentioned under the name *Champā-pāśak* in Khún Lúang Hā-wat (Memoirs, p. 159, Siāmese text), who wrote at about the same time that the Po-U-Daung inscription was erected. He was very likely the person that suggested the full and correct form of that name for the inscription, as he was then kept in captivity in Burmā, though being in the priésthood.

originated, in my opinion, the Chinese name for Kamboja, *Chên-la*, pronounced *Chön-lap* by the Annamites, which appears in both Chinese and Annamese annals since the beginning of the seventh century. It is to be observed in this connection, that the Sanskrit *Jala* = water, becomes *C'hon* and *C'honla* in Siāmese and Khmēr pronunciations, as, e.g., in *Jalapuri*, the name of the present district of Bāng Plā-sōi, on the eastern side of the Gulf of Siām, which is pronounced *C'honla-burī*. It becomes thus easy of comprehension how the Chinese *Chên-la* could originate from a form *Jala* through its pronunciation *C'hon-la*, of which it is a phonetic transcript. *Kumāra* and *Sukumāra* are the districts of the southern extremity of Kamboja, where the land ends in the promontory of *Kumārī*, and near which the *Kumārī* River finds its outlet. The term *Kumārī* has been transplanted here from the South of India, where it designates the cape termed Comorin in European parlance, and means Durgā or Kālī, the black and fierce goddess. The Khmērs call her *Khmau* or *Nāng Khmau*, 'the black' or 'the black damsel.' Hence the *Kumārī* Cape and River become, in their tongue, *Chrui Khmau* (Cape *Khmau*) and *Tük Khmau* (water, i.e. River, *Khmau*), respectively. In this district there exists, up to this day, a township called Khmau, which one will see noted in modern maps in about 9° 10′ lat., just in the centre of the headland. It probably is, with the names given above, all that remains intact of the old small State or realm of *Kumāra*, otherwise *Khmau*, which we find recorded by Abu-zaid under the denomination of Kingdom of *Komar*. It then (ninth century) probably included the whole of the country between the Mē-Khōng delta and the Gulf of Siām, as we shall demonstrate in the sequel. As regards the terms *Udayagiri* and *Astagiri*, they exhibit a certain resemblance to the names *Udai* and **Lēstai** already noticed in the same region, while *Śyāma* is undoubtedly connected with the country of Siām, along with which it will be treated on directly. The *Nalinī* may be the Mē-Khōng River, since the easternmost stream, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa as

flowing from the slopes of the Himālayas, is designated by that name. As regards *Purojava* and *Manojava*, they very probably correspond: the latter with *Lāu Javā* or *Lāu C'hwā*, i.e. Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, and the former with Lower *Java*, *Saba*, or *Tha-bê*, which, we shall demonstrate in due course, appears to be Ptolemy's **Zaba** or **Zabai**, near the present Saigon. In support of the identification of *Manojava* with Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng I may add that, while the Bhāgavata Purāṇa places the district of that name in *Śāka-dvīpa*, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa locates a river *Manojavā* in *Krauncа*, which is the region of *Kau-chi*, or *Kau-chên*, i.e. Tonkin. From this I infer that *Manojava* must have been situated near the line where *Śāka-dvīpa* (Kamboja) borders on *Krauncа-dvīpa* (Kau-chi), which is the position corresponding to the ancient Java or *C'hawā*, the present Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng.

In conclusion, it seems to me that we have in the above arguments sufficient evidence for holding that the hitherto supposed mythical *Śāka-dvīpa* of the Purāṇas is really the region of Siām, Kamboja, and Lower Cochin-China; and from the fact of King *Bhavya*, i.e. Bhava-varman, being mentioned, along with the districts of *Jala* or *Jalada* (Chên-la) and *Kumāra* (Komar or Khmau), we may deduce the approximate earliest possible date of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and fix it within a few years of 650 A.D.[1]

We have now to revert to Ptolemy's description of the country of the **Lēstai**, and examine in separate paragraphs the names of the cities and rivers that he transmitted to us as being found in this region.

Samaradē, a town (No. 92).

This is not *Śrī Dharmarāja*, or Ligor, as erroneously supposed by McCrindle,[2] on the score of a resemblance in

[1] This date is arrived at on the basis of those of the reign of Bhava-varman (*circa* A.D. 600), and of the conquest by his descendant Īśāna-varman of the whole of Kamboja in A.D. 627, when all the small kingdoms into which the country was divided disappeared.

[2] Op. cit., p. 203.

names between Dharmarāja (or, as pronounced in Siāmese, *Thammarāt*) and Samaradē. It is, on the contrary, the name for Siām or *Sāmaraṭṭha* in its locative case, *Sāmaraṭṭhē*, as frequently met with in the old native MSS., whether Pāli, Siāmese, or Lāu. *Sāmaraṭṭha*[1] or *Syāmraṭṭha*[2] are its regular Pāli forms, which correspond to the Sanskrit *Śyāma-rāṣṭra*, and mean 'the black, or dusky, country.' Why Siām should originally be so termed it is now difficult to guess. Some saw in its name an allusion to the brown complexion of its inhabitants, just as others took the name given it by the Chinese, *Ch'ih-tu* or *Ch'ih-t'u*, 'red earth,' to refer to the colour of its soil. Both views are, in my opinion, equally unacceptable.

In support of the first, it might be urged that the Siāmese themselves take *Śyām* to really mean brown — a brown blended up of two colours, red and black; hence their own idea would correspond to a reddish brown or to a dusky colour inclining to redness, which, in their opinion, suits very well the complexion of the people. A brunette complexion, the *nüa sŏng sĭ* (= bicoloured complexion), corresponding to the Sanskrit *Śyāma*, is much appreciated in young damsels and sung by native bards;[3] it is, in fact, considered to be the typical colour of their race. But this, of course, only refers to modern times.[4] In the ancient period of which we are treating on here, the complexion of the race in occupation of both Siām and Kamboja was assuredly darker, as proved not only by the contemporary

[1] *Mahāvaṁsa, Sāma*, c. 98, vv. 90–93.

[2] *Bālāvatara*, i, *apud* Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 492, s.v.

[3] For easy reference I may quote the poem printed by Captain Low in his "Grammar of the Thai Language," Calcutta, 1828, p. 84: "Chàu nüa sŏng sĭ wimon ch'ôm," which he translates at p. 88: "Your delicate brunette [*lit.* bicoloured] complexion," etc.

[4] The Nan-Chao, a branch of the Thai race in Yünnan, are by Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 189) said to belong to the race of the *U-man* or 'Black Barbarians.' This race was certainly not termed 'black' from the complexion; but, as is nowadays the case with several tribes in Indo-China, very probably from the colour of their dress. I do not think it likely that any offshoot of these *U* or *Wu* people had as yet reached the Gulf of Siām at the period of which we treat.

accounts of eye-witnesses, but also by statements to that effect in the local records.

According to the Chinese envoys who visited these countries during the Tsin and Liang dynasties (A.D. 265–556) the natives of *Fu-nan* and *Chên-la* were small, ugly, black—though among them were seen fair women—with frizzly hair, and they tattooed their bodies, rolling their hair up towards the crown. The natives of *Ch'ih-t'u* (Siām) were of the same race as those of *Fu-nan*, but they cropped their hair and pierced their ears.[1] These descriptions are in agreement with local tradition and with the statements of various ancient chronicles (among which I may mention that of C'hīeng Sĕn), according to which the whole of Siām and Kamboja, as far up as the Më-Khŏng at C'hīeng Sĕn, was inhabited by a dark-complexioned race which is called *Khŏm*, a term meaning 'black.' It was only in A.D. 376 that the Lāu who had settled at C'hīeng Sĕn were able to drive the Khŏm from the borders of the Më-Khŏng into the Më-nam valley as far down as Kamp'hëng P'het, which henceforth became the boundary between the country of Western Lāos and the Khŏm State of Lop'hburī (*Lava-purī*). The Khŏm of that State—and, it appears, also those of Kamboja—used to crop their hair short; and therefore, whenever people from Lāos desired to cross the frontier at Kamp'hëng P'het they were compelled to cut their hair according to the Khŏm fashion. While surveying the ruins of Kamp'hëng P'het in 1896 I was shown the remains of a square structure originally built, like most ancient edifices of that neighbourhood, of laterite blocks, and still called by the natives the *Śālā Tat P'hŏm*, or 'Hair-cutting Hall,' where it is alleged that the tonsorial operation above referred to was performed.

Although remnants of the aboriginal Negrito tribes were during the early centuries of the Christian Era still in occupation of sundry portions of the seaboard and, perhaps, also of the interior, and a certain proportion of Negrito-

[1] See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 436, 437, 466, 479.

Dravidian elements who had emigrated thither from Southern India was also present and had to some extent become intermingled with the natives, it would be too rash to conclude from the extracts given above that the whole of the population of Siām and Kamboja was of Negrito blood. The circumstance of its being dark-complexioned can be easily explained by the fact that the main bulk of that population consisted, as we already observed, of hill-tribes of the Mōñ-Annam race, such as the Stieng, the Lawā, etc., who, as a rule, are much darker than the Thai and other valley-dwelling people. The evidence, we have seen, is strongest in favour of the *Lawā*, *Dōi*, *Lōi*, or *Löi* being the **Lēstai** referred to by Ptolemy; and our subsequent investigations will tend to corroborate that identification. If we compare the descriptions of the present Lawā or Wah made by recent travellers with those of the ancient people of *Fu-nan*, etc., left by the early Chinese envoys, we shall find that they tally surprisingly well. One missionary, who but a couple of years ago visited the Wah at Müang Lëm, pictures them as "big, strong, robust, *ugly*, *black*, *fierce-looking* creatures."[1] And Mr. J. G. Scott, who had the opportunity of becoming well acquainted with the same people, speaks of them in the following terms[2]:—"In complexion they [the Wa] are *much darker than any of the hill people of this part of Indo-China*, even if allowance be made for dirt, for they never wash. They are *considerably darker even than the swarthy Akha*, who otherwise are the darkest tribe in the hills . . . . are *short*, *smaller even than the Shans*. . . . . They have short sturdy figures, perhaps a little too broad for perfect proportion, but many of the men are models of athletic build. . . . . In features the Wa are *bullet-headed with square faces and exceedingly heavy jaws*. *The nose is very broad at the nostrils* . . . . *the real Wild Wa crop their hair short*. Heavy eyebrows do not improve the type of face . . . . [and as regards dress:] In the

[1] *Bangkok Times*, May 10, 1898.
[2] See *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1896, p. 151.

hot weather neither men nor women wear anything at all, or only on ceremonial occasions." Here we have, especially in the passages which I have italicized, in every particular the race of *Fu-nan* of the Chinese travellers, who were *small, ugly, black, naked,* and who in Siām *clipped their hair short.* The hill-tribes of Kamboja present, though not always in an equally marked degree, the same peculiarities, and accordingly it will be seen that it is both unnecessary and inconsistent with historical tradition to assume, as has been done by some writers, that the population of Kamboja at the period with which we are concerned was entirely composed of Negritos. Such undoubtedly were the aborigines, but by the early centuries of the Christian Era these had been to a great extent either got rid of or absorbed into the bulk of the hill-people of Mōñ-Annam extraction who had flowed into the country from Southern China, and who were themselves a remarkably dark-complexioned race. If we add to this admixture a considerable proportion of Negrito-Dravidian adventurers who had proceeded thither from the south of India, we obtain a race such as the much lighter complexioned Chinese and Lāu would be perfectly justified in calling black. Thus it happens that we find the early inhabitants of Siām proper and Kamboja invariably referred to in the Lāu chronicles as *Khŏm* and *Khŏm-dam*, i.e. 'Black Khŏm.' It is held by the Lāu that the term *Khŏm* itself means 'black,' though it is no part of their language and appears to be derived from the Kambojan *Khamau* or *Khmau*.[1] With it the tribal names of the *Khamēr, Khmu, Khamī*, etc., are probably connected. The *Khamēr* or *Khmēr* are, up to this day, a dusky race compared with the natives of Lower Siām, where the copious onflow of the Thai element has impressed a much lighter complexion upon the people. The same may be said of Pegu, where the later admixture of Tibeto-Burman as well as Thai blood has

[1] Both *Khŏm* and *Khmau* may, however, be simply modifications of the Chinese 黔 (*ch'ien*), pronounced *k'ym, k'em*, and *kiem* in the Southern Chinese dialects.

undoubtedly contributed in lightening the original dusky appearance of the Talaings. The phenomenon may yet be seen in action in the Malay Peninsula, where the remnants of the early Negrito autochthones represented by the Samang gradually drift and become absorbed into a comparatively fairer race—the Sakai—who appear to impersonate there, with their features and language essentially Mōñ-Annam in character, the last genuine survivors of the ancient and now almost extinct race of *Fu-nan*.

In the case of the Samang it is possible that their present name is but a corrupted form of the Sanskrit *Śyāmāṁga*, meaning 'dark,' 'dusky,' although *Samanga* occurs as a tribal name in the Mahābhārata and may have been introduced in the Malay Peninsula from Southern India. But with respect to the name of Siām or *Śyāma*, it strikes me that if the same referred to the dark complexion of the people in occupation of the country at the time with which we are concerned, and was invented by the early Indū adventurers as a substitute for the term *Khŏm*, of which it is the Sanskrit equivalent, it likewise should have been applied not only to Kamboja, whose people were of the same race as Siām's, but also and much more appropriately to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, where the more dusky Negrito-Dravidian element undoubtedly predominated.

The fact of the term *Śyāma* being restricted to Siām, where there is perhaps less reason to expect it, sufficiently demonstrates that its origin must be sought for in other causes. We have seen that the Malay Peninsula owes its ancient name of *Śālmali* or *Suvarṇa-mālī* to a mountain so designated. In the case of *Śāka-dvīpa*, represented by Siām and Kamboja, we have noticed that one of the mountain ranges mentioned in the Purāṇas is called *Śyāma*. With this, I have no doubt, the name of Siām is connected. In fact, if we turn to the inscriptions collected by Aymonier in the south-western gallery of Angkor-wat, we find after the mention of a chief leading the troops of Lavô (one of the ancient chief cities of Southern Siām, now known as Lop'haburī = *Lavapurī*),

an inscription, numbered 27th in the list, which textually runs:[1] "*Neḥ Syāṁ Kut*"—"Here [is the chief of the] Śyāma-kūṭa." This is to explain a scene in bas-relief where a prince is depicted mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, and followed by warriors wielding lances ornamented with *Cāmara* tails, such as are used in Siām up to this day. "Tatoués sur les joues,"[2] remarks Aymonier about them, "ils ont tous une physionomie spéciale, sauvage, et à bon nombre les artistes ont donné une mine grotesque, un type qui semble avoir été réellement observé." This scene is followed by a similar one, the last in the series, with an inscription (28th) saying that "this is the chief, or leader, of the *Syāṁ kak*." These basso-rilievi and inscriptions can hardly be less than eight centuries old,[3] and probably represent events much older: the triumph of some one of the mightiest sovereigns

[1] "Les Inscriptions en vieux Khmer," extrait du *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1883, pp. 86–7.

[2] The custom of tattooing the face seems to have been once in favour among several tribes of Indo-China, and still survives to some extent, as the following extract will show: "It has hitherto been the custom with Khyeng young women, soon after they arrive at years of puberty, to tattoo the whole of their faces with vertical and closely adjoining narrow black lines which, as Symes very correctly observes, 'gives a most extraordinary appearance.' . . . . The custom was lately universal, but in British territory it is slowly dying out." (*British-Burma Gazetteer*, vol. ii, p. 265.) It is very curious to observe that the very identical custom prevailed among the *Li* or *Loi* of Hainan, of whom it is said in Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 402) that young women, as soon as they reach puberty, have their faces tattooed with figures of flowers, butterflies, etc., as a mark of their nubility and a preliminary to marriage. The occasion is solemnized with great ceremony and with a banquet to all the relatives. Face-tattooing was also undoubtedly peculiar to the Lawā and Karens, who, we have seen, are racially connected with the *Li* or *Loi*; and, in general, to most Mōñ-Annam tribes. Among the various branches of the Thai race it appears to hardly ever have been resorted to; only one section of the *Liao* is known to have employed it, which from this fact was termed the *Hua-mien* or 'Flowered Faces' tribe. (Ma Tuan-lin, ibid., p. 119.) As regards tattooing the body the *Ai-Lāu* are principally noted for having, from a very early period, adorned their persons with dragons and other figures; a custom adopted afterwards by their descendants the *Nan-Chao* and the present Lāu of the C'hīeng-māi principality. On the strength of these considerations I am inclined to think that the people meant in the Kambojan inscription quoted above under the name of *Syāṁ-kut* must be the *Law* or *Waḥ*, also because the latter's complexion is, as we have seen, considerably darker than any other hill-tribe in Siām proper.

[3] Professor Bergaigne (*Journal Asiatique*, 1884) believes them to be slightly anterior in date to the period of Jayavarman VII, who reigned A.D. 1162–1186.

of Kamboja, followed by the chiefs of the States that owed allegiance to him.

If we examine the condition of Siām during that period, that is, between the tenth and twelfth centuries, we find that it included three principal States. One in the north with the capital now at *Śukhothai*, now at *Sawankhalok*; and two in the south. Of these latter, the one on the east had at times *Lop'haburī* and at others *Dvāravatī* (on the site of the present Ayuṭhia) as its chief city; while the one on the west had the seat of government first at *Śrī Vijaya*, near the Prathama-cetī in the present province of Nakhōn C'hai-śrī, and subsequently (from the beginning of the tenth century) at *Bandhuma-pura*, called afterwards (thirteenth century) Sup'han-burī (Suvarṇa-purī) a little more to the north. All the three kingdoms were subject to Kamboja, and though they eventually rebelled, they could not definitely shake off the yoke of vassalage until A.D. 1256–7, when the power of Kamboja had waned, and thus the opportunity came for their becoming united under a single ruler. As the king of Lavô (Lop'haburī) is represented apart, and referred to in the 26th inscription, it follows that the terms *Syāma-kut* and *Syāma-kak* must apply to the rulers of the other two States. By looking at the map we find the Kokarit (*Kaka-raṭṭha* ?) Hills forming part of the main watershed near Myawadī. We also meet with two districts similarly named, of which one is a little to the south-west of Myawadī on the Kokarit stream, and the other away to the north-west at the confluence of the Salwīn with the Yunzaleng. There is thus some probability as to the country to the west of the Kokarit Hills as far as the Salwīn, and to the east as far as Rahëng and even Sukhothai, having anciently been known by the name of *Śyāma-koka*, or *Śyāma-kaka-rāṣṭra*, of which the modern term *Kokarit* would be but a contracted form. *Kāka-dīpa*, the place mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa as one of the points where the Ceylonese expedition of about 1180–1190 A.D. landed, may have formed part of *Kokarit*, in the event of the region so named having extended at that

period, which is not improbable, as far as the mouth of the Bī-lin (*Bī-löm*) River.

Given that the foregoing surmises are correct, the name *Śyāma-kut* would fall to the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya, in the western part of Southern Siām; and this is exactly the place where we should expect to find it, for various reasons, which will be hereafter adduced. This name of *Syāma-kuṭa* or *Śyāma-kūṭa* may be explained either as the *Śyām* peak or the *Śyām* stronghold. In the first case it coincides with the *Śyāma* mountain placed by the Purāṇas in Śāka-dvīpa, and enumerated in some recensions immediately before Astagiri,[1] a term which indicates a western mountain. It follows that the Śyāma mountain or peak must be sought for towards the main range dividing Siām from Burmā, if indeed it is not to be identified with the main range itself. This would at any rate appear from a passage of I-tsing[2] wherein it is stated that to the south-west of Sz'chuen, at a distance of one month's journey or thereabouts, there is the so-called 'Great Black Mountain.' Southward from this and close to the sea-coast, there is a country called *Śrī-kṣatra* or, according to my own investigations, *Śrī-kṣētra* (Prome); on the south-east of this is *Lang-chia-hsü* (Laṅkachíu and Laṅkhīa, *alias* Kāmalaṅkā); on the east of this is *Dvā(ra)pati* (Dvāravatī, i.e. the Ayuthia or Ayudhya of later times). The 'Great Black Mountain' here referred to may partly correspond to Ptolemy's **Damassa** Range, if it be assumed that the name of the latter is of Sanskrit or Pāli derivation (i.e. from *Tamas* = 'darkness'; whence *Δάμασσα ὄρη* = 'Dark Mountains'); but its location by I-tsing at over one month's journey to the south-west of Sz'chuen shows its identity with the main range forming the Më-nam-Salwīn watershed, and with

[1] Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 199, f.n. †.

[2] In Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Religion," etc., p. 9. It is to be regretted that Mr. Takakusu does not give us, as should be done for all proper names, the equivalent in Chinese characters, or at least a transliteration of the same. Owing to this omission we are unable to learn whether the term employed for 'black' in the original text is *Héh*, *Li*, *Ch'ien*, *Wu*, or any other, and further linguistical investigation is thus precluded.

the *Syāma* mountain, or mountain-chain, of the Purāṇas. This latter, it will now be seen, is far from being a myth. It was evidently from this mountain range that the country extending eastwards, and southwards to the Gulf, was called *Śyāma-kūṭa* or simply *Śyām*. On the other hand, should the term *Śyāma-kut* designate a stronghold, this is most likely the city of Śrī Vijaya, the most ancient foundation in that territory.

In the Chinese records the name *Hsien* for Siām does not appear until after A.D. 650. Prior to that date we hear only of *Ch'ih-t'u*, literally, 'Red Earth,' a term which, according to Chinese authors, was given the country because at the spot where the capital stood the soil appeared of an extremely red colour. The capital meant by the Chinese may have been Sawankhalok,[1] where the soil is indeed reddish, it being composed of the débris of a very ferruginous lateritic formation. But this 'Red Earth' theory of the Chinese chroniclers, though hitherto blindly accepted by their European translators and commentators, is seriously open to criticism. Apart from the fact that all over Indo-China there are places where the soil is equally, if not more intensely, red, and which should in consequence have been similarly styled by the Chinese, against that theory stands the argument that the toponymics referred to in early

[1] *Svarga-loka*, usually pronounced *Săwankhalôk* or *Swankhalôk*, but corrupted by the vulgar into *Saṅkhalôk*, so as to make it appear to the uninitiated as derived from *Saṅghaloka*, 'city of the *Saṁgha*.' It is possible that the early Chinese travellers, misled by such a faulty pronunciation, rendered the name of the capital as *Sêng-ch'i Ch'êng*, i.e. '*Saṁgha*, or *Saṅkha*, city.' (In this connection I may remark that a similar mistake has been repeated in the nineteenth century by a certain writer publishing books on ancient Siām, who, with a cocksureness absolutely *fin-de-siècle*, tells us in his book that Sawankhalok means 'city of the *Saṁgha*'! My remarks upon Sawankhalok and Sukhothai rest upon personal investigations and a thorough archaeological survey of the ruins of those ancient capitals which I carried out during the autumns of 1894 and 1896.) It is not, however, by any means certain whether the capital was, at the period above referred to, at Sawankhalôk rather than at Sukhothai. As Sukhotai is in the "Cāma-devī-vaṁsa," a Pāli chronicle of Lamp'hūñ (see p. 184 *infra*), said to have been built in the shape of a chank-shell, it is quite possible that one of its names was *Saṁkha-nagara*, and that it is to it, and not to Sawankhalôk, that the Chinese term *Sêng-ch'i Ch'êng* was intended to apply. At any event, the two ancient cities just named being but some twenty miles apart as the crow flies, the location of the Chinese *Sêng-ch'i* may be assumed as sufficiently approximate for our purpose.

Chinese accounts in connection with Siām and neighbouring countries generally turn out, upon close examination, to be mere phonetic transcripts of indigenous names, albeit the characters employed to represent the latter have been systematically selected with a view to convey a meaning of some sort—no matter how puerile and absurd—to the Chinese reader. Of this artificial, and at the same time deceitful, system of transcription we have met with many an instance in the course of the present inquiry. I am therefore of opinion that in the case in point *Ch'ih-t'u* is not, in spite of the express statement to the contrary, an exception to such an almost invariably followed rule. As this term is pronounced *Ch'ek-t'ou*, *Ch'ak-tu* in several Southern Chinese dialects, and *Shaku-to* in Japanese, I think that I am justified in assuming it to be a phonetic rendering of *Sukhada*, which is the name that Sukhothai and its kingdom have borne previous to being called *Sukhodaya*. *Sukhada* must have been pronounced *Sakkadéa*, and in syncopated form *Sakdéa* or *Sakda*, by the Mōñ-Khmēr people occupying its territory at that period. Having observed that the soil was reddish in colour in the neighbourhood of its chief city, the Chinese envoys would, according to their peculiar way of thinking, transcribe *Sakda* phonetically in such a manner as to convey at the same time the meaning of 'Red Earth' or 'Red Soil.' Thence the origin of the term *Ch'ih-t'u*—in reality, *Ch'ak-t'u* or *Shak-t'ou*, as it must then have been pronounced.

At any rate, it plainly follows that at the period in question the Chinese envoys sent out to Siām must have become acquainted only with the kingdom of Śukhothai and Sawankhalok, and with the branch of the Mē-Nam River that led to it from the gulf. It may be furthermore assumed that the term *Śyāma*, or Siām, had not yet spread as far as Sukhothai, since the Chinese envoys are silent about it. The conclusion is, then, that at that early period its application must have been still circumscribed to the western part of Siām, where we have located it. But after A.D. 650 we are told that the kingdom of *Ch'ih-t'u* broke off into two parts, one called *Hsien* or *Siem*, and the other *Lo-huh* or

Lo-huk; that the former was barren and unsuitable for cultivation, while the latter was flat and eminently productive. We are thus confronted with two names of kingdoms, of which the first is quite plain and represents the term *Syāma*, while the other requires elucidation, and both need to be located. I identify *Lo-huh* with *Lavô* or *Labô*, then called *Lahôt* or *Lahô*, now Lop'haburī (*Lavapurī*).[1] The position of this ancient city in the midst of an alluvial plain, intersected by numerous creeks and studded with ponds and marshes, justifies the identification suggested, and well suits the Chinese description.

As regards *Hsien* or *Siem*, it represents, according to me, the western and northern part of Siām, more mountainous and barren. It is here that, as we have shown, the term *Śyāma* or *Siām* most probably originated. Restricted originally to the region nearest to the main range (*Śyāma-kaka*), down to the Gulf (*Śyāma-kūṭa*), it gradually extended eastwards, until we find it applied to the whole of Upper Siām, and, finally, to the entire country. The kingdom of *Lavô* or *Lahô* long remained quite distinct under this name. Its independence dates exactly from the time that the Chinese speak of the separation; that is, from the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the next, when it seceded from the State of Sukhothai and Sawankhalok, that had founded its chief city, Lahô or Lavô, in A.D. 457, or only a few years before Dvārapuri or Dvāravatī (the *To-lo-po-ti* of Hwên-ts'ang and *Tu-ho-lo-po-ti* of I-tsing) was built. It is worthy of note that the name of the founder of Lop'haburī is given as Kālavarṇatissa, son of King Kākavatra or Kākavadda, ruling at Takṣaśilā in Northern Siām (identified by local scholars with Müang Tāk, north of Rahëng), whose descendants reigned in Sukhothai. This name, Kākavatra, deserves comparison with the term *Śyāmkak* of the Khmēr inscription, and appears to confirm our location of the people so named in the western part of Upper Siām.

[1] This name is taken from Lāhor in India, which is said to have been founded by Lava, son of Rāma, and hence named Lohāvara. Lava in Siāmese is spelled *Lob*, pronounced *Lop'h*; hence the name *Lop'haburī* (Lop'ha-purī).

During the period Chih-Chêng (A.D. 1341–68), say the annals of the Ming dynasty, the two States of *Siem* and *Lo-huh* were reunited into one single kingdom situated near the sea. This alludes to the conquest of those two States carried out by King Rāmāthibodī I (Rāmādhipati), followed by the founding of Ayuthia, in A.D. 1350. Thenceforward the country became known to China as *Siem-lo* (暹 羅), a hybrid Chinese combination of the two terms *Siem* and *Lo-huh*. But in reality the country had been formed into a single independent kingdom with capital at Sukhothai some one hundred years before, that is, in about 1256–7.

The conclusion we may elicit from the above remarks is, that in origin the name *Śyāma* was restricted to Western Siām, and to the southern part of it bordering upon the gulf, which formed the territory of the Vijaya Kingdom. Though the latter seems, previous to the rise of the Lavô-Dvāravatī State in about A.D. 650, to have comprised the greatest part of Southern Siām, and the term *Śyāma* to have as a consequence already applied to nearly the whole of that region, Chinese travellers ignore it, and only appear to be acquainted with the eastern branch of the Më-Nạm River, naming the territory along its banks either *Ch'ih-t'u* (Sukhada) or *To-lo-po-ti* (Dvāravatī), according as to whether it is the upper or the lower part of the river's course that is implied. They become acquainted with the term *Siem* or *Hsien* only when Lavô secedes from Sukhothai, forming a separate kingdom. The character 暹 (*Hsien*) is said to be an imitation of *Śyām*. I do not reject this view, as that character is pronounced *siam* in Hakka and *hsiem* in Annamese, which latter represents the Khmēr form *sīem* still met with in some names of Kambojan districts, such as *Sīem-rāb*, now *Sīem-rāṭ* (*Śyāma-rāṣṭra*).[1] I submit, however, that the

[1] The Lāu of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and Wīeng Chan also pronounce *Sīem* in the Khmer style. According to Mr. E. H. Parker the ancient Chinese used the character 撣 to denote Siām, instead of the modern 暹 (see *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 197). According to the "P'êi-wên Yün-fu" (quoted by the same authority in the *China Review*, vol. xiii, p. 379), "the character

same character *Hsien* in Chinese means 'the sun rising,' and is therefore equivalent to the Sanskrit-Pāli *Udaya*, a term which we have met several times in this region, and which occurs also in the compound *Sukhodaya* (Sukha + udaya = 'the dawn of happiness'), the later name of Sukhada,[1] the ancient capital city of Northern Siām, and, at subsequent

擅 is pronounced *dan*, and is the name of a State of southern barbarians." But it will be seen that this character is practically identical with 撣 employed to designate the State of *Tan*, *Shan*, or *Chan* (whatever be the correct pronunciation), which we have identified with Ptolemy's **Arisabion** in a preceding section. In fact, Dr. Hirth (in "China and the Roman Orient," p. 36, note) points out that both the "Hou-Han-shu" and the "Yün-nan-t'ung-chih" have 擅 for the name of that State. It is therefore evident that both 撣 and 擅 refer to the same State, and this is vaguely described by Chinese authors as being situated "beyond the frontier" and communicating towards the south-west with *Ta Ts'in* (Syria). As early as A.D. 97 its king, Yung Yu-tiao, is represented as having entered into communication with the Chinese Court. The most logical location that can be assigned to the *Tan* or *Shan* State would thus appear to be about the present Shenbo, near Bhamo, where we have placed it. But as regards the term 撣 denoting Siām proper, and being equivalent to the 暹 of a later period, it is scarcely probable, although there may be an indirect connection between the two terms in the event of both proving traceable to the "Great Black Mountain," which, it appears, formed the separation between Siām and Burmā and was in its northern portion called *Tama* or *Tamasa* (Ptolemy's **Damassa** Range), while the part of it that stretched towards the Gulf of Siām was termed *Śyāma*. Such being the case, the State of *Tan* or *Dan* of Chinese writers might be identified with Ptolemy's Land of the **Damassai**; and the 暹 (*Hsien*) of the former with the latter's **Samaradē**, the *Sāmaraṭṭa* or *Śyāmarāṣṭra* of classical literature.

[1] This is evidently the region of *Sukhada* mentioned in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Hall's ed., vol. ii, p. 191) as being ruled over by a king bearing the name of Sukhodaya. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa makes it a division of *Plakṣa-dvīpa* (Burmā), whereas it was situated merely near the borders of the latter. In fact, in the Chinese account of the embassy to *Ch'ih-t'u* in A.D. 607–8, *Ch'ih-t'u*, i.e. *Sukhada*, is said to be bounded on the west by the kingdom of *Po-lo-so* or *P'o-lo-so* (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 446), evidently *Plakṣa* or *Balassia* (vide *supra*, p. 39). As regards the fact of Sukhothai being formerly termed *Sukhada*, it is positively proved by the often quoted Peguan work on Gavampati, where Sukhothai is referred to (book 1) under the name of *Sakkhada-gāma* (*Sukhada-grāma*). There is, therefore, no further reason against this city, and the country of which it was the capital, being identified with the *Sukhada* of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the *Ch'ih-t'u* or *Shak-t'u* of Chinese literature. The name of its ancient king, *Sukhodaya*, is even mentioned in the local chronicles, though under the slightly modified and obviously incorrect forms of *Aśokadaya* and *Dharmāśokadaya*. I have found it stated in a native commentary that from this ruler the kingdom and its capital became afterwards known as *Sukhodaya*.

periods, of the whole country. Hence the character 暹 *Hsien* may have been adopted by the Chinese to designate Siām, with the double object in view of giving as faithful a transcript as possible of the name *Śyām*, and of conveying at the same time the sense embodied in the term *Udaya*, forming part of the name of its capital. It follows, therefore, that while the term *Śyāma* originated in Western Siām, probably from a mountain peak or range anciently known as *Śyāma* or *Śyāma-kūṭa* (Black Peak), and was at first circumscribed in its application to the States of Vijaya and *Kaka-rāṣṭra* or *Śyāmakaka*, whence it extended eastwards as far as Śukhothai, upon the absorption of the eastern portion of the State of *Vijaya* by that of *Lahô* or Lop'haburī, towards the end of the twelfth century, the term *Śyāma* became less common in the southern region, remaining in consequence localized almost exclusively to the northern. It is then that we first hear of *Hsien* and *Lo-huh*; *Hsien* being now used in the place of the ancient *Ch'i-t'u*, and representing therefore the State of Sukhothai-Sawankhalòk (but with its capital now at Sukhothai); and *Lo-huh* designating the kingdom of Lop'haburī with part of the territory of the ancient Vijaya. In A.D. 1256 the realm of Lop'haburī joined that of Sukhothai in the rebellion which resulted in the final emancipation of the whole of Lower Siām from the yoke of Kamboja; but though nominally recognizing Sukhothai as the paramount power, it continued *de facto* as a comparatively autonomous State until A.D. 1350. In the mind of the Chinese writers of the period the division of the country into the two kingdoms of *Siem* and *Lo-huh* would therefore still subsist during that interval. But in A.D. 1350 King Rāmādhipati, having made himself master of the Lop'haburī kingdom, founded thither a new capital on the site of the ancient Dvāravatī, with the style of *Krung Devya Mahānagara Pavara Dvārāvatī Śrī Ayuddhyā* (*vulgo Ayuthyā*), formed by the union of the name of the old city of Dvāravatī once existing there with that of the capital of Rāma (*Ayodhya*), after whom the king had been titled. We then enter upon

the phase of the kingdom of *Siem-lo* with capital at Ayuthia, as it was known in later times to the Chinese.

In the opinion of some Siāmese scholars, *Thai*, the name of their race, is derived from *Udai* (Udaya), either as forming part of the name of their ancient and most famed capital, Śukhothai, or as a symbol of their rise to a great nation with a mighty and vast empire. But this seems hardly to be the case, since the term *Thai* is spread far and wide, a long way beyond the limits ever attained by Siām proper, and is common to all branches of the race from the Tonkin-Annam borders to the outskirts of Asam, and from Yünnan to the Gulf of Siām.[1] Besides, there is so far no evidence whatever that the race ever bore the name *Udai*; and although a people so named (*Hudei*?) exists up to this day in the Malay Peninsula, it belongs to a different ethnical stock, and has nothing to do with the Thai.[2]

[1] The derivation from *Udaya* is accounted for linguistically on the score that the *th* of *Thai* represents in Siāmese the Sanskrit and Pāli *d*; wherefore *Thai* is equivalent to *Daya*, a contraction in this case, it is alleged, of *Udaya*. Others hold instead that *Daya* is not a contracted form at all, but a modification of *Jaya* or *Jayin*, meaning 'victory, victorious.' Although these views appear to be supported to a certain extent by the fact that two ancient kingdoms, those of Sukhodaya and Vijaya, the names of which embody, respectively, the terms *Udaya* and *Jaya*, existed in the country, they are nevertheless little worthy of consideration, because the term *Thai* is undoubtedly derived from the Sinitic family of languages to which the national idiom of the Thai race belongs. As a matter of curiosity I shall transcribe here a *gāthā* from a Pāli work composed at Lamp'hūñ in the principality of C'hieng-māi, in which the term *Thai* occurs under the form *deyya*. The title of this extremely rare work, but recently discovered by me in an incomplete form, is *Cāmadevīvaṁsa*, i.e. the story of the dynasty of Cāmadevī, the first queen of Lamp'hūñ. Its author is a Lāu head-priest by the name of Bodhiraṁsi Mahāthera, who lived towards the end of the fifteenth century. The stanza occurs in the introduction and runs literally as follows:—

"Cārikaṁ bhāsamānānaṁ
Deyya bhāsānusārānaṁ
Taṁ bhāsaṁ lahukaṁ hoti
Anurūpaṁ Jinaṁ purī."

The purpose is to explain that the Thai language (*Deyya-bhāsā*) is far from possessing the perfection of the idiom spoken in Buddha's native land (Magadha); hence the author, as he goes on to say in the stanza immediately following, decided to compose his work in Pāli.

[2] The *Orang Udai* (*Hudei*?), called also *Orang Pagos*, inhabiting the borders of the Pahang district, are probably the same, according to Miclucho-Maclay, as the *Orang Sakai-liar* or wild Sakai, who are *pur sang* Melanesians (Negritos). See Miclucho-Maclay's "Ethnological Excursions in the Malay Peninsula," in

In view of these facts I think that we are justified in tracing the origin of the term *Thai* back to the point whence this race branched off towards Siām and Burmā, to lay in both the foundations of vast empires; and back to the time when, conscious of its greatness and independence, rightly considered itself unparalleled among all the semi-barbarous populations of Northern Indo-China. The cradle of the term *Thai* must have been, therefore, Southern Yünnan or the Northern 'Shan' States; its initial date, one of the very first centuries of the Christian Era. Its meaning is 'eminent, free from bondage, master, independent.'[1] It is, therefore, a national title more than a tribal name, not dissimilar from the epithet *Ārya* which the Iranian ancestors of the present Indūs adopted for themselves. As

Journal, Straits Branch, R.A.S., No. 2, p. 220. It would be, however, interesting to find out how the term *Udai*, if correct, came to be given them and what it means. As to the Sakai, they appear to belong to a fairer race than the Negritos.

[1] This term, in Siāmese, is, by the Lāu or Shans, written and pronounced both as *Thai* and *Tai*, in a slightly different tone: ꩜ = *Tái*; ꩜ = *Thái*. The pronunciation *Tai* is faulty, being due to the practice, with some branches of the Lāu, of neglecting the aspiration in aspirated letters, such as *th*, *p'h*, etc. The exact meaning, in both Siāmese and Lāu, of the term *Thai* is 'a man free from bondage, an ascetic, a chief or master.' The Lāu of C'hīeng-māi still designate their *Mahātheras* by the title of *Chàu Thai*, i.e. 'Eminent Master,' or, in Buddhist terminology, *Ariya*. In Siāmese poetry the same term, *Chàu Thai*, is often employed when alluding to the king or to some other exalted personage, while *Ora-thai* is used as a synonym for 'queen.' (Here *ora*, or *ara*, is a Khmēr derived word meaning 'beautiful.') A Siāmese synonym of *Thai* is *Thại*, having also the sense of 'master, chief, eminent.' The signification of 'free' has generally been ascribed to the term *Thai*, without, however, accounting for it and showing its derivation. I think I am correct in saying that it and its synonyms must be traced to the Chinese 大 (*ta*, *tai*) = 'great, eminent, noble,' and its derivates or correlatives 太泰台 (*t'ai* or *thai*), etc. The branch of the Thai race that invaded and conquered Asam adopted for their name a Sanskrit translation, a little bit intensified, of the national term *Thai*, and called themselves *Asama* (Ahom) or 'peerless.' It therefore appears that the term *Thai*, implying an idea of greatness, superiority, or independence, is not properly a name, but a title, which originated with the expansion of the race into Burmā, Asam, and Siām.

the Āryans applied to the conquered tribes of aborigines and Turanians the epithet of *Dasyu*, so did the early Lāu call the former settlers of the countries which they brought under subjection by the name of *Khā*, 'slaves,' 'bondmen,' while distinguishing themselves as *Thai*, 'masters,' 'freemen,' in order to mark their independence as well as superiority. It is thus by contraposition to the term *Khā*, 'slaves,' denoting the conquered race, that the term *Thai*, originally meaning 'eminent,' 'great,' became synonymous with 'master,' 'chief,' 'free.'

As regards the term *Shān*, which the Burmese employ to designate people of the *Thai* race, it is derived from *Śyāma* or *Siām*, and not this from the former, as several writers have erroneously supposed. An examination of the way it is written in Burmese will at once convince one of this. The spelling is ရှမ်း (*hram* or *sham*), which is pronounced *shan*. The မ (*m*) at the end betrays its origin from *Śyāma*, as also does the palatal sibilant ရှ, designed to represent the Sanskrit *ś*. A more correct form is, however, ဆျှမ်း (*Hsyāma*, pron. *Shyān*), which is as faithful a transliteration as can be given in Burmese characters of the word *Śyāma*. This evidence is, by itself, quite sufficient to explode the theory of *Siām* being derived from *Shan*; but further proof can be gathered from the languages of the neighbouring nations, in none of which does a form terminated by an *n* as in the phonetic spelling of *Shan* occur; but all terms given for *Siām* have a final *m*. In Mōñ or Taleng, the word for Siām is သဿမ် (*sēm*) or သဿံ (*sēṁ*). In Asamese and Kachīn it is *Sam*; in Malay, *Sīam*; in Lāu and Khmēr, *Sīem*; in Cām, *Syam*. The Siāmo-Malays in the Malay Peninsula are called *Sam-sam*. How could the term

be derived from *Shan*, if in all these languages, including the written Burmese, it is spelled with an *m*? And yet some authorities, relying on the fickle basis of mere phoneticism, in the most phonetically unreliable of languages, Burmese, in which the written words undergo in pronunciation the most peculiar alterations, managed to draw the stupendous conclusion that *Shan* is the original name of the race, and that *Siām* (or, as written and pronounced in Siāmese, *Syām* or *Sāyām*) is derived from it. This is another instance in which Burmese, "as she is spoke," has proved to be "the murderer of history";[1] and, considering the precarious foundation upon which the new-fangled theory rests, it is a wonder that it could gain favour during the last ten years or so without its fallacy being exposed. It is to be hoped that these few remarks will suffice to demonstrate its absurdity; while the present researches on Ptolemaic Geography—by means of which the antiquity of the name of Siām (*Śyāma*) could be established, and its existence in the region nearest to the Gulf traced back to at least the beginning of the second century of the Christian Era, that is, to a period when the Thaí race had scarcely reached the head of the Më-Nạm Valley—give that quaint theory the *coup de grace*.[2]

It is quite clear that **Sāmaradē** (*Sāma-raṭṭhē*) designates a country and not a town, though Ptolemy presumably meant it for the capital of the said country or kingdom. Fortunately, we have an identical instance of such synecdochical nomenclature in Siām itself during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the then capital, Ayuṭhia, was not called so by European writers and navigators, but the "City of Siām," or simply, "Siām." We can,

[1] "It must always be borne in mind that as regards the Burmese language, equally with English, the orthography rather than the pronunciation must be taken as a guide, and that phoneticism destroys all the links which bind the words now used to those from which they have been derived, and is 'the murderer of history.'" (Major Spearman's "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. i, p. 142.)

[2] For a fuller discussion of this subject I would refer the reader to my articles on "Shan and Siām" in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1898, and January, 1899.

therefore, easily understand how Ptolemy's misconception originated. That **Sāmaradē** was situated about the head of the Gulf of Siām, is shown by the position he assigns to it. This we have slightly corrected in latitude, in order to bring the town up to the true emplacement it should occupy in the deep incavation of the Gulf, which was underrated by our authority. Its corrected longitude is 100° 14′ E., which is within 10′ of the famous Prathom-cedī (*Prathama-caitya*) in the present province of Nakhōn C'hai-śrī (*Nagara Jaya-śrī*). I therefore identify **Sāmaradē** with the ancient city that rose around (mostly eastwards of) the Prathom-cedī, and which bore, according to local records, the name of *Śrī Vijaya-rājadhānī*.

During a visit that I paid to the place in the Autumn of 1895, I noticed ancient remains scattered over a very wide area, as well as traces of the moat that surrounded the city; and upon this and other evidence I concluded that the city must have been some two miles in extent. The most important monuments to be seen within its compass are two ancient stūpas, one but recently repaired and built up in the shape of a gigantic spire, called the *Prathama-* (or *Bandama-*) *cetī*; and the other still in a comparatively good state of preservation, named the *Phraḥ Thôn* (*Vraḥ*, or *Vara Doṇa*) pagoda. The latter owes its name to a tradition, to the effect that the golden bowl (*doṇa* or *droṇa*) which served to measure Buddha's relics after his death was brought here from India by a monk, and enshrined with a few of the sacred relics in this stūpa, purposely erected for their reception.[1] The date of erection of this monument is, according to native records examined by me, the year

[1] This is a tradition transplanted here from India. The *Droṇa* or *Kumbhān* stūpa built by the Brāhman Droṇa over the vessel wherewith he measured the relics of Buddha, was, according to General Cunningham ("Ancient Geogr. of India," Buddhist Period, pp. 441–2), at Deghwāra, a short distance to the south-west of Vaiśāli, in India, where it was seen by Hwen-tsang in A.D. 637, or only nineteen years previous to the building of the *Doṇa* stūpa in Siām. We may conclude, therefore, that the golden vessel enshrined in the latter was but an imitation or a supposed copy of the one used by Droṇa. I was assured that up to a few years ago a brass facsimile of the original vessel was still preserved in the *guhā* or chamber at the top of the stūpa; but nothing of the kind is now to be seen there.

1199 of the Buddhist Era, or A.D. 656; and its founder was a king by the name of Indra-rāja. The original Prathama-cetī, so called from its being the first erected in that neighbourhood, must be of a still earlier date; but it was afterwards rebuilt several times. In the excavations that were made in about 1857 about the Prathama-cetī for the erection of the new structure, were discovered two terra-cotta tablets inscribed with the "*Ye dhammā*" *gāthā* in Pāli, in characters of a type between the Veṅgī and Western Cālukya of Southern India, and which therefore I judge to belong to the sixth or seventh century. Inscriptions in similar characters were discovered both on stone slabs and tiles at other places in the neighbourhood of the Prathama-cetī. These epigraphic records, besides disclosing to us the quarter whence Indū civilization and literature were brought over to this part of Siām, make it evident that Buddhism had by that time obtained there a firm footing, as is confirmed shortly afterwards by the accounts of Chinese monks and travellers, especially of I-tsing, as far at least as the neighbouring territory of Dvāravatī is concerned.[1]

The position of the Prathom-cedī as determined by Mr. McCarthy, Superintendent of the Royal Siāmese Survey Department, is (centre of pagoda spire) long. 100° 3′ 46″ E. and lat. 13° 49′ 7″. As the city of Śrī Vijaya extended mostly to the eastwards of it, we see that the corrected position obtained by us, long. 100° 14′ E., is within about 10′ of the truth. The place can now be reached through a recently dug creek leading to it from the Thā-Chīn River, just about ten miles long; it is, however, possible that at the period we treat of, the river not only flowed close by the town, but that the sea was not distant from it. The city must have been situated, in a word, at what was at the time the embouchure of the Thā-Chīn River, and the head of the Gulf of

[1] Vide E. Chavannes' "Religieux Éminents," etc. (Paris, 1894), p. 69, where we are told of a lad from Thanh-hoa, in Annam, who came to Dvāravatī with his relatives, and there entered the priesthood. This must have happened *circa* A.D. 630–40.

Siām withal. It must soon have become an emporium of trade, the only one that Siām possessed for several centuries; until in the course of time, political events combined with the shifting of the river away from the town, and the rise of the rival emporium of Dvāravatī on the neighbouring branch of the river—which, from being more favourably situated, attracted most of the trade—led to its decline. The ruin of Śrī Vijaya became complete through an irruption of the Burmese under Anuruddha or some of his successors in the latter half of the eleventh century. The city was now abandoned as a capital in favour of Bandhuma-purī, the name of which was not long afterwards changed into Suvarṇa-purī, *vulgo Sup'han*. Thus ended the fortunes of what was, beyond doubt, the oldest city of Southern Siām. The lithic records discovered there had already proved its antiquity up to the sixth or seventh century. Thanks, however, to the mention that Ptolemy makes of this place under the name of **Sāmaradē**, we have not only been enabled to trace its existence back to at least the beginning of the second century A.D., but also to establish for the name of its territory, *Śyāma* or *Sāmaraṭṭhė*, an antiquity which it would have been otherwise impossible to demonstrate.

The inscriptions of Campā make rather an early mention of a country by the name of *Vijaya*. This, Aymonier identifies, though doubtfully, with Phān-thit on the Cochin-Chinese coast. But I think it probable that the State of Śrī Vijaya Rājadhānī alluded to above is meant. Its people may have been anciently known as *Vijayas*, as I already suggested in a former chapter; and the terms *Udaya* (*Hudei* ? = *Ṛjaya*, *Hṛdaya*, or *Ḷdai* ?), and **Lēstai**, may as well be connected with them.

Pagrasa (No. 93).

This is undoubtedly the district now called Müang Krāt, the chief village of which has a longitude of 102° 30′ E. and a latitude of 12° 12′ N. The ancient settlement was probably situated a little further to the north-east on the

principal branch of the Thùng-yāi River, at the mouth of which the sea forms a deep inlet now shallowed by mud banks, but certainly practicable for large vessels in the early days. Though pronounced *Krat* or *Krāt*, the name of the district is written with a final *ṣ*, thus: *Kraṣ* or *Krāṣa*. In the early days it evidently was preceded by the syllable *Bā*, which occurs as a prefix to many place-names in ancient Kambojan territory.[1] In modern Khmēr *Bā*, like the Malay *Pa'*, means a 'father,' but it is also employed in the sense of 'chief,' 'chief of a herd,' and 'great.' In Bahnar and some other dialects of the semi-wild tribes of Kamboja *Bā* or *Bah* means the embouchure of a river and also a confluent, thus corresponding in sense to both the modern Khmēr words *Peam* or *Pīem* (river-mouth) and *Bĕk* (confluent). As *Krāt* is situated near the embouchure of the Thùng-yāi River, we may easily conclude that it was in the early days called *Bā-kraṣ* or *Bā-krāṣ*, i.e. 'the *Kraṣ* Mouth [village].' Otherwise, as there may have been two villages both named *Krāt*, the greater of the two may have been distinguished as *Bā-krāṣ*, i.e. 'Great Krāt' or the 'chief Krāt village.' As it is possible that *Bā* had in the old times a sound approaching to *Pā*, we have in either of the interpretations offered above the equivalent of Ptolemy's **Pagrasa**. The earliest mention I can find of Krāt is in the collection of Siāmese laws called *P'hraḥ Thamnūñ*, dated A.D. 1611. The whole district is archaeologically unexplored. That it should be is shown by the results already obtained in the adjoining province of Chanthabūn (*Candanapūrna*, or *Candanapurī*), where stelae bearing inscriptions in Sanskrit and Khmēr referred to the tenth century have been discovered.

Sōbanos or **Sōbanas** River (Nos. 94, 183).

I am strongly inclined to identify this stream with the Kap'hong Sôm or *Soma* River, which debouches in the Gulf of Siām through a large estuary situated in long. 103° 38',

[1] E.g. in *Bā-S'ak* or *Pā-S'ak* (vide *supra*, p. 166), which is a toponymic of the same class of **Pagrasa** (*Bā-Krāṣ* or *Pā-Krāṣ*).

lat. 10° 53′, and is perhaps the most important watercourse on this coast. From the name of the district in which it flows, it may have been termed *Somanadī* or designated by some other similar name represented by **Sōbanos**. The word *Suvarṇa* has been suggested, and on this score McCrindle attempts to identify it with the Sup'han River. But we have shown above (p. 190) that Sup'han was called Bandhuma-pura in its early days; and it is very doubtful whether it existed at all at the period with which we are concerned. Moreover, the great difference in positions between the two streams makes that identification untenable. It is quite evident that **Sōbanos** represents some term like *Śobhaṇa*, *Sumānasa*, or, in the vernacular form, *Somanas*. *Sauvarṇa* or *Soraṇṇa* offer perhaps less probability. On this ground, and on account of the beautiful scenery, praised by several travellers,[1] for which the banks of the Kampōt River are justly celebrated, I was led to identify the **Sōbanos** with this stream in the tables. But the Kampōt being but a small watercourse, I now think that the Kap'hong Sôm River has greater claims in every way to obtain the preference. It moreover occurs to me that this stream must be the *Shu-chiang* or *Shu* River mentioned in the accounts of Chinese travellers (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 477) as flowing through a State named after it and situated to the west of *Chên-la*. *Shu* means 'red,' being thus equivalent to the Sanskrit *Śoṇa*; but more likely it is intended here to simply represent the first syllable of *Sobhaṇa* or *Somanas*, the name of the Kap'hong Sôm River. However it be, the *Shu-chiang* State becomes identical with the Kap'hong Sôm District, and the stream flowing through it with the *Shu-chiang* of the Chinese and Ptolemy's **Sōbanos** or **Sōbanas**.

Pithōnobastē, a mart (No. 95).

This is *Panthāi-māś* or *Banthāi-māś*, usually spelled *Pontéay-méas* in French maps, and corrupted into *P'hutthai-*

[1] See Ch. Meyniard's "Le Second Empire en Indo-Chine," p. 387; Paris, 1891.

(or *Buddai*) *-māś* in Siāmese. *Banthāi-māś* is a compound Khmēr term, meaning 'golden walls.' But both its component words are derived from Sanskrit, *Banthāi* being the Sanskrit *bhikti* = Pāli *bhitti* = 'wall,' and *māś* the Sanskrit *māṣa* or *mākṣika* = Pāli *māsa* = 'gold,' 'golden.'

It has always been, up to the last century, the most important emporium of Kamboja, the landing-place of all political and religious missions despatched from times immemorial to the country of the Khmērs. Buddhism and its Scriptures are said to have been, through its channel, introduced to this people—as at Tathôn in Pegu—from Ceylon by the famous divine Buddhaghosa, in 415 A.D. But this, of course, is a mere myth.[1]

Banthāi-māś is situated in the centre of the district of the same name, some forty miles up the river, debouching at Hatīen, which was its port, known to Ptolemy as **Akadra**, and to the Arab navigators as *Kadranj*.

Its position is almost exactly due north of Hatīen, in long. 104° 29′ E. and lat. 10° 52′ 30″. Its territory is conterminous with those of Trang (Drang) and Bāti, and notorious for important ruins, some of which, like those of Payañkar, to the east of Banthāi-māś, claim an antiquity of no less than twelve or thirteen centuries. It is certain, however, that a full exploration of this and neighbouring districts will reveal more ancient remains, as the name Banthāi-māś appears in the earliest accounts of the country. Thirty-four inscriptions are mentioned by Bergaigne as having been found in the province of Trang alone.

The Banthāi-māś River has communicated with the Pāśak or Posterior Më-Khōng River at Chaudoc (*Chô-dok*) by the canal of Vinh-té since A.D. 1820, the date at which this canal was dug. But at a more remote period it is certain that a branch (the westernmost one) of the Më-Khōng flowed

[1] This legend is thus referred to in the Introduction to the "Northern Annals" of Siām: "In the year 959 (= A.D. 415) of the Buddhist Era, Buddhaghosācārya, having completed the translation of the Commentaries to the Holy Scriptures in Laṅkā, took with him an emerald statue of Buddha, which was preserved there, and embarked, but his ship was blown by a tempest to the mouth of the *Banthāi-māś* River."

through the territory now intersected by the canal, as evidenced by the fact that up to the present day the country along the banks of the latter is low and swampy. This arm of the Më-Khōng must have been, therefore, the earliest and shortest route to P'hnom-p'hēñ and former capitals of Kamboja from the west. An alternative river route to Kamboja was by the Pāśak branch of the Më-Khōng; but this was often unsafe, owing to the shoals and sand-banks which skirted the approaches to the delta and the intricacies of the channels which gave access to it. Hence this route scarcely appears to have been used in the early days, and we always hear of Banthāi-māś and its port at the mouth of the stream, called *Pāk-nam* (or *Pīem*) *Banthāi-māś*, as the entrepôt *par excellence* of Kamboja.

One of the first maps where Panthāi-māś appears is that of Siām by Robert, A.D. 1751, which notes it down as *Pontiano*. In modern maps this mart is almost in every instance omitted. The Pavie map, 1894, has in its place "Touk-méas," an evidently corrupt reading. The reason is that Panthāi-māś itself has long ceased to be of any importance, while the harbour of Hatīen had to be abandoned from over one hundred years ago, when the Më-Khōng and the canal of Vinh-té fell into the hands of the Annamese. Kampōt then rose into favour as the only port of Kamboja, merchandise being thence carried overland to P'hnom-p'hēñ and Udong. But now Kampōt harbour also became, in its turn, silted up, and inaccessible to vessels of even moderate draft.

Turpin,[1] who mentions Panthāi-māś under the name of *Pontameas*, says: "Le commerce y est entièrement tombé, depuis qu'il a été ravagé en 1717 par les Siamois." Crawfurd[2] repeats the same story, and calls the place *Po-tai-mat*. The Siāmese Annals say nothing of this beyond that a naval force of Annamese (or Cochin-Chinese) was, in

[1] "Hist. civile et naturelle du Royaume de Siam," vol. ii, p. 397; Paris, 1771.

[2] "Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam," etc., vol. ii, p. 234; London, 1830.

1710, met by a Siāmese fleet at the mouth of the P'hutthai-māś (Banthāi-māś) River; and that an ignominious defeat was inflicted on the Siāmese fleet under P'hyā Koṣā, who was afterwards condemned to make good the value of the vessels and material of war lost by him. This same fact is placed in the Khmēr chronicles and Annamese records in 1719, which is undoubtedly the correct date. It is, therefore, difficult to understand how the Siāmese, being worsted at the mouth of the river, could destroy Panthāi-māś, which is about one day's journey up the stream. The place attacked was in reality Hatīen, which was defended by its governor and founder, a Chinaman named Mak-kü, to whose generalship the brilliant defeat of the rival force must be ascribed.[1]

Akadra, a town (No. 96).

Yule rightly identified this city with the *Kadranj* of the Arabs, but he located it at Chanthabūn, further up the eastern coast of the Gulf. It corresponds instead, as I have shown, to Hatīen harbour, called also Kankao, within the island of Koḥ Tron. The position of Hatīen, at the mouth of the Panthāi-māś stream, is long. 104° 25′ E., lat. 10° 22′ N. It is now inaccessible to vessels of even moderate draught, whereas in former times it was an excellent harbour.[2] There is, however, good anchorage

[1] See "Gia-dinh Thung-chi," Aubaret's trans., p. 283, where it is positively stated that P'hyā Koṣā took and ravaged Hatīen. The destruction of his fleet, however, is here ascribed to a dreadful tempest which swept the harbour and submerged the Siāmese ships. In the account of the reorganization of Kamboja effected by King Nārāi Rāmāthibodī (Nārāyaṇa Rāmādhipati) in A.D. 1795, I find that P'hutthai-māś was assigned to the department of P'hrayā Yamarāja, Minister of Police (or Mayor of the Metropolis), and that its Governor had the title of P'hrayā Yodhādhipati. Before that period Panthāi-māś had been in the hands of the Annamese, from whom P'hyā Tāk, the gallant soldier-king of Siām, had wrested it for a moment in A.D. 1771. For *Panthāi-māś*, the city, as well as the whole of its district, formerly extending down to the coast in the present provinces of Péam and Trang, must be understood.

[2] The term *Hatīen* is Annamese, and was given to the district after 1715, when Mak-kü became its governor. Prior to that period the territory on the right bank of the river formed part of the Banthāi-māś province, while that on the left bank belonged to the district of Trang. Near the mouth of the river, and on the site of the present town of Hatīen, stood a village, said in the "Gia-dinh Thung-chi" (p. 21) to have been vulgarly called *Man-kham* by the Khmērs and

outside in the bay during both monsoons. I selected as a base point the actual anchorage of ships during the south-west monsoon, which is in front of Hatïen, in long. 104° 21′, seeing that this position gave the best results and was most likely the site that Ptolemy had in mind. I am not prepared to maintain that ships in Ptolemy's time cast anchor at this point during the same season, the most favourable for them to proceed up to China, instead of entering the river; but I preferably adopted the position in the bay, because I believe this is meant and not the city. In fact, the bay was evidently named after the island Koḥ Tron, the longitude (central) of which is 104° E. It may be that Ptolemy made a slight error in the position of this island, and placed it too close to the coast, so as to make the centre of the intervening bay result in long. 104° 21′, where the actual anchorage is. However this be, the

P'huon-thanh by the Annamese. According to the same work (pp. 22 and 270), the surrounding territory was, however, known as the *p'hu* (district) of *Sai-mat*, or *Sai-mat-p'hu* (i.e. *P'hutthai-māt*, or *Banthāi-māś*). At that village of Man-kham began and ended, after the lapse of over one century, the fortunes of the *Mak* (莫) family, represented at first in the person of the famed Mak-kü. This enterprising Chinaman hailed from Lei-chou, on the homonymous peninsula, Kuang-tung province, where he was born in 1658. Unwilling to submit to the rule of the newly established and unpopular Manchu dynasty of the Ts'ing, he emigrated to Kamboja in 1681, and shortly afterwards settled at Man-kham. There he took up the management of a gambling farm, and engaged in trading speculations which soon enriched him. He founded several villages both on the coast and on Koḥ Tron Island. At last he was appointed governor of the district by the Annamese in 1715, as above stated. Thenceforward the process of murdering the old Khmēr toponymy of the district, setting up in its stead a new-fangled and often nonsensical Annamese nomenclature, commenced. In homage to a popular belief—presumably a tradition handed down from the old Indū settlers—that a river-deity or genius (in Chinese *Hsien*, in Annamese *Tien*) was wont to travel up and down the Banthāi-māś River, the district was named *Ha-tien* (in Chinese 河仙, *Ho-hsien*), i.e. 'territory of the river-genius' ("Gia-dinh Thung-chi," p. 21). The river itself was, however—for what reason it does not transpire—rechristened *Sông Vinh-tê*, i.e. 'Vinh-tê River' (ibid., pp. 279 f., 248–9). Mak-kü, after an eventful life, died in 1736 at the respectable age of 78. His elder son *Mak-tôn* succeeded him, receiving his official appointment in 1737. Having proceeded to Bāngkōk at the request of King P'hyā Tāk, who afterwards had him cast into prison, he committed suicide there in 1781 (ibid., p. 47). His natural son *Sanh* became governor in 1788 (p. 61), but died soon afterwards (1790). *Mak-kong-binh*, the latter's brother, was then appointed by the king of Siām to fill the post (p. 63). Having held it for but a short time he was in his turn carried off by sickness, and with him ended the adventurous career of the Mak family. Siāmese governors were henceforth appointed (1802–3). As regards the term *Kankao*, sometimes used to designate Hatïen, I was so far unable to obtain any detailed information.

position I adopted is sensibly correct within 4′, and thus formed, as it was shown in the preceding section, a capital base point from which to work out nearly the whole of Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic Geography.

We have met with other instances in Ptolemy of a locality on the mainland being named from an island opposite it. Among such I may mention the **Katabēda** River (No. 44), so named by Ptolemy after the opposite island of Kutubdia. In the present case it appears quite possible that the bay and the present site of Hatīen were, by navigators in Ptolemy's time, designated after the island which formed for them a landmark in directing their vessels thereto. As regards the name of the island, however, I am not sure whether it has been given to it independently of any locality on the mainland, or with reference to the province of Trang, which in the old times extended down to the coast of Hatīen, in what is now the territory of another district named *Péam* or *Pīem*, which means simply 'mouth' (of the river), or estuary. Koḥ Tron is now variously styled in the maps *Koḥ Dôt* and *P'hu-Kuok*. The former is its Siāmese and the latter its Annamese name. Crawfurd says that *Koḥ Dôt* in Siāmese means 'the far island,' this denomination being in "reference to its relative distance, compared to other islands, from the coast of Kamboja."[1] I very much doubt that such an interpretation can be put upon the word *Dôt* in Siāmese. The only meanings known to me are, as a verb, 'to jump,' and as an adjective, 'single, alone.' The last interpretation is the only possible one, though it does not clearly appear why it should be applied, since there are other islands lying close by. I therefore doubt whether *Dôt* is a Siāmese term at all. Crawfurd—who, by the way, has made a minute survey of the island, of which he gives a good description—proceeds to say that its Khmēr name is *Koḥ-trol*, which means the 'shuttle island,' on account of its peculiar shape. This second

[1] Op. cit., vol. i, p. 99.

interpretation is more reliable than the preceding; and the name *trol* here, also pronounced *tron*, reminds one of *trasara*, the Sanskrit name for a shuttle, and of its Malay derivate *tôrak*. But the correct Khmēr term for island is *ka*, a contraction of the Mōñ *t'ka* or *l'ka*; hence we may understand how from *Ka-tron* or *Ka-dron* could originate the Arabic form *Kadranj* or *Kedrendj*; and from *Ka-trol* or *Ka-drol* the readings *Quadrol*,[1] *Co-trol*, *Corol*, etc., which we find in most books of travel and maps of the past centuries. An index to the importance in which the island and its harbour were held by navigators, is the fact that it is one of the very first localities mentioned in the earliest maps of Indo-China. We find it noted as *Coroll* in the Portuguese (anonymous) map of about A.D. 1550, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris; as *Carol* in another map of 1580; *Coral* in Mercator's Chart of the 1613 edition; *Carol* again in Janssonius' Atlas, 1638; *Caxol* in the historic Atlas of Gueudeville, 1713–1719. In the latter an inscription is added saying: "Isle peuplée de Cochinchinois p^r le bois d'Aigle." It next appears in the map appended to Mandelslo's work as *Corol*; and in Robert's map of Siām, 1751, as *Caicol*.[2] In some of the maps just referred to occurs the name *Tarnova* (or *Tarisana*), *Tarnano*, and *Tarrana*, which must be identified with the province of *Trang* (*Drang*) on the same coast. *Trang* in modern Khmēr is the name for the *Corypha Taliera* palm, the Sanskrit and Pāli *Tālī*; hence I hardly think that there can be any connection between the present name of the island, *Tron* or *Trol*, and *Trang*, or even *Tālī*, supposing that the Sanskrit term for the Taliera palm was also used to designate that district on the mainland in the place of the native *Trang*. Such, however, may not have been the case in the earlier days, when the island—

[1] Turpin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 398.

[2] Most of these maps were published by Mr. Gabriel Marcel in the introduction to the first volume of Fournereau's "Siam Ancien"; but the identification of the names for Koḥ Tron island (*Carol*, *Corol*, etc.) was, as in the case of most other names in the same region, given up in utter despair. The cartographer Marcel, in his remarks on Van-Langren's map, 1595, where the single name *Carol* appears on the Kambojan coast, observes regarding it (p. 23): "vocable dans lequel il est difficile de trouver un nom indigène" (*sic*).

whether already bearing or not its present name of *Ka-Trol* or *Koḥ-Tron*—may also have been called by the natives either *Ka-Trang* or *Ka-Drang* in reference to the Trang District lying opposite to it on the mainland. To navigators, so little apt to make subtle distinctions in foreign nomenclatures, *Ka-Trang* and *Trang* were of course the same, and thus they came to use the name of the island to indicate both the harbour and the mainland behind it, which became thenceforward known to them as *Kadrang*, *Kadra*, *Akadra*, etc. Similar toponymics seem to have been common in Further India in the past; in fact, beside many places known to this day as *Trong*, *Trang*, etc., we had *Ya-katra* in Java, the former name of Batavia, or at any rate of the stream flowing past its territory; and Ptolemy mentions another **Akadra** among the interior towns of the **Sinai** (No. 128), which I have since located in Kwang-tung, on the site of the ancient district of *Chung-su* (in Annamese *Trung-tuk*), the present Ch'ing-yüan. Abu Zaid places *Kedrendj*, *Kadranj*, or *Kadrenge*[1] within ten days' navigation of *Bêtumah*, a place which I have identified with the *Tamasak*, or *Ujong Tanah*, of the Malays,[2] the 淡馬錫 (*Tan-ma-hsi*; in Hakka, *T'am-ma-siak*) of the Chinese,[3] and the *Tamus*, or *Tamarus*, *promontorium* of Strabo, Mela, etc., commonly called *Samara* after the fifth century.[4]

[1] Reinaud's "Relations des voyages," etc., t. i, p. 18; and Renaudot's "Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine," p. 13.

[2] See Leyden's "Malay Annals," pp. 42-4 (London ed. of 1821).

[3] Noted thus in the Chinese map, probably of the fourteenth century, published by Phillips in the *Journal, China Branch of the R.A.S.*, new series, vol. xxi, and left unidentified in the commentary to the same, p. 39. An inspection of that map will readily convince anyone of the correctness of my identification. *Tan-ma-hsi* is there noted on the mainland within Singapore island, just where the *Tamasak* of the Malay Annals is represented to have been, and where undoubtedly also stood the *Bêtumah* of the Arab navigators. Close to the eastwards of *Tan-ma-hsi* the Chinese map has *Ta-na-ch'i-hsü*, a place which must be the *Vjong* (Cape) *Tanah* of the Malays.

[4] See Santarem, "Essai sur l'histoire de la Cosmographie," etc., t. ii, p. 340, n.; quoting from Gosselin, iii, pp. 188–9. The name *Tamarus* very likely represents the Sanskrit *tāmarasa*, meaning 'gold'; hence its connection with the Malay Peninsula and the island of Khrysē. A similar term, *tamara*, means 'tin' or 'lead'; but I do not think that such a construction could be put upon the name of the Tamarus promontory, as Kalah-bār, the country of tin, was further up the peninsula. The first syllable *Bê* of *Bêtumah* is, however, distinctly Mŏñ; and, like in other names of the *Bê* or *Bē* class, such as **Bēsynga**,

Bêtumah was either the present Singapore island or the opposite mainland, forming the southern extremity of the Peninsula, where the embouchure of the Johor River is situated. It was, more likely than not, the name of the present Johor district, known later on and up to a couple of centuries ago as *Ujong Tanah*. From this district and the river flowing through it, the name *Bêtumah* spread to the surrounding territory and islands; and up to this date it survives in the neighbouring islets of Batam and Bentan on the other side of the Singapore Straits. I cannot here go into further particulars on the sea-route of the Arab navigators of the ninth century, which I have now succeeded in fixing with unerring precision; suffice it to say that the distances of ten days' sailing given by Abu Zaid between Bêtumah and Kadranj on the one hand, and Kalah-bār and Bêtumah on the other, represent exactly the average time employed nowadays by sailing crafts in proceeding from Singapore to Hatīen and from Takôpa to Singapore respectively; and are, as may be ascertained on any modern map, within a few miles equivalent. The same may be said of the distance between the kingdom of Komar (west coast of Kamboja) and that of Zabedj (Śrī Bhoja or Palembang in Sumatra), equally estimated at ten days.

At *Kedrendj*, continues Abu Zaid, the vessels can obtain fresh water; and there is a high mountain whereto slaves and thieves often flee for refuge. The high mountain here alluded to is very likely the well-known *P'hnom*

Bērabonna, etc., it stands for *Bī*, a river. Therefore *Bê-tumah* would mean the River of *Tuma*, *Tama*, or *Tamara*. But the name may as well be entirely Mōñ, e.g. *Bī-t'môḥ* = 'Stony River' or 'River of the Rock' (cf. *Tamus*). The latter interpretation would suit the Singapore River, or rather Creek, well known from having in former days a large rock at its entrance; but more probably the Johor River is meant. The latter may have been termed *Tamasā*, *Tāmasī*, or *Tāmrā*, after some one of the homonymous streams in India. *Hsi-li* (息力), the modern Chinese name for Singapore (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 42), which is, however, pronounced *Shek-lek* (昔力, see *China Review*, vol. xxi, p. 281) or *Sit-lit*, represents, in my opinion, the Malay *Selat* or Straits, and is not in any way connected with (Tama)-sak.

Damrei, or 'Elephant Range,' rearing its summit up to a height of over 3,000 feet near Kampōt, to the north-west of Hatīen. The *Bach-ma* mountain, westwards of Hatīen, is referred to in the "Gia-dinh Thung-chi" (p. 273) as having been of yore a refuge for bands of dacoits. Good water is plentiful on North Pirate Island (Isle du Pic) in the bay, near to which there are good anchorages in both monsoons; and several fresh-water streams are to be found on Koḥ Tron itself.

Masaudi, we have seen, calls his fifth sea by the name of Kedrendj or Kerdendj, a term which Reinaud thinks[1] was given to it after the port of Kedrendj mentioned by Abu Zaid at which the Arab vessels touched on their way to China. This is quite possible, although, as I have shown above (p. 164), *Kerdendj* as the name of a sea may be an Arab travesty of *Kṣīroda*, *Kadūram*, or some such term.

Kedrendj, *Kadranj*, or **Akadra**, was undoubtedly part of the kingdom of *Kumāra*, or *Komar*, of the Purāṇas and Abu Zaid, which we have located at the south-western extremity of Kamboja. Our reason for holding so is, that Abu Zaid speaks of Komar as being situated on the mainland, "on the side which faces towards the country of the Arabs,"[2] which shows that it extended from the alluvial plain of the Mē-Khōng delta, now ending at Cape Khmau, or Kumārī, up the western coast of Kamboja or eastern shore of the Gulf of Siām; and that it must have included, at least at some time or other, the province of Trang, with perhaps Payaṅkar or Panthāi-māś as its capital. The position of the two places just named is in accord with that of the residence of the king of Komar, located by Abu Zaid at one day's distance from the seaboard, on a fresh-water stream. Another particular which goes to confirm our location of the Komar kingdom and its capital, or at least principal port, is the reference to the "aloes surnamed *al-komāri*" as one of the chief products of the country. *Kumārī* is one of the Sanskrit names for aloes; but here

[1] Op. cit., "Discours préliminaire," p. xc.
[2] Ibid., t. i, p. 97.

aloëxylon, lignum-aloes, or eagle-wood, is meant, and this, we have seen above, is one of the productions for which Koḥ Tron and the neighbouring mainland have always been renowned. But if any further proofs were needed to justify our location of the kingdom of Komar on the sea-coast extending from Kampōt to Cape Kamboja (Khmau), we might refer to a very conclusive passage of Masaudi,[1] to the effect that "the inhabitants walk for the most part barefooted, on account of the great number of mountains that cover the country, of rivers that intersect it, and of the small number of plains and plateaus." This passage luminously demonstrates that the hilly coast about Koḥ Tron Bay is meant, and not the lowlands lying further to the south-east, towards the Më-Khōng delta. The conclusion is, therefore, that the kingdom of Kumāra of the Purāṇas, and of Komar of the Arab navigators and geographers, embraced the western seaboard of Kamboja and had as a centre the province of Trang, with Koḥ Tron Bay or the mouth of the present Hatīen River as its principal port, and Panthāi-māś or Payaṅkar for its capital.

Some further information on this long-forgotten kingdom may be gleaned from Chinese sources. Ma Tuan-lin mentions,[2] among the Kambojan States that sent tribute to China in A.D. 638 a kingdom of *Chiu-mi* or *Chiu-mo* (in Cantonese *Kau-mo*, or *K'au-mo* = *Kuma, Koma, Khoma*), the ruler of which bore the name of *Shih-li Chiu-mo* (*Śrī Kuma*). On the other hand, the Annals of the T'ang dynasty appear to state that *Chên-la,* when subject to *Fu-nan,* was also known as *Kih-mieh.*[3] I am inclined to believe that in both instances the kingdom of Kumāra or Komar referred to above is meant, *Chên-la* being a somewhat elastic term which, merely designating at first the low and marshy region of the delta, was afterwards employed by the Chinese in a much wider sense so as to include under it not only

[1] Reinaud, op. cit., t. ii, p. 49, n. 177. The translations of this and other passages quoted from Reinaud's work are my own.

[2] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 461.

[3] *T'ang-shu,* quoted in Des Michels' "Annales Impériales de l'Annam," fasc. iii, p. 191.

Kih-mieh or Komar, but the whole of Kamboja. The reason for this extended application of the term *Chên-la* is perhaps to be found in the very probable circumstance that, as we shall hereafter show, it was from the region of the delta, or from its two districts denominated *Jala* or *Jalada* (*Chên-la*) and *Kumāra* (Komar) that the movement of conquest and unification of Kamboja under the rule of a single king had its inception. With the progressive march of that conquest the term *Chên-la* acquired a wider meaning, and whereas in the first instance the Chinese who became acquainted with the portion of the delta which bordered on the Gulf of Siām promiscuously applied that denomination to both Jalada and Kumāra, thus making *Chên-la* synonymous with *Kih-mieh*, they included in the sequel, under the same term, also the tract of country brought under subjection by the original kings of Komar; so that *Chên-la* now became the Chinese designation for the whole region, which had meanwhile been locally styled the 'kingdom of *Kambūjā*.'

Concerning the origin and history of the kingdom of Komar, I find it stated in the Talaing book of Gavampati Thera, already quoted in a preceding section, that after three hundred complete years from Buddha's Nirvāṇa (or about B.C. 243) a capital city was founded near the *Haṁsagiri* Mountain in Kamboja, which became known as *Khomanagara*. Here reigned a king of the Khōm race, *Khoma-rāja* by name, who greatly favoured Buddhism and made it flourish in his States. After nine hundred years from Nirvāṇa (or about A.D. 357) the dynasty founded by Khomarāja came to an end, and a new one was started headed by an *Adharmika* or impious king, who extirpated the Buddhist religion from his dominions. This last statement perfectly agrees with I-tsing's information that in Kamboja there was no Buddhism left in his time (A.D. 671–695), although that faith had formerly flourished there, its decline being caused by a wicked king who expelled and exterminated all members of the Buddhist brotherhood.[1]

[1] See Takakusu, op. cit., p. 12.

The advent of this impious ruler appears to coincide with the rise of the dynasty headed by Śrutavarman, and mentioned in the Paksī-cham-krong inscription of A.D. 947,[1] which substituted for Buddhism the worship of Brāhmanic deities and claimed descent from a Kambu Svāyambhuva, a sort of Manu, from whom the country was afterwards named the "Land of Kambu" and Kambūjā or Kamboja. A king of this dynasty, or at any rate of one of its branches, was Īśānavarman, who reigned in A.D. 626. He is known to have established his capital at *Īśāna-pura* [mentioned by both Hwên-ts'ang (A.D. 629–645) and I-tsing (A.D. 671–695)], and to have conquered and annexed Fu-nan in A.D. 627. As we shall see directly, Īśāna-pura was very likely situated on the Trang territory; hence the State of which it was the capital must have been the kingdom of Kumāra or Komar. But after the conquest of Fu-nan and many other States mentioned in Chinese records as having been annexed by the king of Chên-la between A.D. 638 and 650, the capital must have been transferred to or about the site of the capital of Fu-nan and of the Ang Chumnik inscription; that is, about Bā P'hnom.[2] It may have been established at Ādhyapura, the city referred to in that same inscription in A.D. 667. From that period the kingdom of Komar became absorbed into the newly-formed Kambojan Empire; hence we do not meet with any further mention of *Chiu-mo* (or *Kuma*) and *Kih-mieh* in Chinese records, any more than of the other petty realms formerly referred to along with Komar. We merely hear of *Chên-la*, a denomination now applied in a much wider sense; and of *Kan-pu-chih* or *Kan-p'o-chê* (Kambuja), the new name for the unified empire. This completely accords with the account of the Arab traveller Sulaiman, who, having called

[1] Vide Prof. Bergaigne's article in *Journal Asiatique*, Aug.–Sept., 1882.

[2] *Wat Kedei* (Kuṭī) or *Kedei Ang*, termed also *Ang Chumnik*, the Buddhist monastery where two inscribed stelae, bearing the date 551 Śaka (= A.D. 629), and thus probably belonging to Īśānavarman's reign, were discovered, besides the one referred to above, lies at about seven miles south by east of the Bā-P'hnom hills; and Ādhyapura appears to have stood in its neighbourhood.

at *Kedrendj* or Koḥ Tron harbour between A.D. 840–850, no longer speaks of the kingdom of Komar as actually existing at the time of his visit, but refers to the events which came to pass in that State as traditions handed down from the "temps anciens."[1] Neither does he make mention of Komar among the realms of Further India extant in his time which he enumerates in another passage; but he tells us in its stead of a kingdom of the *Mudjahs*, which, I have good reason to think, represents the country of the *Bujas*, or *Kambūjās*, i.e. Kamboja, under its newly acquired name. This identification is strengthened by the fact that, conterminous to *Mudja* and beyond it, Abu Zaid's account places the kingdom of *Mabed*,[2] in which I have discovered the term *Bâ-viêt*, the early designation for the present Annam and Tonkin. A glance at the description of *Mabed* given by Abu-zaid will convince even the most sceptical that *Bâ-viêt*, and no other country, is actually meant. It follows, then, that when Sulaiman called at *Kedrendj* or Koḥ Tron harbour, he found the kingdom of *Muja* or *Buja* firmly established under the sway of a single ruler, and only heard of the kingdom of *Komar* as a thing of the past, but the events of which were still vividly remembered in the province of Trang, as the kingdom was situated on that very same coast and had its capital at a single day's distance from it. We have already expressed the opinion that this capital must have been either at Panthāi-mās or in the neighbourhood of Payañkar, as the number of ancient remains and inscriptions discovered in that territory appear to confirm. There it must have remained up to the time of Īśānavarman, who, in about 626 A.D., founded Īśānapura. This city, I believe, must be looked for in the adjoining district of *Bātī* (Pādī), near P'hnom Eisô, the 'hill of *Īśa*' (*Īśāna* or Śiva), which is evidently the *Īśāna* mountain located by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in the same country, viz. *Sākadvīpa*.[3] To the east of P'hnom Eisô rises another

[1] Reinaud, op. cit., vol. i, p. 97.
[2] Ibid., p. 31.
[3] Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 200, n. †.

hill called *P'hnoṁ Angkor-burī* (Nagara-purī), whose name shows that some *nagara* or capital city existed in its neighbourhood. On the top of P'hnom Eisô are found the remains of a temple termed *prāsād Chisor* (Jīsūr); and a little to the west of it are the ruins of the *prāsād Nāng Khmaṇu*, or temple of Kumārī (Kālī).

It thus appears that the kingdom of Komar, or the territory of the actual districts of Trang and Panthāi-māś, must have formed the earliest nucleus of the Kambojan Empire, as well as the gate through which Indū civilization was introduced to Kamboja. Founded during the third century before the Christian Era as a mere dependency of the mighty Fu-nan Empire, it gradually waxed in extent and power until it acquired hegemony over the neighbouring petty States of the Kambojan coast and became capable of assimilating the paramount kingdom of Fu-nan itself. By the middle of the sixth century A.D., namely, during the reign of Īśānavarman's great-grandfather, *Kih-mieh*, or Komar, had already, according to Chinese authorities, grown "very powerful," [1] which proves that it must have had by that time absorbed a good deal of the territory belonging to its suzerain of Fu-nan. In fact, the topographical distribution of the inscriptions mentioning the name of Bhavavarman—the predecessor of Īśānavarman, who reigned about A.D. 600—shows that his dominions extended over nearly all the present Kamboja,[2] as far up as the Great Lake and the Më-Khōng rapids of Khôn, the historical boundary with the State of Campāśak, and, later on, with Eastern Lāos. We must take it, therefore, that Īśānavarman's alleged conquest of *Fu-nan* in A.D. 627 merely means the subjugation of the last nucleus of that kingdom constituted by the districts immediately adjoining its capital, and the deathblow dealt to the metropolis itself, through which he acquired mastery over the whole of Kamboja.

In order to better clear up this point I feel constrained to

[1] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 477.
[2] See Professor Bergaigne's "Chronologie de l'ancien royaume Khmer," in *Journal Asiatique*, 1884.

say something of my identification of *Fu-nan* or *Po-nan*, the celebrated country whose location and name have formed the subject of endless discussions and remained so far unsettled. I cannot go into particulars here, but must limit myself with giving the results of my researches on the subject, reserving an ampler treatment of it to a future opportunity. *Fu-nan* is then, as I make it out, a Chinese imitation of the Khmēr term *P'hanom* (*Banam*, or *Vanam*), meaning a 'mountain,' and also, therefore, a 'mountaineer.' It is thus a synonym of *C'hīeng*, being employed as a prefix to names of cities, as *C'hīeng* is in the upper part of Indo-China.[1] *Fu-nan* turns out consequently to be the name of a tribe or tribes of mountaineers, evidently a branch of the *C'hīeng* race, who anciently occupied Kamboja, founding therein cities whose names begin with or include the word *P'hanom*, e.g. *P'hanom-p'hēñ*, *Nakhōn* (Nagara) *P'hanom*, *Bā-P'hanom*, etc. The modern representatives of the *P'hanom* tribes are, no doubt, the people called, with but slight variation, *Penoṅg* or *Banong*, still inhabiting the country to the east of the Mē-Khōng at Krachēḥ. With them are probably connected the *Bahnar* or *Bānar* (Vanara, Vānara) and other wild tribes of Eastern Kamboja, most of whom seem to be included under the generic designation of *P'hanom*, *P'hnom*, or *Penong*.[2] These tribes may have

[1] The term *P'hanom* or *P'hnom* may be connected with the Sanskrit *Vanaṁ*, meaning 'a forest,' and *Pavana* or *Pravaṇa* = 'height, slope.' It will be observed that most hill-tribes of Indo-China have been named after their terms for 'mountain,' e.g. the *Dōi* (Lawā), the *C'hīeng*, the *Li* or *Loi*, etc.

If a native word, its original form may have been *P'hūnom* or *P'hūnam*; *P'hū* being the term for 'mountain' used in all districts to the east of the Mē-Khōng. The identity of *P'hanom* or *Vanaṁ* with *Fu-nan* will appear in better relief when it is borne in mind that the latter word is pronounced *P'u-nam* in some of the Southern China dialects; and that the characters of which it is composed (扶 南) anciently sounded like *Vŭ-nom*. The other form, *Pa-nan* (跋 南) or *Po-nan*, though met with in I-tsing's works as early as the dawn of the eighth century A.D. (see Chavannes, op. cit., p. 5), does not appear to have been employed by the earlier Chinese travellers. The old sound of its two characters was *Buot-nom*, and they are still pronounced *Bat-nam* by the Annamese, while they may be taken to represent the Sanskrit syllables *Pa-naṁ* or *Banaṁ*. It will thus be seen that *Fu-nan* = *P'hū-nom* or *P'hnom* (Sanskrit *Bhū-naṁ*), and *Pa-nan* = *Banom* or *P'hanom* (Sanskrit *Banaṁ* or *Vanaṁ*).

[2] In order to understand the relationship of the *P'hanoms* with the *Penongs*, or *P'hnongs*, it is necessary to explain that the term for mountain and mountaineer, which is *P'hanom* or *P'hnom* in Khmēr, becomes *panam* in Stieng; and *p'nong*

reached Southern Cochin-China after their kinsmen the *Dōi, Lōi, Li,* or *Löi,* since Ptolemy does not speak of this region under the names of *Fu-nan, P'hanom,* or *Vanam,* but only as the country of the **Lēstai.** The probability is, therefore, that in his time, or not very early before it, the *P'hnom* were still in the Më-Khōng valley above Bassac, and that it was only later on that they reached Central Kamboja, and thence expanded towards Siām and its Gulf, laying the foundation of a vast and mighty empire. This feat must, however, have been accomplished before the end of the second century of the Christian Era, since the Chinese envoys who visited *Fu-nan* between A.D. 222 and 252 already speak of that country as having extended its domination over a considerably large area. The Annamese Annals do indeed incidentally refer to *P'o-nam* (i.e. *Fu-nan*) under as early a date as B.C. 1110,[1] but it is in connection with a legend; and besides, as *Lam-ap* or *Lin-i* (a district which was not constituted until B.C. 214) is alluded to along with it, we may well assume that neither of these two States existed as yet at so remote a period. The first genuine mention occurring of *Fu-nan* in the same Annals is in A.D. 280, when it is described as joining with *Lin-i* (Campā) in making depredations upon the territory of *Chiao-chih* (Tonkin), then subject to Chinese rule.[2] On the strength of these considerations we can hardly assign to the *Fu-nan* Empire an earlier birth-date than the second century A.D., admitting at the same time that *Fu-nan* may have existed as a petty State of Central Indo-China earlier than that.

Once the origin and meaning of the term *Fu-nan* established, we can easily trace the boundaries of *Fu-nan*

or *nong* in Samré, Poru (Prū), and C'hōng. Compare with the Malay *gūnong*. In Suk or Sak, and Huei, it is *manam*. In P'hnong it is now *c'huk*, but this is due to the vicinity of peoples of the Chām stock, from whom a few words got intermingled with the P'hnong dialect. 'Mountain' is *c'hok* in Chām, *c'huk* in Radë, *c'hot* in Kanchō, *kŏng* in Bahnar, etc. On the other hand, the old Khmēr form *P'hnom* survives to this day in many districts of the Malay Peninsula. A mountain is termed *bnum* in Kalantan and Rumpin; *benum* in Endau and Johor, etc. (See *Journal, Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 27, p. 34.)

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 8.

[2] Ibid., p. 108.

by following the limits, out of which the term *P'hnom* does not occur as a topographical name of mountain ranges, towns, etc. These limits are approximately: on the north, Nakhōn P'hanom (*Nagara Vanaṁ*) on the Më-Khōng (lat. 16° 56′ 1″, Garnier) and dependent districts; the watershed between Annam and Kamboja on the east; the Cochin-Chinese seaboard and the Gulf of Siām on the south; and the Më-Nạm Valley on the west. Nakhōn P'hanom was probably the chief city of *Fu-nan* when that State was still in its initial stage, and was mainly confined to the Middle Më-Khōng Valley. In its halcyon days, however, the capital was certainly much lower down the Më-Khōng, and most likely at Bā P'hnom; but whether at the foot of the Bā P'hnom Hills (*P'hnom Bā P'hnom*), or by the Më-Khōng's bank at Banam, or at some intermediate point, it is now next to impossible to ascertain unless further investigations are made in that quarter. I am inclined to give the preference to some locality within close proximity of the hills, since we have seen it was the custom with peoples of the C'hīeng race to build their settlements on elevated ground, and in any case to a place not very far from the sites where the Wat Chakret and Ang Chumnik inscriptions have been discovered.

My reason for venturing, in the case of a State like *Fu-nan*, whose position itself has before this been a geographical puzzle, to locate with some accuracy its capital, is, that I have succeeded in identifying with certainty several of the petty States which the early Chinese travellers name as subject to that empire, giving their bearings with respect to it, or rather to its capital. Two of the nearest of such States were: *Ts'an-pan*, described as lying to the north of *Fu-nan*;[1] and *Pê-t'ou*, located to the west of *Fu-nan* and to the south-west of *Ts'an-pan*, with which it was made conterminous.[2] I have identified *Ts'an-pan*, 参半 (whose name, by the way, is pronounced *Ts'am-pun* in

[1] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 441. Its position is deduced from that of *Pê-t'ou*, lying to the *west* of *Fu-nan*, and to the *south-west* of *Ts'an-pan*. Hence *Ts'an-pan* must have been *to the north* of *Fu-nan*, or thereabouts.

[2] Ibid., loc. cit.

Cantonese), with the ancient *Śaṁbhu* or *Śaṁbhu-pura*, the modern Sambaur or Sambôr, termed *Sambun* by the Siāmese, where reigned the line of vassal kings from whom Jayavarman II (the ruler of Kamboja between A.D. 802–869) was descended.

In *Pê-t'ou*, 白頭 (in Cant. *Pak-t'au*, and in Ann. *Bāk-dồu*), I have discovered the Sanskrit *Bhikti*[*māṣa*] and Ptolemy's Pithō[nobastē], although its name has been transcribed by the Chinese so as to make it mean country of the 'White-headed' people.

The location which the Chinese assigned to *Fu-nan*—to the south of *Ts'an-pan* and to the east of *Pê-t'ou*—is evidently meant for the capital, or at any rate for the central or chief district of that kingdom, which thus becomes approximately determined by the intersection of the Sambôr meridian with the Panthāi-māś parallel. The position obtained in this manner falls near to the southern border of the present Svāi-thāp district, and at about midway between Chôu-dộk and Saigon. However, as the country is even up to this day very swampy at that point, and as we should not be too pedantic in applying the rigorous methods of mathematical geography in a case like this, where it is a question of approximate bearings pure and simple, I think that the site I have fixed for the capital—or at least for the central part of *Fu-nan* proper—in the Bā P'hnom district, fairly agrees with the location ascribed to it by the Chinese in relation to Sambôr and Panthāi-māś.

The boundaries we have assigned to the Fu-nan or P'hnom Empire are those it must have had at the time of its greatest power, that is, during the early centuries of the Christian Era, when the Chinese first became acquainted with it. Colonists from Southern India had long before that period settled on the shores of the maritime district of Trang, and it was undoubtedly they who developed the trade of Koḥ Tron Bay, the principal port of Fu-nan, and who founded the kingdom of Kumāra, *Komār*, or *Kih-mieh*, with its capital in the Trang district, whence they gradually extended their domination over the whole of Kamboja,

and succeeded, by the end of the first quarter of the seventh century, to make themselves masters of all that constituted the erstwhile mighty empire of Fu-nan. That this was the course of events which brought Kamboja under Dravidian influence and civilization, is fully borne out by the ancient inscriptions discovered in the country, which form, as it were, so many landmarks indicating the stages of successive development of Indian ascendancy in that region. An examination of the age and topographical distribution of those epigraphic records shows the Trang district to be the quarter where that influence was first established and whence it subsequently spread out. The most ancient monument of the kind hitherto discovered is the inscription of Bayang (*Payāṅ* or *Puyāṅ*) bearing the dates 526 and 546 Śaka (A.D. 604 and 624), in the province of Trang; and that of Wat P'hô (Bodhi) in the same district, mentioning King Īśānavarman, and revealing to us the existence, at so early a period, of the worship of Hari-Hara in its territory.[1] The embankment, *Thal Puyāṅ*, which leads to the Puyāṅ or Payang temple rising on the top of a peak some 500 feet high, in the midst of the plain stretching to the north of the present village of Bayang, is also referred to. *Payaṅ* or *Payaṅkar* is, Aymonier explains, the name both of the peak and of a legendary king. I should rather think of a deity, something like the goddess *Yāṁpu-nagara* of Campā. Wat P'hô is situated at a day's march to the north of Payaṅkar, and the inscriptions discovered at both places lead us to infer that the capital of the early Kumāra kingdom must have risen in that neighbourhood. These epigraphic monuments, as well as those that were erected after them up to the reign of Yaśovarman (A.D. 889), were inscribed mostly in Sanskrit, the characters used being of a South Indian type, a circumstance which makes it clear that it must have been from the South of India that civilization was first introduced into Kamboja.

[1] See Professor Bergaigne's notes to Aymonier's paper on the inscriptions in Old Khmēr, published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1883.

Next in order come the inscriptions of the Bā P'hnom district, the most remarkable whereof are those of *Wat Chakret* (A.D. 626) and *Ang Chumnik* (A.D. 667), both making mention of King Īśānavarman. The lithic records discovered in the districts lying further inland belong to later dates; in a word they diminish in antiquity the more one proceeds towards the north, until the great lake being reached, one finds that the oldest inscription on its borders is that of Kuḍī Thā-kh̄ām, dated 713 Śaka =A.D. 791. A few inscriptions of the epoch of Bhavavarman (*circa* A.D. 600) have indeed been found in the northern districts; but these are mere isolated instances, due no doubt to the first successful inroads of the armies of the kings of Kumāra into Fu-nan, which prepared the conquest, accomplished by Īśānavarman a few years later, of the whole of that empire. The chronological and topographical distribution of the bulk of the inscriptions shows therefore beyond any possible doubt that Indū influence and civilization had their inception in the province of Trang,[1] on the shores of Koḥ Tron Bay, and that thence they gradually extended towards the interior of Kamboja. The record left us by Ptolemy of two Sanskrit or Sanskritized names of towns on that coast, **Pithōnobastē** and **Akadra**, is sufficient evidence that in his time Indū influence had not only been already established in that territory, but had as well grown up to a very considerable extent. The fact of Ptolemy's designating **Pithōnobastē** "a mart" (ἐμπόριος) plainly demonstrates that this, and not **Akadra**, was the great entrepôt of trade with the interior; that is, with the whole of the Fu-nan Empire.

Speaking of the expedition sent by the Mahārāja of Zābej (Śrī-Bhoja or Palembang in Sumatra) to punish

[1] Speaking of the inscriptions anterior to Indravarman I (A.D. 877), Professor Bergaigne says (*Journal Asiatique*, 1884): "Elles sont d'ailleurs toujours disséminées dans les lieux les plus divers, plus nombreuses dans la terre méridionale et maritime de Tréang [Trang], sans être rares dans les autres, par exemple dans la terre de Ba Phrom et dans la partie limitrophe de la Cochinchine . . . ." This shows that up to Indravarman's time, or very nearly so, the Trang district was still the principal seat of Indū civilization and power.

the king of Komār, Abū-zaid says that the fleet entered the river which led up to the capital of Komār. In this statement we have the proof that sea-going vessels, at least those of the Indū traders, used to enter the river which they ascended in the old times probably as far up as Panthāi-māś itself, where, or in whose neighbourhood, the ancient capital of Komār was situated. Up to a quite recent period, Siāmese sailing-ships and steamers of moderate draught were able to proceed up the Panthāi-māś River as far as the canal of Vinh-té, and reach through it the posterior branch of the Më-Khōng, which they ascended up to P'hnom-p'hēñ or to the Great Lake. There is no doubt that this route to Kamboja was the oldest, besides being the safest, and the shortest from the Gulf of Siām and the Straits; hence the preference always given to it over the one which followed the course of the Më-Khōng from its eastern mouths. It is only with the advent of the Portuguese and the introduction of improved methods of navigation that we hear of ships ascending the Më-Khōng from its eastern mouths to P'hnom-p'hēñ and further. The silting up of that westernmost branch of the Më-Khōng, which of old supplied the communication re-established on a far smaller scale in 1820 by digging the canal of Vinh-té, led to the abandonment of the first-named route in favour of the second; and now Hatīen only lives a rickety life, alimented by the coast trade, while Panthāi-māś is more of a geographical expression than anything else. And yet both were the gates through which Indū civilization first reached Kamboja, and ranked among the most important stations for ships on the route from India to China.

Zabai or **Zaba**, the city (No. 123).

The rectified position of this city falls in the neighbourhood of the present Sadëk,[1] but it will be seen by a glance at

[1] The vulgar form by which *P'hsā-dëk* is designated. This place-name is composed of the two Khmēr terms *p'hsā* ('mart') and *dëk* ('iron'), and means therefore 'Iron-mart.' It appears that at some time or other hardware was chiefly sold here, hence its name, which the Annamese transcribe as 沙磧, *Sà-dẹ̀k*.

the map that the whole coastline of Cochin-China and Annam was by Ptolemy shifted too much westwards, thus causing a displacement of the cities on its borders back from their true position. Moreover, it is unlikely that the portion of the delta about Sadëk had, in our author's time, sufficiently emerged above sea-level as to be inhabitable, since it is even now a low-lying land of marshy character and periodically flooded. Very probably, as demonstrated by several concurrent circumstances to which we shall revert directly, the portion of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula comprised between the Sadëk parallel and Cape Kamboja (Khmau) was then but in the initial stage of its formation, and may at best have consisted of shallows and mud-banks stretching for a considerable distance seawards. On the strength of these considerations we feel justified in looking for the site of **Zabai** further to the east and inland of Sadëk. And, as I have now acquired the certainty that Ptolemy's Great Cape (**Mega Akrōtērion**) corresponds to the present Cape *Tī-wön* or *Thuĭ-wön* (*Tiouan* or *Tiouane* of French maps),[1] constituted by a spur of the Bāria Hills projecting seawards at a little distance to the north-east of the but recently formed Cape

[1] Noted *Ti-wan* — which is fairly near the mark — in the "China Sea Directory," vol. ii, p. 390, 1899 edition. For the Kwọk-ngữ spelling *Ti-van* or *Thui-van* and its meaning—'cloud-girdled'—see "Gia-dinh Thung-chi," Aubaret trans., p. 153. The correct orthography of the second term should be, I presume, 垂 雲, *Thwĭ-wön* (Chin. *Ch'wei-yün*), which alone can convey that sense. I have noticed with no small degree of interest, after writing the above, that the Chinese map of the fourteenth century published by Phillips (vide *supra*, p. 199) spells the name of this cape 大 灣 (*Ta-wön*), where 大 (in Annamese, *Dãi*) = **Mégα**, while the second character is, no doubt, mere guesswork for 雲, *wön* = 'cloud.' From this I infer that the headland in question may have been known of old as 'Cape Great-Cloud,' translated as *Mahā-megha* by the early Indū civilizers of the country. Whether Ptolemy's μέγα be a translation of the first term in this compound or a mere transliteration of the second, I do not pretend to judge, my object being solely to call attention to this etymological connection, which contributes in some measure towards establishing the identity of Ptolemy's Great Cape with the headland under discussion. This, by the way, is so conspicuous that it is usually seen by navigators before Cape St. James. (Vide "China Sea Directory," loc. cit.)

St. James, we may arrive at a yet more approximate estimate of the position of **Zabai** by referring it to the rectified position of the Great Cape as coinciding with Cape Tī-wön. We would thus obtain for **Zabai** a longitude of 106° 39′ and a latitude of 10° 53′; that is, a site on the Tön-bĭñ (formerly Bẹn-ngẹ̄) or Saigon River, at about equal distances from the *chef-lieu* of Bien-Hoa in a north-eastern, and from Saigon in a south-eastern, direction. I have no doubt that in our author's time the sea reached up about as far as the place where now rises Saigon, forming there what we may call the "Bay of **Zabai**," sheltered on the east by the Nụi Diñ and Nụi Bāria Hills, which, together with the hillocks (Nụi Gañ-rāi) of the actual Cape St. James, then an island, formed conspicuous landmarks for the navigators. As **Zabai** is mentioned in Ptolemy's introductory book (where it is spelled **Zaba**) as one of the principal stations on the sea-route from **Takōla** in the Golden Khersonese to **Kattigara**, it must evidently have been situated either on what was then the edge of the Bay of **Zabai** or, still more probably, at a short distance up one of the numerous channels then intersecting the delta jointly formed by the Saigon and Bien-Hoa (Dồng-nāi) Rivers, and by the Eastern Vaico, now flowing through the Sôi-rāp or Lôi-rāp (formerly *C'hui-rāp*)[1] Estuary. The rectified position we obtained for **Zabai** by taking Cape Tī-wön as a basis appears therefore to answer all requirements as far as the geological conditions of the Saigon district are concerned. It remains, however, to show how the territory in question or its chief city could, at such a remote period, have borne the now locally forgotten name of **Zabai**. This task will prove less arduous than it appears at first sight when it is remembered that previous to the absorption by Annam of the Kambojan townships of Bāria, Bẹn-ngẹ̄ or *Bến-nghé* (now Saigon), and Mītho (*Samìthō* or *Samiddho*), between A.D. 1658–1752, their territories formed part of the

[1] "Gia-dinh Thung-chi," Aubaret trans., pp. 5 and x preface: *Soi-rap*, *Xui-rap*. There was also about here a *srok* or *sok* (meaning a village and a district in Khmēr) termed the *sok* of *Xui-rap* (ibid., p. 13).

province of *Svāi-thāp,* which was thus the easternmost administrative division of Kamboja adjoining the seaboard. After that period Svāi-thāp became restricted to its present modest proportions, and nowadays it merely consists of a tract of swampy ground comprised between the two Vaicos and extending for a short distance to the south of the 11th parallel. It forms the south-easternmost corner of Kambojan territory. It is much if its name appears in modern French maps, usually filled in that vicinity with a host of new-fangled Annamese toponymics. When it does it is printed *Svai-téap.* Its correct form is, however, *Svāi-thāp* or *Svāi-dāb* (in Siāmese records *Sawāi-thāp'h*). *Sāvāi* or *Svāi*—the first *a* being pronounced so quickly as to become almost imperceptible—is the Khmēr word for the mango-tree, so frequently occurring in the names of districts and townships, such as *Kap'hong Svāi, Kĭen Svāi, Svāi Ramĭet, Svāi Rĭeng,* and the already mentioned *Svāi-thāp.*[1] From this last one, I suppose, a creek connecting the two Vaicos a little below the chief settlement of Svāi-thāp is named the *Svāi* creek, now Annamized in French maps into *Soai-giang.* A similarly named stream, the *Song Soai* (i.e. *Svāi* River), is mentioned in the "Gia-dinh Thung-chi"[2] as being a tributary of the Saigon River much further to the south-east. Although no connection whatever may actually exist between the name of this stream and that of the Svāi-thāp province, the fact of the latter including in the old days the territory on the banks of both Vaicos and of the Saigon River as far as the sea, is sufficient by itself to justify

[1] The Khmērs now pronounce this name *Svāi-thĕab,* and say that it means 'dwarf mango-trees'; hence *Kap'hong Svāi-thĕab* = 'Province of the dwarf mango-trees,' *Kap'hong Svāi* = 'Province of the mango-trees.'

Kĭen means 'a corner, a point, or projection of land'; whence *Kĭen Svāi* = 'Mango-point.' This district is, in fact, situated on the southern corner of the *Caturamukha* or quadrangle formed by the four arms of the Mĕ-Khōng at P'hnom-p'hĕñ, from which this town is often referred to in ancient records as *Nagara Caturamukha* (the *Chordemuco* of Portuguese writers). *Ramĭet* is the Khmēr name for turmeric, metaphorically used also to denote anything of a yellow colour; wherefore, *Svāi Ramĭet* = 'yellow mango [fruits].'

The Annamese have the same term for 'mango,' which, however, they pronounce in a slightly different manner, that is, somehow between *Swāi* and *Ch'hwāi.*

[2] Aubaret's transl., p. 172.

our location of the city of **Zabai** within the limits of its territory. For it is easy to see that the term **Zabai**—or, as it was very likely pronounced by navigators in Ptolemy's time, *Zavai* — represents the Khmēr word *Săvāi* or *Svāi*, which, being part of the old language of the country, may have been employed from times immemorial to designate the territory of the Svāi-thāp district and its chief city, or else its principal seaport.

As regards the spelling **Zaba** which Ptolemy uses in the introductory book of his work, I think that it may be connected, if not with the first term of the name of *Svāi-thāp*, at any rate with the second, *thāb*, *dāb*; for it is quite possible that *Svāi-thāp* was pronounced by the early western travellers something like *Sabāi-thāb* or *Zabai-zab*, and, for brevity's sake, either *Zabai* or *Zab*, *Zaba*. This would explain how Ptolemy at times refers to it as **Zabai** and at others as **Zaba**. It is just as well to mention in this connection that Oderic of Friul, in the Latin text of his travels, writes *Zapa*.[1] This word has been taken by some authorities to represent Campā; but if not actually identical with Ptolemy's **Zaba**, I think that it may at best designate only the southernmost part of Campā, which, according to Chinese and Annamese writers, was called respectively *T'o-pei* (陀備州) and *Thā-bī* or *Thā-bē*.[2] This designation appears, however, to have been employed only after the tenth century, i.e. after the disaster that befell Campā in A.D. 981, as a consequence of which its northern provinces passed into the hands of the Annamese, its capital was transferred further south, and its people driven further down the coast, so as to presumably encroach upon the Kambojan borderland of the Svāi-thāp province. In the course of the frequent wars which ensued between the two neighbours, the eastern part of that province, which then probably embraced most of the territory now forming the Bien-hoa

[1] See De Backer's "L'Extrême Orient au Moyen-âge," p. 383 of 1877 edition.
[2] See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 539; Aymonier's "History of Tchampa" in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1893; and Abbé Bouillevaux's "Le Ciampa" in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, t. ii, p. 325.

district, must have often changed masters, becoming at times Chām and at others Kambojan. It is therefore possible that the term *T'o-pei*, or *Thā-bĕ*, merely designated the southernmost part of Campā, consisting of territory partly taken to Kamboja in the Svāi-thāp province and partly bordering upon it. In such a case the identity of the terms *T'o-pei* or *Thā-bĕ* with **Zabai** or **Zaba** and *Săvăi-*[*thāb*] or [*Săvăi*]-*thāba*, which so far chiefly asserts itself on linguistical grounds, would become confirmed in history.

The transition from *Thāba*, *Dāba*, and *Zaba*, to *Dhāva*, *Dāva*, *Zava*, and *Java*, and *vice versâ*, is an easy one in Oriental languages, as exemplified in the *Zābej* of the Arab travellers employed to express Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'o-ti* (*Yąvadi* or *Javadi*) and Ptolemy's **Iabadios** or **Sabadios**; and in the softening of *d*, *ḍ*, and *dh* into *j* and *jh*, both in Sanskrit and Pāli, as in *dyotis*, *jyotis*, *joti*; *dyūta*, *jūta*; *dhyāna*, *jhāna*; etc. In the case of the terms above referred to, the softening of the initial has been of the most varied, so that we have *Ḍava*, *Yava*, *Chava*, *Java*, *Zava*, *Śava*; and in Chinese *Tu-p'o*, *Shê-p'o*, *Chao-wa*, *Ch'wa*, etc. In so far as the region now under examination is concerned, we have already had occasion to remark that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives *Purojava* and *Manojava* as the names of two divisions of *Śaka-dvīpa*. One of these probably corresponds, as we said, to the State of *Javā* or *Lao-Chua*, the present Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng.[1] The other, unless represented up to this day by *Krachĕḥ* (the *Kratié* of French maps) and its district in Upper Kamboja, cannot apparently be identified with anything else but **Zaba**, *Zapa*, or *Thā-bĕ*.

Ancient remains are by no means absent in the territory where we have located Ptolemy's famed seaport of **Zaba** or **Zabai**. An old temple, a few small brass idols, two blocks

[1] *Manojava* should correspond to Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, since the Viṣṇu Purāṇa locates a river by the name of *Manojavā* in Krauṅca dvīpa (*Chiao-chih* or Tonkin and its borderlands). *Purojava* ought then to be either **Zaba** or *Krachĕḥ*. This last-named district is on the Mĕ-Khōng at a short distance below Sambôr and Sambôc, and is said to have been so named from its being inhabited by a population of the same *Chĕḥ* (*C'hawā*) race as is known to have originally settled at Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng.

of polished stone ornamented with basso-rilievi, terra-cotta representations of lotus flowers, and other interesting objects, in all appearance the vestiges of Kambojan antiquity, have been discovered to the west of Saigon at about half-way between this city and Chŏ̃-lŏn, the famed Chinese mart. Yet more important remains have long been known to exist further to the north-west, on and about the hill now bearing the Annamese name of *Kŏi-Māi* (梂梅 = the 'Plum-tree' or, figuratively, the 'Pronubial' Hill, the Cây-Mai of French writers). On its summit a Buddhist temple stands on the ruins of an ancient Kambojan pagoda. When removing the débris of the latter in A.D. 1816, in order to erect the new structure, a large number of ancient bricks and tiles were brought to light, and two golden plates engraved with the image of Buddha riding on an elephant.[1] More recent explorations have revealed the existence of very extensive lines of ancient ramparts and large lotus-ponds, indicating that a considerable settlement, with temples, etc., stood formerly in that neighbourhood. Nor is this all, for excavations effected at various points of that very promising district have led to the discovery of objects belonging to a yet remoter age, consisting of brass hatchets and stone implements, evidencing that from the earliest period a pre-historical station had been established there.[2] No doubt can therefore arise as to the possibility of the place having been

[1] See Aubaret's transl. of the "Gia-dinh Thung-chi," pp. 179, 180. Very likely the images were not of Buddha, but of the Bodhisatta in his last birth, in the character of Prince Vessantara. They may have been, on the other hand, Brāhmaṇic representations of Indra riding upon his three-headed elephant Airāvata.

[2] Since I wrote the above there has been issued Aymonier's very interesting and painstaking work "Le Cambodge" (Paris, Leroux, 1900), where the learned author, in treating of the antiquities of *Kŏi-Māi*—or Cay May, as he writes its name—suggests that this place was probably the ancient city of *Brai-nagar*, whose name survives in the designation *Préi-nokor* that the Khmēr still apply to the country about Saigon (pp. 135, 136). *Préi-nokor* or *Brai-nagar*, he says, means "la forêt du royaume." I rather think that this expression should be taken instead in the sense of "forest of the capital" or "forest of the city," meaning the jungle now arising on the site of the ancient city or *nagara*, whether the capital of a kingdom or not. Such being, I imagine, the real signification, there is scarcely any doubt that the city implied is the one whose ramparts are still to be seen in the vicinity of *Kŏi-Māi* Hill, for no other remains of a walled town have been so far discovered within the Saigon district. It seems thus very probable that the city and former prehistorical station, whose real name has long been

already an important and well-known commercial centre in Ptolemy's time; and as the rectified position we have obtained for his **Zaba** is almost coincident with that of *Köi-Māi*, we have no hesitation in assuming that it stood in the vicinity of this place, its ruins being very probably represented by the extensive ramparts and other vestiges of the long-forgotten city discovered in that neighbourhood. It should be noticed, in fact, that no other traces of ancient towns or extensive settlements are to be met with in the Saigon district or the immediately adjoining ones, the only relics of a bygone age so far brought to light being, in the district first named, besides those of *Köi-Māi*, the few inconsiderable ones already mentioned lying between Saigon and Chŏ-lŏn. The nearest archaeological remains discovered in the adjacent districts are those of an Indū temple on Mount Bā-dèn, far away north in the territory of Töi-niñ; two ancient statues roughly sculptured in sandstone dug out at *Chih-Rosei* on the western Vaico; and the ruins of an Indū pagoda, with inscribed slabs dating probably from the eighth century A.D., at Thāp-Mūai, in the so-called "Plaine des Joncs," a few miles to the north of Sadëk.

Truly, the Khmēr inscription on the stele now preserved in the town museum at Saigon, but said to have been originally found in the neighbourhood of *Lawëk*, the later mediaeval Kambojan capital, mentions a town by the name of *Samudra-pura* — the 'Oceanic' or 'Sea-city' — which must have evidently stood on what was then the edge of the delta at some one or other of the Më-Khōng outlets. But, as the inscription is probably not older than the seventh century A.D., I do not think it likely that this *Samudra-pura* could have been in existence in Ptolemy's time, and that it has anything in common with his **Zaba** or **Zabai**. Possibly it corresponds to the present My-tho or Mī-tho, the name of which I find written in Siāmese

forgotten, being replaced by the vague term *Brai-nagar*, merely designating the jungle that grew on its site, is Ptolemy's **Zaba** or **Zabai**, the ancient *chef-lieu* of the *Srāi-thāp* district, and possibly at one time the capital of a little realm, that of *T'o-pei* or *Thā-bē*.

records under the form *Samīthō* or *Samiddho*, looking for all the world like a local dialectal corruption of *Samudra*.[1] I conclude, therefore, in favour of *Kŏi-Māi* as the most probable site where to locate Ptolemy's city.

Zaba, as we have pointed out, was one of the chief ports of call for ships bound from the Golden Khersonese (**Takōla**) to **Kattigara**. The sailing distance from **Takōla** to **Zaba** was twenty days according to one Alexander, quoted by Marinos and re-quoted through the latter by Ptolemy in the introductory book (ch. 14, § 1) of his treatise. It will be seen that this is exactly the distance given by the Arab travellers for the passage from *Kalah-bār* to *Kedrenj*, viâ *Betūmah*, there being, of course, no appreciable difference in the length of the run from Johor (*Betūmah*) to either Hatīen or Gañ-rāi Bay within Cape St. James. By continuing the voyage from **Zaba** southward, "*but keeping more to the left*" (*πρὸς νότον διαπλεύσαντας, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα*),[2] the early sailors arrived in "some days" to **Kattigara**. Ptolemy has, judiciously enough, taken those "some days" to mean *another twenty days*, although the real purport was, as we may deduce from the Arab travellers, fully double that amount, viz. fifty days if reckoning from *Kedrenj* and forty from *Senef*, which was situated further up the Cochin-Chinese coast than **Zaba**.

Our worthy author has not, however, exercised an equally sound judgment in the interpretation of the hint, *καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα*, "but [keeping] more to the left," and not

[1] I have since noticed that Aymonier in his recent book quoted above states (p. 138) that the term *My-tho* is merely a corruption of *Mé-so* = 'the white,' 'the fairy,' a toponymic very common in Kamboja. I cannot, however, share his opinion in this case on account of the form *Samīthō* or *Samiddho* occurring, as I said, in Siāmese manuscript records, which totally excludes a derivation from *Mē-Sō*; and also in view of the fact that *Samudra-pura* has not been so far located, and that *Mī-tho*—or, more correctly, *Samiddho*—suits very well the case both as regards name and position. Not many centuries back, in fact, *Samiddho* must have stood at the very outer edge of the delta, and at the mouth of the branch of the Mē-Khōng now flowing by it, the name of which has been barbarized by the Annamese into *Sông Mĩ-thō*, 滻美荼, i.e. Mī-tho River.

[2] Ptolemy's Geogr., ed. Nobbe, Leipzig, 1881, tom. i, p. 30 (lib. i, ch. 14, § 1).

laying sufficient stress on the *καὶ μᾶλλον* he was induced to map down **Kattigara** in a south-eastern direction from **Zaba**. We now have made clear what the "keeping more to the left" meant. If in leaving **Zaba** the ships had indeed, though but for a short time, to steer a southward course in order to clear Cape Tī-wön, they had afterwards to port their helm and sail in a north-easterly direction in order to reach the Chinese coast.

Great Cape, where the **Great Gulf** begins (No. 124).

The position of this headland, when corrected in the usual way, differs but 1° 5′ in longitude and 0° 31′ in latitude from that of Cape Tī-wön (long. 107° 15′ E., lat. 10° 23′ N.), with which I have finally identified it, after a careful study of this part of Ptolemy's Geography. In the course of such an examination it became evident to me that if Ptolemy made the coast to run almost in a straight line from **Akadra** (Hatīen) to the **Mega Akrōtērion** (Cape Tī-wön), thus ignoring the southernmost projection of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula now ending at Cape Kamboja (Chrui Khamau), it was either because such a projection did not exist in his time or was as yet in its initial stage of formation, not extending in any case much lower down than the Hatīen – Cape St. James parallel of latitude. As he says in his first book (ch. 14, §§ 1 and 6), on the authority of the already quoted Alexander, after the Golden Khersonese (Malay Peninsula) the coast faces the south, and must therefore run parallel with the equator. This observation applies, of course, only to the portion of the seaboard comprised between Hatīen and Cape Tī-wön, which was the part of the Gulf of Siām best known to western navigators; and is fully supported by geological evidence. It is notorious, in fact, that the low-lying alluvial plain constituting the southern end of the Peninsula between the Hatīen – Cape St. James parallel and Cape Kamboja, is but of comparatively recent formation. Although stretching like an inverted gigantic triangle for a distance of fully one hundred miles seawards and measuring quite

as much at its base, its emancipation from the Neptunian régime does not probably date from as many decades, nor can even now be said to be complete, since a good portion of its surface is up to this day either swampy or subject to tidal influence. The raising of such a big stretch of country from the sea-bottom within so brief a period would appear a most extraordinary performance had the task not fallen to the lot of as respectable a stream as the Më-Khōng, which annually carries to the sea a load of fifteen hundred million cubic metres of alluvial matter; and had not the task itself been facilitated to some extent by the gradual upheaval of the land, of which there are no doubtful indications all along that coast.

In Ptolemy's time, therefore, the southern end of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula could hardly have extended as far down as the 10th parallel of latitude instead of the 8° 30′ as at present. Its but faintly defined border must have run almost in a straight line from Hatīen to Gañ-rāi Bay, skirting the sites of the actual Long-c'hwīen, Sadëk, Vĩñ-long, and Mī-tho,[1] to the south of which a string of shallows and sandbanks stretched for a considerable distance seawards, masking the innumerable outlets of the Më-Khōng, which must then have spread all over that coastline, diverging like the ribs of a fan, having their centre at Bā P'hnom or thereabouts. It is no doubt owing to the perilous character of the seaboard at that point, especially during the south-west monsoon, to the full violence of which it is exposed, that the early navigators did not venture into any of the channels affording access to the delta from its front, but preferred to give it a wide berth and turn round it either way, putting in at one of the ports situated immediately at its flanks, to wit: **Akadra** and **Zabai**. This circumstance explains how the

[1] This line is also, it should be noticed, the outermost limit, southwards, of archaeological remains, marked by the ruins met with at P'hnom Bā-thë, Thăp-Mūai (*Prasād Pram-lawĕng*), Köi-Māi (*Brai Nagar*), and Chŏ̃-lŏn. As none of these—those only of Köi-Māi excepted—seem to date further back than the seventh century A.D., it may be assumed that even at that period there was no firm land to be met with much to the south of the line indicated.

maritime towns just named could soon attain importance as entrepôts for the *Fu-nan* trade; and also how Ptolemy came to ignore that the Më-Khōng had its outlets on the coastline intervening between those two emporiums, an ignorance which must evidently be put down to unacquaintance on the part of the navigators of his time with the mysteries concealed behind the sand and mudbanks which skirted that coast.

The state of the delta in those early days, and even at a later period, may be fairly gauged from a passage of I-tsing,[1] who, towards the end of the seventh century, still speaks of the "one thousand streams" debouching into the sea in the country of *Fu-nan*, meaning, no doubt, the almost numberless channels through which the Më-Khōng flowed from Bā P'hnom towards the periphery of its gigantic delta. It must consequently have been this portion of the *Fu-nan* kingdom which very appropriately received the name of *Jala* or *Chên-la*, expanded at a later period by Chinese writers into "Water *Chên-la*."

[1] Chavannes, op. cit., p. 5.

(9) *The Region of the* **Great Gulf** (*Annam and Tonkin*).

The **Great Gulf** (*Magnus Sinus*) begins, according to Ptolemy, at the **Great Cape**—identified in the preceding section with Cape Tī-wön—and extends up to lat. 21° 37′ and long. 108° 42′, corrected, near Pak-hoi (北海) Harbour. The coastline was, in our author's time, occupied by two nations whose struggle for its dominion lasted for upwards of thirteen centuries. One, that of the *Këu* or *Kiāo-chī* (*Chiāu-chih* or *Jāu-chī*) in the north,[1] occupied most of the present Tonkin, and, conquered in B.C. 116–110 by China, gradually extended towards the south, absorbing or driving back, under the leadership of Chinese chiefs, the inhabitants. The other, that of the *Cām* or *Campā*, mixed up with the aborigines of the mountains and of the coast—the latter being of a Negrito Indonesian or Melanesian race — developed under the influence of settlers from Southern India a civilization akin

[1] The Annamese and Tonkinese are, up to this day, termed *Këu* or *Yuen* and *Yuen-këu* by the Lāu. *Këu* means, of course, 交 (*chiāu, kiāu, jāu*), the Chinese character by which the name is represented. If we examine the signification of this term, we see that it is a synonym of *Yavana, Javana, Yuan,* or *Yon.* In fact, 交 means 'to interlock, to blend,' while its local pronunciation *jāu* evidences its connection with *java, yava, dāva.* Compare *yüeh,* otherwise *vïet, wïet,* on p. 134 *supra. Yuen* is, besides, connected with 原 (*Yüan*; in Annamese, *ngwien*), designating, as we have already shown, an elevated country, a plateau; and with 京 (*ching*) or *C'hieng,* employed in a similar sense. The original *Këu* were therefore of the same stock as the *C'hieng* and the *Lōi, Hōi,* or *Cām*; and it was they who gave the name of *Kiāo-chī* or *Chiāu-chih* to Tonkin. The second character in this name is often written 趾 (*chih* = foot, toes), instead of 阯, out of homage to the tradition about the divergence of the big toes of this people from the rest of the foot. This is, however, but an instance of the manner in which etymologies are concocted all over the Far East, in order to suit special purposes and peculiar fancies. The separation or divergence of the big toes referred to is common to all barefooted populations of Indo-China, and I failed absolutely to detect it in any more marked degree in Annamese lower extremities. I quite agree, therefore, with Chavannes ("Religieux E'minents," p. 53), that the characters *Kiāo-chī* must have been in origin the phonetic transcript of an indigenous name.

to that of Kamboja, whereof it left monuments all along that seaboard. Though driven of late for refuge to the present Biñ-thūn or Biñ-thwŏn (Bình-thuận)[1] district

[1] For the sake of consistency in the method of transcription of Annamese place-names with the one adopted in the preceding sections of this work for toponymics in Siāmese and other Indo-Chinese languages, I have deemed it expedient to follow the same course in the present chapter where accuracy and uniformity of transliteration are no less desirable, breaking off altogether from the trammels of that hybrid *Kwọk-ngữ* (*Quốc-ngw*) system favoured in French Indo-China, the absurdity, endless anomalies, and general inconvenience of which are well known and have now and again been pointed out, amongst others by the French scholars themselves (see, e.g., Aymonier's sensible article, "Nos transcriptions," in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 27, May–June, 1886). In order, however, to enable the reader to recognize the place-names transliterated according to the new method, I have in well-nigh every instance in which each of them appears for the first time in these pages given within parentheses the corresponding *Kwọk-ngữ* spelling. Anent tonal marks, it should be observed that although similar conventional signs to those employed in *Kwọk-ngữ* have been adopted, they are, in the new method, and in the case of no less than four of the Annamese tones, used in a different sense from that they have in *Kwọk-ngữ*. These modifications became necessary in order to have the same marks to denote the identical (or practically corresponding) tones in both Annamese and the Thai (Siāmese) group of languages, and thereby ensure uniformity of transcription for the whole of them. The following synoptic table will explain the nature of the modifications introduced in the use of diacritical marks, as well as the correspondence between Annamese and Siāmese tones as nearly as could be determined by practical tests; i.e., by taking the ear as the sole guide and judge, and leaving theory to the tender mercy of lexicographers and grammatists. Though thus far from perfect theoretically, the method here adopted may perhaps claim to possess some redeeming feature from a practical standpoint; and, at all events, it appeared to be the only suitable one under the present circumstances.

Annamese Tones in *Kwọk-ngữ* (*Quốc-ngữ*) Transcription.		Corresponding Siāmese Tones.	New Transcription.	New Spelling.
1. Natural (even) ...	*	= even (*tonus rectus*) ...	*	—
2. *Nặng*, or grave ...	as in ạ	= circumflex (and prolonged)	as in ā	nāng
3. *Sắc*, or acute ...	as in á	= emphatic (termed grave by some grammarians) ...	as in ạ	sạk
4. *Huyền*, or descending	as in à	= descending (sinking) ...	as in à	hwìen
5. *Hỏi*, or interrogative†	as in ả	= ascending (high and rising)	as in á	hỏi
6. *Ngã*, or reascending †	as in ã			ngắ

* No diacritical mark used in either system.

† These two Annamese tones are practically identical, though they may once have been distinct, and it is acknowledged on all sides that they have become confused to such an extent that the difference between them is well-nigh imperceptible at the present day.

and to Kamboja, it no doubt occupied in the early days the whole of *Chan-ch'êng* or Cochin-China and even a portion of the present Tonkin.

The conquests of the Han dynasty in that quarter do not seem to have extended—if at all—any further than the present Kwắng-bìñ (Quang-binh) district, which formed, according to Chinese historians, part of the department of *Jih-nan* founded B.C. 116–110, next to those of *Kiāo-chī* (Tonkin) and *Kau-chên* or *Kŭu-chŏn* (Thạñ-hwạ̄, *Gallicè*: Thanh-hoa). Before the Chinese conquest, when Tonkin had been established as an independent kingdom by the name of *Văn-lăng*, the two southernmost of its districts were *Kŭu-dŭk* and *Vĭet-thŭang*, corresponding to the present Hà̄-tīñ (Ha-tinh). Here was situated, according to the Annamese annals,[1] the boundary with the country of the *Hŏ-tôn* or Campā. The latter, or at least its northern part, corresponding to the present Kwắng-bìñ and Kwắng-trĭ districts, had been, it is alleged, erected into a *chün* (department) by the Ts'in as early as B.C. 214 under the name of *Lin-i* (in Annamese *Löm-ŏp* or *Lam-ap*, pron. exactly as *Lum-up* would be in English). It was then bounded on the north by the territory of the ancient *Yüeh-shang* (Ann. *Vĭet-thŭang*) kingdom,[2] corresponding to the southern part of the *Kŭu-dŭk* or Hà̄-tīñ district mentioned above.[3] In B.C. 110 the Han changed the name of *Lin-i* into that of *Hsiang-lin* (Ann. *Tữang-löm*), and made of it a simple district dependent from the *chün* of *Jih-nan* (Ann. *Ñữt-nām*) already referred to.[4] It was only later on, or in A.D. 137 —always according to the Annamese annalists[5]—that *Hsiang-lin* rebelled under the leadership of one native chief by the name of *Ch'ü-lien* (Ann. *Khữ-lĭen*) and set up as an independent kingdom with the ancient name of *Lin-i*

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 4–6.
[2] Op. cit., p. 114.
[3] Op. cit., p. 107. This territory is often referred to under the name of *Yüeh-shang-shih*, and wrongly believed by several authorities to have included the whole of Annam and Cochin-China, which is an evident exaggeration.
[4] Op. cit., p. 114.
[5] Op. cit., p. 70. See also Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 419.

or *Löm-ŏp*. The new State gradually waxed in power, becoming before long a serious menace to Chinese domination in Tonkin, whose borders it ravaged with continuous incursions. In A.D. 446, by way of retaliation, a Chinese army forced its way to the very heart of the kingdom, constraining its ruler to abandon the capital. This latter was stormed and plundered, but whether it again became the seat of government after the retreat of the invaders or not it is not clear.[1] All that the chroniclers tell us is, that not long afterwards the Chām renewed their raids into Chinese territory. The T'ang resolved to put an end to this state of affairs, and in A.D. 605 they despatched a strong expedition. The capital of Lam-ap was once more taken; but it was re-occupied by the Chām after the withdrawal of the Chinese force. Soon afterwards, during the period *Chêng-kuan* (A.D. 627–650), the name of the realm was changed into *Huan-wang* (環王).[2]

A new chastisement for repeated raids followed—this time at the hands of the protector general of Tonkin—in A.D. 809, which resulted in the final abandonment of Lam-ap by the Chām. The capital of the latter was then transferred to *Chïem* (*Chan*), and the realm received therefrom the name of *Chan-ch'êng* (Ann. *Chïem-thàñ*),[3] meaning, according to Chinese interpretation, 'the city of *Chan*.' This is the epithet by which Campā became best known to the Chinese since the epoch of the T'ang dynasty. Sometimes it is alluded to as *Chan-pu-lao* or *Chan-p'o* (in Annamese, *Chïem-böt-lâu* and *Chïem-bā*), two expressions which are evident

[1] Op. cit., p. 124.

[2] Op. cit., p. 115. Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 433, states that this change took place during the period *Chih-tê* (756–758), which is probably more correct.

[3] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 115. Aymonier ("History of Tchampa," in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1893) does not believe that the Chām abandoned their capital this time, and thinks that they must have held on to it until A.D. 982, when they moved from *Śrī Bani* (Dồng-Hŏi in Kwảng-bìñ?) to *Bal-Hangov*, near Hwē. But the account given above, on the basis of the Annamese annals, clearly shows that there was a removal of capital in A.D. 809. This removal must, therefore, have been effected from some place lying further to the north of Dồng-Hŏi.

imitations of the term Campā. The city of *Chan* or *Chīem* adopted as capital in A.D. 809 was apparently *Śrī-Bani* or *Śrī-Banöi*, identified with Dŏng-Hŏi (*Trŭng-ại?*) to the west of the present chief town of Kwáng-bìñ (*circâ* 17° 30′ lat.).[1] It was destroyed in A.D. 982, and the seat of government was then probably removed more to the south at *P'hŏt-thē*, near Hwẹ̄ (Huế), termed *Bal Hangov* by the Chām.[2] This new capital was, in its turn, taken by the king of Annam in A.D. 1044; but once the war-storm over, it no doubt reverted to its former occupiers. A new reverse befell the Chām in 1061, which had as a consequence the transfer to Annamese rule of all their territory as far south as Hwẹ̄. The capital was then definitely abandoned, and a new one set up at *C'hà-bàn* (termed *Bal-Angwē* by the Chām) at

[1] *Dŏng-Hŏi* means, according to Aymonier, field of the *Hŏi* or *Hoi* (barbarians), the name given the Chām by the Annamese. We have explained that *Hŏi* = mountaineer. *Dŏng* is evidently 仝, meaning 'field,' 'plain.'

[2] In fact, in A.D. 1007, the king of Campā is stated by Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 548) to have written to China in the following strain: "Formerly my kingdom depended on *Kiāu-chī*, but I have since shaken off the yoke, emigrating to the country of *Fo-shih* [佛 逝, by which evidently *P'hŏt-thē* is meant], whose northern borders lie at 700 *li* [southwards] from my ancient frontier." It will be observed that this distance—which represents in European measurement about 200 miles—if set down on a map from the neighbourhood of Hwẹ̄ north-westward, along the coast, brings us far into Ngẽ-ān (Nghệ-an), if not right up to the southern boundary of Thañ-hwā, which now evidently corresponds with tolerable approximation to the ancient Chām frontier alluded to in the above extract. As regards the term *Fo-shih* (or *P'hŏt-thē*), it, no doubt, is a transcript of some Sanskrit name like *Bhoja*, *Bhrāja*, etc. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions a region by the name of *Bhrājiṣṭha*, as well as a mountain *Bhojana*, as being both situated in *Krauṅca-dvīpa* (*Kiāu-chī*), (see Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii, p. 198). In a Sanskrit-Chām inscription of A.D. 1436 King Jaya Siṁhavarman V styles himself a descendant of the *Braṣu-vaṁsa*, i.e. of the *Braṣu* race or lineage (Bergaigne's "L'ancien Royaume de Campā," in *Journal Asiatique*, 1888, pp. 104–5). Whether this term *Braṣu* has any connection with *Fo-shih* or not, it is, of course, impossible to say for the present. We may rest content, in any case, with the fact—here for the first time brought to light—that the country about Hwẹ̄ was, in the old days, known by the name of either *Bhoja* or *Bhrāja*, whatever be the correct interpretation that should be put upon the term *Fo-shih*. I may add that the latter is spelled in Chinese with the identical characters used by I-tsing and others to denote the country of *Bhoja* or *Śrī-Bhoja* (*Fo-shih* or *Shih-li-fo-shih*), i.e. Palembang, on the eastern coast of Sumatra. (See Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 119 and 125.)

about six miles to the north of the present district city of Bìñ-dïñ. Here it remained until 1471, when it fell, with the whole of the territory as far south as Bìñ-thwŏn, into Annamese hands, and the kingdom of Campā was broken up. *Bal-Batthinöng*, in Bìñ-thwŏn, then became the seat of government of all that remained intact of the crumbling State, and upon that site having, in its turn, to be given up, in about 1567,[1] Pāngdarang or Pānrang (*Pāṇḍuraṅga*) formed the last resort of the Chām chiefs—now mere vassals of Annam and with only a shadow of authority—until about 1820, when the last of them emigrated to Kamboja and every relic of Chām rule disappeared with him.

This is, in short, the gist of what can be gathered as regards the early history of Campā from Chinese and Annamese sources, and on its later days, from the meagre records left by the Chām themselves. In the accounts first alluded to the limits of Sino-Annamese domination, as well as the exploits of the imperial armies, have naturally been magnified, and thus we are led to believe that Chinese rule had been established in Campā even since the time of Shih Huang-ti of the Ts'in (B.C. 221–209), who, it is pretended, founded there the *chün* of *Lin-i* or *Löm-ŏp*; that subsequently the Han reintegrated the sway over what had in the meantime blossomed forth into an independent kingdom,[2] and made of *Löm-ŏp* the district of *Hsiang-lin*, which continued under Chinese control until *Ch'ü-lien's* rebellion in A.D. 137. But a careful examination of both Chinese and Annamese records elicits the fact that such pretended domination over Campā, and indeed also over Tonkin, though reasserted now and then by armed expeditions, was in the interval little

[1] These dates and scraps of information I have taken from the brief Chām chronicle published by Aymonier in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 31.

[2] The kingdom of *Nan-yüeh*, (in Annamese *Nām-vĭet*), founded by Chao-t'o (Trĭeu-dà), general of the Ts'in sent to subjugate Tonkin, in 207 B.C. It is said to have included the territory of the *chüns* (departments) of *Lin-i* (*Löm-ŏp*) and *Hsiang* (*Tŭang*), the latter being the name given to the Tonkin division at that period; and also *Nan-hai* (Canton), the capital being situated at P'an-yü (Canton).

more than nominal. It is a story of continuous rebellions followed by the setting up of independent States. Chinese repression was rarely severe and complete, and usually left things unchanged. The fact is that the C'hīeng or Chām element was, in spite of what the Chinese annalists say, still preponderant not only on the borders, but in the very midst of Tonkin; and this, as usual designated by its would-be oppressors as 'barbarians,' constituted the turbulent part of the population, intolerant of foreign rule, who always sought to repel the invaders from the north. In any case, never did the Han legions advance any further than Kwắng-bìñ, as I stated; and it is very doubtful whether they ever reached as far as that district, even in the solitary instance of the expedition led by the celebrated Ma-yüan in A.D. 43, which seems to have outdistanced all others down to at least A.D. 605. On that occasion Ma-yüan is said to have reached the capital of Lam-ap, and then to have marched past it some twenty *li* up to where Hsiang-lin bordered upon the kingdom of the *Hsi-t'u* (*Töi-dồ*) barbarians (西屠夷), at which spot he erected two brass pillars to mark the limit of Chinese dominion.[1] As regards the expedition of A.D. 605, it is said on the other hand that it had to advance eight marches further than Ma-yüan's pillars in order to reach the capital of Lam-ap.[2] The apparent discrepancy as to the site of the Chām capital in the two accounts can only be explained by assuming that the capital was removed further down the coast in the interval between A.D. 43 and 605. As at the latter date it undoubtedly stood no further south than Dồng-Hợi (Dồng-Hó'i), near the present town of Kwắng-bìñ, it is evident that in A.D. 43 it must have been situated some eight marches further up, that is to say, somewhere about Hà̀-tĩñ, the ancient *Kứu-dặk*. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact of Ptolemy placing a **Kortatha Mētropolis** just in that neighbourhood, which I identify, both from coincidences of names and location, with *Kứu-dặk*

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 61, 62; and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 418.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 152, 153.

(*Chiu-tê*, in Cantonese *Kau-têk*). Ma-yüan's pillars cannot therefore have been erected much further south than the present town of Hà-tĩñ, which must as a consequence have belonged to Hsiang-lin or Lam-ap.[1] It will be observed further that, whereas the independence of Lam-ap is said to date from A.D. 137, the year of Ch'ü-lien's rebellion, we are told in the Chinese account of Ma-yüan's exploits that Lam-ap was chastised and its capital taken in A.D. 43, which is a palpable proof of Lam-ap having existed as an independent kingdom prior to that date, despite the alleged Chinese conquests of B.C. 214 and B.C. 116–110. The mention by Ptolemy of **Kortatha Mētropolis**, which—granted that the Chinese account above referred to is correct—must have been the capital of Lam-ap alleged to have been taken by Ma-yüan, seems to demonstrate further, that as soon as that famous general had turned his back the

[1] According to the Annamese accounts Ma-yüan did not push his conquests further south than the district of *Kŭ-p'hông* (*Cư-phong*), which was situated on the territory of *Kŭu-chön* (now Thạñ-hwā), and it was here that he erected the famous pillars (see Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 60, 61). This being correct, it becomes impossible to accept the Chinese magnified version of Ma-yüan's exploits having included the subjugation of Ngẽ-ān, and withal of its capital *Kŭu-dŭk*. The Annamese annals say nothing of Ma-yüan's occupation of this capital, but simply tell us of his having routed the Chām forces. It is therefore very likely that the Chām capital stood at *Kŭu-dŭk* or **Kortatha** until the Chinese expedition of A.D. 446, which is said to have taken the Chām fortress of *Khŭ-lŏ̃t* (*Khu-lột*, lying, I think, somewhere about Vīñ), penetrating thence into *Tüang-p'hố* (*Hsiang-p'u*, the old *Hsiang-lin* district). Lam-ap was thereby conquered, and it was probably from that date that the capital was removed further down towards Dŏng-Hŏi. Not quite as far as this place, however, because it took only eight days' march beyond Ma-yüan's pillars to the expedition of A.D. 605 in order to reach the Chām capital. In the face of this evidence I cannot see my way to admit that Dŏng-Hŏi became the Chām seat of government at any period prior to A.D. 809. Whatever the Chinese chroniclers may say, it is clear that the Chām did not definitely abandon Ngẽ-ān (i.e. *Kŭu-dŭk* territory) until a comparatively late date. In A.D. 271 *Kŭu-dŭk* was acknowledged, by the Chinese officials themselves, to be anything but approachable (Des Michels, op. cit., p. 106); and in the interval between that date and A.D. 446 the Chinese governors of *Kiāu-chi* had a good deal to do in order to keep the Chām out of *Kŭu-chŏ̃n* (Thạñ-hwā) itself, whither the latter made continuous incursions (A.D. 347, 353, 399, 413, 415, 431). After that period Chām efforts were directed towards re-occupying *Kŭu-dŭk*, which now was, however, finally lost to them.

Lam-ap State was, *more solito*, re-established as flourishing as ever. We cannot believe, in fact, that Ptolemy could have learned of Ch'ü-lien's coup of A.D. 137 at so short a notice, especially as its date is by no means certain, and the feat is ascribed by some authorities to a Ch'ü-lien *secundus*—in name at least—who would have lived at the end of the Later Han dynasty, or nearly a century later.[1]

The kingdom known under the names of *Lŏm-ŏp* or *Lin-i* seems not to have extended further down than the present Hwē or Turān, because, as we shall see, Ptolemy locates lower down another capital city by the name of **Balonga Mētropolis**, which I identify with the site of the ancient *C'hà-bàn*, known later on as Kwī-ñŏn (Qui-nhơn). I came on the strength of this and other evidence to the conclusion that ancient Campā consisted of at least two States, probably more or less dependent upon each other, of which the northern one had for capital *Kŭu-dŭk* or **Kortatha**, and the southern had the seat of government at *C'hà-bàn*, the well-known Chām capital of the fourteenth century. I shall distinguish the northern realm by the name of *Northern* or *Upper Campā*, and the southern one by the designation of *Southern* or *Lower Campā*. Perhaps we had also at one time a third State of *Central Campā*, which I take to be the kingdom of the *Töi-dò* or *Hsi-t'u* barbarians alluded to in the account of Ma-yüan's expedition, and which may correspond also to the kingdom or country of *T'o-huan* (陀 桓, Ann. *Dà-hwàn* or *Dà-hàn*), spoken of in Chinese accounts of Kamboja[2] as being, in common with Lin-i, often at war with Chên-la (Kamboja). This country of the *Töi-dò*, or *T'o-huan*, must have corresponded to the present territory of Hwē and Turān.

This division assumed by me of the Chām empire into two or more petty realms, is quite in accord with the political condition of Indo-China in the early days when the unification

[1] A.D. 221 is the year that marked the end of the Later Han's rule. See the date and identity of Ch'ü-lien impugned by Chavannes, op. cit., p. 203, note.
[2] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 479.

of its mixed population of new settlers with the aboriginal races was as yet in its initial stage, and the organization of large political units still looked rather like an utopia. It is only towards the sixth or seventh century that empire-making on an extensive scale commenced in Indo-China. I can therefore scarcely believe that the various portions of Campā were from the outset under a single paramount suzerain. It was the pressure from without, especially from Tonkin's side, that compelled them to make common cause against the common enemy, and that brought about the coalescence, first of Northern with Central Campā, and subsequently of the two latter with their southern neighbour and kin. The unification was probably complete by the time of, or soon after, the memorable reverse of A.D. 605; and thus we hear Hwên-tsang referring thirty-four years later to the Chām empire under the epithet of *Mahā Campā*. I-tsing, however, usually speaks of it simply as *Chan-po* towards the end of the same century. At about the same period we find the first mention of *Campā* in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kamboja.[1] But we meet with the form *Cama* as a name for the people (*Cama-bhṛtya*) as early as the third century, in the inscription engraved on the granite boulder of Ñā-trāng (Nha Trang) in the Khaṇ-hwà (Khánh-hòa) district, by order of Mura-rāja, the first historically known of the Chām kings.[2] The statement of the Chinese and Annamese annalists that Campā was so named only after A.D. 809, when the capital was transferred to the city of *Chan-ch'êng* or *Chîem-thàñ* (Campāpura), proves thus a little bit too stale. It is true that we do not find any mention of Campāpura in the Chām inscriptions themselves until A.D. 817, when it occurs in the title of the ruler: *Śrī Campāpuraparameśvara*;[3] but we have *Campā* as the name of a State or Kingdom in the inscription of Glai-Lomov, in the P'hān-rāng

[1] *Ang-Chumnik* inscription from the province of Bā P'hnom, dating from A.D. 667.

[2] See Bergaigne's "L'ancien Royaume de Campā," in the *Journal Asiatique*, Jan., 1888, p. 46.

[3] Ibid., p. 67.

district, which is older than the above by nearly half a century. It is to be presumed, therefore, that the name of *Campā* as a State and of *Campā-pura* as its capital existed from at least the beginning of the seventh century, since it was mentioned shortly afterwards by Hwên-tsang and the Ang-Chumnik inscription of Kamboja. I am not sure, however, whether at an earlier date the name *Campā* existed, at least for the whole country occupied by the Chām race, since that country was undoubtedly divided, as we have shown, into several petty States. Perhaps it was only one of these States that had adopted the name *Campā*, the others being known by different appellations. The evidence seems to be in favour of the northern State, when it extended far into Tonkin, comprising the whole of the present districts of Hà-tĩñ and Thañ-hwà. At that period, adventurers from Northern India had reached Tonkin overland by the Song-kấ or Vĩñ route, and had established there, as in Yünnan and Lāos, cities and kingdoms easily recognizable from their Sanskrit or Prākṛt names. It was then, perhaps, that the southern part of Tonkin received the names of *Aṅga* or *Mālinī*, from its being situated, like the Indū Aṅga, to the east of Mālava and Daśārṇa. In the course of time it must have become known also as *Romapāda* or *Lomapāda*; for these are the terms by which Aṅga is usually designated in the local versions of the Rāmāyaṇa and of other popular Indū literary works current in Indo-China.[1] From *Lomapāda*, the name of the State, the Annamese derived, I think, their 林邑 (*Löm-ŏp*), two characters which the Chinese read as *Lin-i*. The latter reading may be accounted for also, as a contraction of *Mālinī*, obtained by omitting the initial syllable *mā*. I feel quite confident that such is the origin of the terms *Löm-ŏp* and *Lin-i*, which have remained so far

[1] In the Siāmese, Lāu, and Khmēr translations or paraphrases of the Rāmāyaṇa, the name *Aṅga* never occurs, and scarcely does that of *Campā*; the common designation for that State being *Romapada* (*sic*) and *Romapattan* or *Lomapattan*, from the fact, I think, that King Romapāda was reigning there when the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga episode occurred. At all events, the capital of the Indū Campā was variously known as *Aṅgapurī*, *Lomapādapurī*, *Karṇapurī*, *Mālinī*, etc.

unexplained. Here we have, in fact, the germ of the name *Campā* given the country, presumably, in later times, when its capital Campāpura was founded. It is evidently absurd to believe that *Chīem-bā* is an Annamese modified transcript of *Löm-ọ̈p*, as advanced by some authorities.[1] The difference between the digrams 林 邑 (Lam-ap) and 占 不 (*Chīem-bọ̈t*) or 占 波, 占 葩 (*Chīem-bā*) is sufficiently apparent to preclude their being easily mistaken for one another. It may be that the term *Romapāda* or *Lomapāda* superseded that of *Aṅga* in Indo-China, because of some early king, reigning there, having assumed the appellation once belonging to the Indū monarch who figures in the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga episode of the Rāmāyaṇa. We learn, in fact, that the few Chām who are still found surviving in the Bìñ-thwõn district worship up to this day a deity or hero by the name of *Pô Romē*, whom Aymonier rightly assumes to be some deified legendary king.[2] It is easy to recognize in *Pô Romē* the personage *Vraḥ Romapāda*; and we may thus reasonably conclude that there must have been an early king or hero of the Chām—perhaps the original founder of the realm—bearing that name. The contracted local form *Romē* of the latter luminously explains the origin of the Annamese rendering of it as *Löm-ọ̈p* or *Lam-ap*. We have thus acquired the certainty that in origin the kingdom of Campā was called *Romē* or *Romapāda*, and perhaps also *Mālinī*, by the Chām themselves, the terms *Löm-ọ̈p* and *Lin-i* being not, respectively, Annamese and Chinese inventions, but mere phonetical imitations of those names. It becomes evident from these facts that the early civilization of Upper Campā was introduced from Northern India, and had as one of its first seats *Kŭu-dụ̈k*, or **Kortatha Mētropolis**, in the present Hà-tĩñ district. Campāpura, from which the kingdom became known as Campā, must have been founded later on, probably when the capital was removed further south towards Dồng-Họ̈i

[1] Among whom Aymonier, in his "History of Tchampa," loc. cit.

[2] Ibid. Another similar deity worshipped is called Pô Klong-garai, which I have not so far identified. It may be Gaurī. *Pô* in these names stands for *Vraḥ* or *Vara*.

(A.D. 446?). It is from that time, or shortly afterwards, that the terms *Löm-ŏp* and *Lin-i* begin to disappear in Annamese and Chinese accounts, being superseded by *Chị̀em-thàñ* and *Chan-ch'êng* respectively—meaning the city of *Cam* or Campā, i.e. *Campāpura*.

While the civilization of Upper Campā thus appears to have been due to emigrants from Northern India, that of Lower Campā, the Cochin-China of the present day, is indisputably of Southern Indian or Dravidian origin. This is proved by the type of the characters employed in the inscriptions discovered there, the most ancient of which is, so far, that of King Mura-rāja already alluded to. Its characters closely resemble, in the opinion of Professor Bergaigne,[1] those of the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman (A.D. 150); hence he assigns to that monument a date not earlier than the third century of the Christian Era. The civilization of Southern Campā had its foci in the districts now called Khạñ-hwà and Bìñ-dīñ, as we hope to demonstrate in the sequel. Thence it extended, as in Kamboja, northwards, meeting that of Upper Campā about half-way up the coast, which it influenced apparently to a larger extent than it was influenced itself in its turn. This would appear from a series of inscriptions discovered in a grotto, situated near the point where the provinces of Kwắng-bìñ and Hà-tīñ border upon each other; that is, a little below the 18th parallel of latitude. The characters are, according to Professor Bergaigne, similar to those employed in the inscriptions of Southern Campā.[2]

Early before the Christian Era the Rāmāyaṇa speaks of the *Ghṛtoda* or *Ghṛta* Sea, which becomes in the Purāṇas the Ocean of *Sarpis* or *ghee*, while it is termed the Sea of *Ṣenf* or *Ṣeneƒ* by Mas'ūdī and said to surround the centre of the empire of *Zābej*,[3] just as in the Purāṇas it is represented to encompass *Kuśa-dvīpa* (the Sunda Archipelago).

[1] "L'ancien Royaume de Campā," loc. cit., pp. 15, 44, 45, 75.
[2] See Bergaigne, op. cit., pp. 43, 44.
[3] Reinaud, op. cit., p. 77, introduction.

Sulaimān calls also *Senef* the harbour at which the Arab ships put in on the Cochin-Chinese coast.

This port I take to be *Thī-nāi* (詩 奈, *Shih-nai*) Harbour, improperly named after Kwī-ñ̄ōn (Quinhon) by our ever muddling geographers;[1] but which appears to have been known as *Hsin-chou* (新 洲) or, at any rate, as the port of the *Hsin-chou* district, in the old days. It is mentioned under this name by Chinese writers down to the middle of the fifteenth century, and the stream which discharges into it is entered as *Hsin-chou Chiang* (Hsin-chou River) in the Chinese map published by Phillips in the *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*[2] W. F. Mayers has wrongly taken it to be Touron (Turān) Harbour,[3] but Phillips has clearly demonstrated that it must be identified with "Quinhone Harbour,"[4] i.e. with the port of Thī-nāi. His identification I find corroborated by further evidence which I think very conclusive. This is briefly as follows:—

(1) In the Chinese map alluded to above, and to the left of the Hsin-chou River (which in this case corresponds to the

[1] No place delighting in the euphonious name of *Kwī-ñ̄ōn* (Quinhon) is now known to exist except in the fertile imagination of our geographers. The seaport which they call by that name is known locally as Thī-nāi Harbour; while Kwī-ñ̄ōn city (which it will be seen in the sequel was the novel designation applied by the Annamese to *C'hà-bàn*, the ancient Chām capital, after having taken it in A.D. 1471) ceased to exist under that name in 1798, when it was rechristened *Biñ-dīñ* (Binh-dinh); and it has been a heap of ruins ever since 1800, the date at which it was destroyed by Jâ-long (Gia-long). The present Biñ-dīñ district city was then founded—on a different site about six miles further to the south—which has, therefore, nothing in common with the old one except the name. The term *Kwī-ñ̄ōn* has thus long passed into the domain of archaeology, and might at best be preserved to designate the inlet—now a shallow lagoon—near whose border the old city stood; but for that matter it would be indeed more proper to name the inlet right after *Bal-Angwē* (Ptolemy's **Balonga**), a term which possesses at least the advantage of being the local and original designation of the Chām capital formerly standing in that quarter. To, however, apply the name of *Kwī-ñ̄ōn* to the present Thī-nāi Harbour, situated just within the entrance to the lagoon and far away from the site once occupied by that city, is the very height of absurdity.

[2] Vol. xxi; the river will be found mentioned in the descriptive list at p. 40.

[3] See *China Review*, vol. iv, p. 174, footnote.

[4] Op. cit., p. 40. Mayers' mistake arose from his wrong identification of *Wai-lo Shan* with Cape Touron, instead of with *Kù-lāu Rẹ̄* (Culao Ray) or *Pulo Canton*, as shown by Phillips (ibid., p. 41).

east side), there is depicted the figure of a tower rising very conspicuously at the extreme of the headland that forms the eastern boundary of the entrance to the bay. Though designed after the style of a tapering, many-storied Chinese pagoda, evidently it is intended conventionally to represent the group of three towers—if not the central and loftiest of them only—which rise in a close row, oriented in a N.-S. direction, at a short distance to the west of the village of Thī-nāi, by the side of the road leading thence to the *Já* mart, or *Chŏ̄ Já* (Cho' Giã). These structures, called *thạ̄p* by the Annamese [1] (who, by the way, have wantonly demolished one of them for base building materials), are but a portion of the interesting remnants of Chām civilization that one finds scattered about the Bìñ-dĭñ district. A group of another three, almost exactly alike in build and orientation, is, in fact, met with several miles further to the west, on the *Thạ̄p-bà-mŏu-thī̆en* or *Tām-thạ̄p* ('Three Towers') Hill; but I believe that the group formerly alluded to is the one meant in the map. Although the sand-spit on which the towers rise and the present Thī-nāi village stands may be of comparatively modern formation, it is quite probable that by the time the Chinese map was constructed (fourteenth century) it had considerably advanced seawards, and that the towers had already been built near its outer edge, where they thus formed conspicuous landmarks not easily overlooked nor forgotten by navigators. These assumptions being correct, it is clear that the Hsin-chou River of the Chinese map must have been the stream now called *Lāng-song*, from the village of that name standing near its mouth; and not the *Dŏng-p'hŏ̀* or *Tŏn-ān* River, which debouches through several channels into the lagoon further westwards, beyond the present city of Bìñ-dĭñ. As the lagoon must have been at no distant period less shallow than nowadays, sea-going crafts could then probably advance further into it as far as the mouth of the present Lāng-song (then Hsin-chou), where the anchorage was then presumably situated.

[1] From Chinese 塔, *t'a* = *caitya*, pagoda; evidently the same word as the Lāu *Thāt*, corrupted from the Sanskrit-Pāli *Dhātu*.

(2) Further to the north-west of the outlet of the Hsin-chou River, and at a spot corresponding very closely to the site once occupied by the ancient Chām capital city C'hà-bàn or Bal Angwē, the Chinese map bears the indication *Chan-ch'êng Kwo* (i.e. 'Kingdom of Campā'). As C'hà-bàn was the capital at the time the map was compiled, it is but natural that the name of the kingdom over which it presided should be marked at the place where the said capital stood.

This was, therefore, the port of *Ciamba* or *Cianba* of Marco Polo, the *Campaa* of Nicolò di Conti, and other mediaeval travellers,[1] erroneously located in Bìñ-thwŏn even by their most recent commentators. The anchorage was not evidently, however, right at the head of the lagoon, in front of the city and of the delta of the Dông-p'hô; but near the mouth of the *Hsin-chou* (now the Lāng-song), thus occupying a position slightly more inland than the present Thī-năi Harbour. A settlement termed *Hsin-chou* no doubt existed there, after which the surrounding district became known. As spelled by Chinese writers, *Hsin-chou* means 'New Islet,' and may thus refer to the islet where rises the present village of *Kwān* (Quan), at the mouth of the Lāng-song—the Hsin-chou River of bygone days, according to the evidence adduced above. But one should be very cautious of taking Chinese transcripts of toponymics in this region too literally. It is, therefore, almost certain that while the second word of the compound *Hsin-chou* is genuinely Chinese, and was added in order to impress a Chinese character on this toponymic, the first term, *Hsin*, represents the original local name of the place, which was either Chām or Sanskrit derived. Of this fact there is no lack of indications, as we are going briefly to demonstrate.

The Chinese writer Fan Shih-hu, who composed his *Kwei-hai-yü-hêng-chih*—a treatise of descriptive geography and

[1] *Janpa* in the Catalan Atlas of 1375 (op. cit., pl. i), which, at its eastern boundaries, places the remark "*Finis Indie*"; and *Zampa* in Frá Mauro's planisphere (*circa* A.D. 1450) reproduced in Zurla's "Di Marco Polo ed altri viaggiatori Veneziani," Venezia, 1818.

natural history on the southern provinces of the empire—towards the close of the twelfth century,[1] has about *Hsin-chou* the following passages, quoted in Ma Tuan-lin's cyclopaedia[2]:—"The territory of *Hsin*, watered by a small stream, supplies chiefly large quantities of scented wood. *Hsin-chou* formerly belonged to *Chên-la* [Kamboja], but *Chiao-chih* [Tonkin] has since made herself master of it."[3]

From this we gather that *Hsin-chou* used to be also alluded to by the Chinese themselves under the simple form 新 (*Hsin*). Now, this character is pronounced *Sên* in Cantonese and *Tön* in Annamese, whence we deduce that its local form must have been *Sen* or *Sön*. This, it will be observed, closely tallies (minus the final *f* or *ef*) with the Arab *Ṣenf*, *Zenf*, or *Ṣenef*, which is, in its turn, not very dissimilar to *Shih-nai*, the Chinese form of the Annamese *Thī-nãi*. The Fu-chou and Wên-chou pronunciations of this toponymic are, respectively, *Si-nai* and *Sz-ne*, the last one being a pretty close approach to *Ṣenef* or *Zenef*. It is possible that the *f* at the end was added by the Arab navigators through some misunderstanding, if not in the endeavour to better mark the stress on the final *e* in *Sz-ne*, unless it can be

[1] According to his own showing (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 364), it was not until A.D. 1173 that Fan Shih-hu (otherwise better known as Fan Ch'êng-ta) took charge of his post in Kwang-hsi, to which province he had been appointed imperial chief commissioner; thus his work, the outcome of his observations in that quarter, could not very well have been written until several years afterwards. He is said to have died in 1193.

[2] Op. cit., p. 360.

[3] The fact of the *Hsin-chou* territory having been—evidently for a short time only—subject to Kamboja, is another indication that it could not lie very far away from that country. Its supposed identity with Turān thus becomes still more unlikely. In 1171 Champā gained a victory over Kamboja, and in 1177 it made an attack upon the Kambojan capital. It must have been, therefore, during the course of these wars that Kamboja had to relax her hold upon Hsin-chou. As regards the conquest of this district by Tonkin, it is not easy to guess when it could have taken place, the Annamese and Chinese records furnishing us no clue as to the date. But it may be well inferred that, if such a conquest really occurred, it must have been effected before the end of the twelfth century, and can have been all but lasting; for we are told that in A.D. 1199 Kamboja, having taken the capital of Campā and seized the king, placed a Khmēr official to govern the country. The capital of Lower Campā, i.e. Bal-Angwē or C'hà-bān, is evidently implied here.

demonstrated that the local name for the *Hsin* district and its stream was some Indū imported term like *Chinab, Chenab,* of which *Ṣenef* would be a not very imperfect rendering.[1]

Another toponymic bearing some resemblance to *Ṣenf* or *Ṣenef* in that neighbourhood is that of Cape *Sañ-ho,* the high bluff headland forming the eastern point of the present Thī-nāi harbour. This, coupled with the two place-names already alluded to, viz. *Hsin* and *Thī-nāi* or *Sz-ne,* should go far towards establishing the connection, from a linguistical point of view, between them and *Ṣenef.* In other respects this connection is amply confirmed by the description given by Sulaimān, which applies to the seaport now under discussion in every particular. "At the place named *Ṣenef,*" says the Arab traveller, "fresh water may be obtained, and thence is exported the aloes [eagle-wood] termed *al Ṣenfī.* This place forms a kingdom. Its inhabitants are brown-complexioned, and each of them wears two skirts [*pagnes,* or loin-cloths]."[2] The reference to the eagle-wood tallies with what is said about this article of produce in the Chinese account of *Hsin* or *Hsin-chou* quoted above. As regards fresh water, the China Sea Directory[3] thus remarks in connection with Thī-nāi harbour: "Good water can be obtained from a stream on the east shore of the harbour." The district formed a kingdom, because here stood **Balonga,** that is, *Bal Angwē* (also known under the name of *C'hā-bān*), which was then

[1] That the latter hypothesis is not totally unfounded would appear from the fact of the Parisian codex—said to be the original one—of Marco Polo's narrative, having the heading of chapter clxii (on Campā) worded in this wise: "*Ci devise de la contrée de Cinaba*" (Codex No. 7,367 of the Bibliothèque Nationale). While readily admitting that *Cinaba* may here be a clerical mistake for *Cianba* and *Cianban,* the spelling adopted in the course of that chapter, I cannot dismiss altogether the idea that it may have something to do with Campā's seaport *Shih-nai, Sz-ne,* or *Ṣenef,* which was undoubtedly the place where Marco Polo landed. It is, in fact, not unnatural that the Venetian traveller should first speak of the harbour—correctly recorded as *Cinaba*—where his ship anchored, and next of the kingdom—equally correctly recorded as *Cianba* or *Cianban*—of which *Cinaba* or *Ṣenef* formed the principal seaport. Otherwise, it is quite possible that he, having heard the two terms *Chamba* and *Chinab,* as they were then probably pronounced by the foreigners from whom he got them, took them to be alternative designations for the country and used them in this sense.

[2] Reinaud, op. cit., p. 18.

[3] 4th edition, 1899, vol. ii, p. 413.

(ninth century) the capital of Lower Campā. On the subject of dress, the rendering of *deux pagnes* for both the garments worn may be due to inaccuracy or oversight on the part of the French translator, or else to some clerical error in the Arabic text. Of the two garments alluded to, only one perhaps was a loin-cloth, while the other served to cover the upper part of the body. "The dress of the people of *Chan-ch'êng*," says Ma Tuan-lin,[1] "consists of a long skirt formed by one *leh* [ell?] of the stuff termed *Pê-t'ie*[2] wrapped round the body, and a sort of tunic with narrow sleeves worn over it."

Previous commentators, more especially the late Colonel Yule, have suggested that the terms *Ṣenef* or *Ṣenf*, which they have twisted into *Ṣanf* or *Chanf*, represent *Campā*, whether as applied to the kingdom or to its capital. But this identification, from a linguistic point of view, seems to me too far-fetched.[3] It will rest with subsequent inquirers into the subject to prove whether it can still hold its ground against those we have brought forward, which are, at all events, topographically justifiable.

Beyond the *Ghṛtoda* or Sea of *ghee* the Rāmāyaṇa does not mention any other sea, a fact which argues that at the time of the composition of that epic, the geographical knowledge of the people of Northern India did not extend

[1] Op. cit., p. 541.

[2] 白 疊, Ann. *Bā̃k-dī̃ep*. It strikes me that this word closely resembles *P'hà-tī̃eu*, which is the Thai name for the rather scanty loin-cloth worn by nearly all the hill-tribes in Indo-China. Often it is woven from the fibrous bark of certain plants; hence it may have been termed *Pê-t'ie* by the Chinese by analogy with a soft whitish cloth similarly called (白 氎), woven from a cocoon-like fruit, which is said to be manufactured at Karakhodjo. Of the people of *Lin-i* (Upper Campā) Ma Tuan-lin says (op. cit., p. 423) that all they wear is a piece, one *leh* in length, of cotton cloth, which they wrap round the body. The *P'hnongs* or *P'hanongs* of Eastern Kamboja call their loin-cloth or scarf by the name of *droi*, a mere modification of *tī̃eu*. With them it is generally blue in colour.

[3] The spelling generally followed in Arabic texts is صنف (or الصنف), which may be read either *Ṣenf*, *Zenf*, *Ṣenef*, *Zenef*, and perhaps even *Ṣanf* or *Zanf*; but never *Chanf*.

beyond the Sunda Archipelago and the Gulf of Tonkin. The Purāṇas, however, give us as next in order the *Dadhi* or *Dadhimaṇḍa* (Sea of whey), encompassing *Kraunca-dvīpa*. My identification of this region is China south of the Yang-tsz or *Kin-sha* River, which included the territories of *Kiāu-chī* or *Kiāo-chao*, part of *King-chao*, and the districts of *Kien-chung*, *Chang-sha*, *Chang*, *Kau-chên* (*Kiu-chōn*), etc., under the Han and Ts'in dynasties, all of which names may have contributed in giving origin to the collective Indū designation of *Kraunca*. I am therefore inclined to consider *Kraunca-dvīpa* as comprising the whole Chinese seaboard from the Gulf of Tonkin to Hang-chou, especially as the town just referred to was, to the early Arab and Indū navigators, known as *Kinsay* or *Khansah*; and also because the Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions *Āma* (a district which I identify with Kwang-tung or Canton) among the divisions of *Kraunca-dvīpa*.[1]

The Arabs termed the *Dadhi* ocean the 'sea of *Ṣanjī*,'[2] a name probably derived from *Saraja* or other Sanskrit synonym of *Dadhi*; unless it is more directly traceable to the Chinese 漲海 (*Chang Hai*), which may be, in its turn, but a clumsy transcript of *Śaraja*, etc. Whether it is to Indū or to Chinese navigators that the honour of having first given a name to the ocean in question must be ascribed, I do not propose to inquire in these pages. I shall demonstrate, however, that *Ṣanjī* and *Chang Hai* designate the very identical sea, by a brief comparison of the accounts which the Arabs on one side and the Chinese on the other have left us of the sea thus respectively termed by them. This determination is both important and necessary for our purpose as well as for historical geography in general, since neither the *Ṣanjī* nor the *Chang Hai* sea have been so far correctly located by our predecessors in this field.

[1] Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, vol. ii, p. 198, n. ‡.

[2] The Arabic spelling of this term is, I observe, صنجي, which may be read either *Ṣanjī*, *Zanjī*; or *Ṣenjī*, *Zenjī*.

On the Arab side both Sulaimān and Mas'ūdī agree in telling us that the sea of *Ṣanjī*, which bathed the China coast, extended to the north and to the east to an unknown distance,[1] and that by sailing through it they passed the straits or "gates of China," as they term them (Formosan Channel, Chusan Strait, etc.), through which, after seven days' run, they made the gulf of Hang-chou, and reached *Khānfū* (*Ganfu* or Kan-p'u), the terminus of their navigation.

On the other hand, the Chinese inform us that the sea of *Chang Hai*—which, at times, they term also *Ta-Chang Hai*—was a branch of the great sea of Canton (*Nan Hai*); that it formed the eastern limit of *Fu-nan* (Eastern Kamboja), and thence it stretched boundless eastwards as far as a large island called 杜薄, *Tu-po*, on which there was a State by the name of 諸薄, *Chu-po*. (This island I take to be Borneo, and the State to be the northern part of it, formerly known locally as *Sabah*.) They further tell us that the seven prefectures of *Chiao-chih* (Tonkin), in bringing their offerings to the Chinese Court, "always pass to and fro' by way of the *Ta-Chang Hai*."[2] As tribute missions from Tonkin were invariably required to land at Canton, it follows that this sea stretched from the Gulf of Tonkin to at least as far as Canton, and thus coincided with what the Arabs termed the Sea of *Ṣanjī* or *Ṣenjī*.[3]

[1] Reinaud, op. cit., Discours préliminaire, p. clxviii.

[2] *P'ei-wên Yün-fu*, quoted in the *China Review*, vol. xiv, p. 39.

[3] Since writing the above I have noticed that the Sea of *Ṣanjī* is actually said to be "the sea of China" in Captain Bozorg's "Ajāibs" (see Van der Lith & M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 86), which expression must not be understood in the wide sense of the China Sea of our day, but more properly as meaning the sea bathing the China coast. The latter is, I think, the real *Chang Hai* of the Chinese, while the former corresponds to what they call, in a more extended sense, the *Ta-Chang Hai*. The "Mukhtasar al-Ajāib" (see op. cit., pp. 279, 280) speaks of *Ṣanjī* or *Ṣenjī* as being also the name of a place. The passage runs as follows:—"In the vicinity of China there is a place called *Ṣenjī*. The sea is there more dangerous than anywhere else (lit. than all other seas), on account of the frequency of winds, high waves, straits, and mountains (? reefs) that are to be found there. From this country (*Ṣenjī*), young men resembling *Zinj* (*Zenjs*, negroes of Zanzibar) come aboard the ships. Their stature is four spans. They come from the waters, jump on the decks, and there walk about without doing harm to anybody. After that they return to the sea." Here we have another confirmation of the existence of negrito pygmies on the China coast, or at any rate, on some of the islands facing it (see *infra*). For, as I am now going to demonstrate, the place above alluded to under the name of *Ṣanjī*

The notion of some among the Chinese writers was, however, that the sea in question was even more extensive,

or *Ṣenjī* lay almost certainly on the northern coast of Hainan Island, and, at all events, within the compass of Hainan Strait. This clearly results from a passage in Pigafetta's Travels, wherein the famous navigator says: "Dietro alla costa della China sono molti popoli, come di *Chenchij* dove si trovano perle, & qualche legno di cannella" (Ramusio, op. cit., vol. i, f. 369 *verso*). This reference to pearls enables us at once to identify the *Chenchij* district with Hainan, and precisely with its northern coast, anciently forming part of the prefecture of *Chu-yai*, noted for its pearl fisheries. The name of *Chu-yai*, 珠崖, pronounced *Chü-ngāi* in Cantonese, and *Chöu-ñāi* in the Annamese dialect, means, in fact, 'Pearl-[oyster-]bank,'* and both Chinese and Annamese records testify as to pearls being found there from the remotest period. According to the Thāñ-ñŭt-thông-shī quoted by the Annamese annalists (see Des Michels, op. cit., p. 185), for instance, the pearl fisheries existed in the south-eastern part of the Ho-p'u district, corresponding in this case to the north coast of Hainan, which had been in B.C. 48 subordinated as a simple district, with the designation *Chu-lu*, to the Ho-p'u *chün*. Even as late as the sixteenth century João de Barros (ch. i, lib. ix, in Ramusio, vol. i, f. 391 *verso*) mentions the "isola di Ainam [Hainan], dove si pescano le perle, ch'è il principio della gouernation di Cantā [Canton]." At that time, however, the mussel-beds that yielded the valuable supply were fast becoming exhausted, so that in 1599 the return is stated to have been merely Taels 2,100, as against Tls. 28,400 recorded for 1476, whereupon the fisheries appear to have been closed. (See *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. i, Hongkong, 1867, p. 12.) In A.D. 627, under the T'angs, the territory corresponding to the ancient Chu-yai and Chu-lu districts was termed *Ch'iung-shan* (瓊山), sometimes also written *Ch'iung-ying* (瓊瀛), (*vide* P'êi-wên Yün-fu in *China Review*, vol. xiv, p. 40), and the *chou* or department in which it lay was further denominated *Ch'iung-chou*. This designation, after a multitude of administrative changes, came at length in A.D. 758 to be bestowed upon the entire island, and this title has been borne almost continuously since that period, although under varying circumstances as to the relative rank and dependence of its government. (See *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, No. vii, 1873, p. 10.) The word *Ch'iung* denotes a red-veined stone, and is said to have been applied to Hainan Island on account of its red breccia marble and with special reference to a conspicuous hill, lying some twenty miles to the south of the present capital town, which appears to consist of that beautiful rock. *Ch'iung-shan* means, therefore, 'Red-marble Mountains.'

The terms *Ṣenjī* and *Chenchij* are evidently identical, and if denoting a township or district may be meant for either Chu-yai (Chü-ngāi), Ch'iung-shan, Ch'iung-ying, or Ch'iung-chou. On the other hand, if designating a population, they may apply to the *Shwang-chien* (雙尖) or *Shöng-tsym*, the so-called 'Double Cloth' tribe of the Li, so named, it is reported, on account of their wearing a double piece of cloth, one in front and the other behind, to cover their nakedness. This tribe must have formed, along with the kindred one of the

* The Chinese *chu* is evidently connected with, and was in remote times probably pronounced not far differently from, the Sanskrit *śukti* (Pāli *sutti*) = 'pearl-oyster,' and *śuktijaṁ* = 'pearl.' See, however, my further remarks on Chu-yai in the footnote to p. 250.

stretching as far as the Malay Peninsula. They actually called *Chang Hai* what we now term, in part very improperly,

Hsiao-chien (小黎) or 'Small Cloth' Li, now restricted tot he Yai-chou district in the southern part of the island, the main bulk of the population of Hainan at the period in question. But with them there may have been dwelling on some tracts of the sea-coast the last remnants of tribes, now extinct, of a still more primitive type and shorter stature, evidently the descendants of the Negrito pygmean autochthones, justifying their being compared to the African Negrillos.* The reckoning of their stature at four spans by the Arab navigators is probably a notion derived second-hand from the Chinese settlers on the island, and thus four Chinese *ch'ih* (spans, usually rendered as 'feet') are probably intended, which, at the rate of 14·1 inches, yield about 56½ inches English, or only 1 to 2 inches less than the average stature of Indo-Chinese and Melanesian Negritos. It will be interesting in the present connection to remark that this measurement of four *ch'ih* is just the average height ascribed by Chinese writers, among whom Ma Tuan-lin, to the inhabitants of 侏儒, *Chu-ju*, or *Chü-yü*, a Pygmy State in the Melanesian region. (See *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 297.) This hitherto unidentified land I make out, by the way, to be *Siguijor*, *Sikijor*; or, more exactly, *Gijor*, *Kijor*—*Si* being a mere prefix to island-names in the archipelago — the local designation of the island otherwise known as Fuegos and inhabited by Aeta Negritos.

That the toponymic *Chu-yai* survived in the popular tradition down to the time of the Arab travellers and further, appears from the fact that towards the end of the thirteenth century Ma Tuan-lin still speaks (op. cit., p. 394) of *Ch'iung-shan* city under that name. "La ville de *Chu-yai*," he goes on to say, in the words of his translator, "bâtie au bord de la mer, est la résidence de très-riches marchands qui s'entendent pour faire peser sur ces malheureux barbares toutes les charges et tous les impôts." This proves that the city had then become already a very thriving emporium.

The description of the dangers to which ships were exposed in the sea immediately adjoining *Senjī* perfectly agrees, it will be seen, with the topographical conditions of Hainan Strait, notorious for its numerous sandbanks at both its entrances in and near the fairway, its shoals and patches of hard sand, its heavy overfalls or tide rips and strong currents, and the reefs that fringe its shores, especially at Hainan head and round Cape Kami (關潛尾, *Kwān* [Pass or Gate of] *Chiāo-wei* or *Kāu-mei*†), the scene of so many wrecks. There can thus be no doubt as to the *Senjī* of the Arab navigators being the

* Traces of such characteristics appear to survive in the present *Hsiao-chien* or *Hsiao Li* of Yai-chou, calling themselves *K'lai* (cf. with the *Orang Glai* or '*Glai* Men' of the Campā hill-tracts below), who are described (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, No. vii, 1873, pp. 26, 71, 77) as *smaller and a good deal darker* than the Li in the interior.

† Pronounced *Kwān Kāu-wui* by the Hainanese, and *Kwāng Kāu-wĭ* in Annamese, in which language, however, it is more popularly known as *Mũi* [Cape] *Khāk-hien*.

China Sea, although they had different names for portions or branches of it; e.g., Sea of *Chin-lin* (identified by us, p. 164, with the sea of *Kāmalaṅkā* and the sea of *Kedreṇj* or *Kerdeṇj*), *Ch'ih Hai* ('Red Sea,' i.e. sea of *Śrī-lohit* or *Sheláheṭ* = Sea of the Straits, if not actually sea of *Ch'ih-t'u*, i.e. Gulf of Siām),[1] etc. In fact, while some Chinese authors place in the sea of *Chang Hai* the island of *Tu-po* (*Davak*, *Dabag*, *Dayak*, i.e. Borneo in my opinion), sometimes also called *Chu-po* (after *Sabah* or North Borneo, see p. 245 *ante*), said by them to lie eastwards of *Funan*,[2] and the farther outlying insular group of the *Ma-wu* or *Mā-ngū* (= Manubo, Manguian, Wūgī, or

Chenchiṷ pearl-producing district of Pigafetta, and the *Ch'iung-ying* or *Ch'iung-shan* township of yore and of the present day—or, practically, its seaport of *Hai-k'ou* (海口), better known as Hoi-how.

Ṣender-fūlāt or *Ṣandar-fūlāt*, if not *Ch'iung-shan* (*Sundara-parvata*, *Ṣoṇa-parvata*?) itself, must have lain not far from it, as Sulaimān's account gives us to understand that it was not by any means an easy place for navigation. He says, in fact, in Reinaud's translation (op. cit., t. i, pp. 18, 19): "*Sender-Foulat* est le nom d'une île. . . . . De là, les navires entrent dans une mer appelée *Sandjy*. . . . . *Quand, par un effet de la faveur divine, les navires sont sortis sains et saufs de Sender-Foulat*, ils mettent à la voile pour la Chine. . . . ." The sentences that I have italicized in the last passage evidently mean that to get off safely from *Ṣender-fūlāt* was no easy job, so much so that it came to be considered a feat which could be accomplished solely through divine favour. As no similar remark is made in connection with the other ports of call on the Arab ship-route mentioned by Sulaimān, it follows that *Ṣender-fūlāt* was, in his countrymen's opinion, reputed to be the most dangerous point on that route. It must accordingly have been situated in close proximity to *Ṣenjī*, that is, on Hainan Strait, and very probably on the same side with it, namely, the one formed by the northern coast of Hainan Island. On p. 250 I have touched upon the possible identity of *Ṣender-fūlāt* with that island itself. Should such really be the case, *Ṣenjī* would turn out to be merely the chief town, or district, and shipping port for *Ṣender-fūlāt*.

I shall not digress any further to discuss the question, here cropping up, as to whether it is from *Ṣenjī* or *Ṣanjī* that the sea on the farther side of Hainan Strait became known as the 'Sea of Ṣanjī' to the Arabs. It is quite possible that such was the case, albeit the etymological connection I have suggested between the Arab Sea of *Ṣanjī* and the Chinese *Chang Hai* does in no way seem to be altogether accidental. Suffice it at any rate for the present to have succeeded in fixing the position of the hitherto mysterious *Ṣenjī* on, or within close proximity of, Hainan Strait, and to have thereby got hold of the whereabouts of the farthest station on the Arab ship-route in Indo-China, which will serve us as a basis wherewith to trace that route with unmistakable certainty thenceforth along the China coast to its terminus in Hang-chou Bay. It was then from the farther side of Hainan Strait that navigation through the Sea of *Ṣanjī* or *Chang Hai* commenced.

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 91; also as regards the location of the *Ch'ih Hai*, my paper on "Siām's Intercourse with China," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1900, p. 367, n. ‡.

[2] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 449, 513, and 518. This *Tu-po* must be Ibn Batūta's hitherto unidentified *Ṭawālisī*.

Būgī tribes?), and of the 'Fire Isles' *Jan-hwo* or *Hwo-shan* (Gūnong Api?),[1] the writers alluded to make the *Tun-hsün* or *Tun-sun* (i.e. the Malay) Peninsula project far into that sea.[2] From this it follows quite clearly that the sea of *Chang Hai* was not merely the Gulf of Tonkin, within whose narrow compass Wells Williams and Giles, copying him literally, have confined it in their Chinese dictionaries; but that it corresponded to our China Sea, and in its northern portion—i.e. between the Gulf of Tonkin (or the island of Hainan) and Formosa—to the Sea of *Sanjī* of the Arab navigator and geographers.

This was the last sea known to the Arabs, but the Purāṇas mention another one still further, to wit: the sea of *Jala* or *Toyāmbudhi*, the 'Fresh-water Sea,' surrounding *Puṣkara-dvīpa*, or Northern China and Mongolia. It will thus be seen that, while *Kraunca* corresponds to Ptolemy's country of the **Sinai** or **Thinai**, *Puṣkara* represents — as we shall better demonstrate at the proper time and place—**Sērikē** or the land of the **Sēres**.

That the port of *Senef* touched at by the Arab navigators was either *Shih-nai* (Thī-nāi) or *Hsin-chou*, is demonstrated, apart from the arguments adduced above, by the fact that its sailing distance from *Kadranj* (Koḥ Tron), given as ten days, is equal to the distance *Betūmah* (Batam, Bentan, or *Tamasak*)-*Kadranj*, which required the same number of days to cover. From *Senef* it took the Arab sailors another ten days to get to the island or peninsula of *Sender-fūlāt*,

[1] Op. cit., pp. 449 and 518.

[2] Op. cit., p. 445, where it is said to be called also *Tien-hsün*. Its proposed identification with Tenasserim (*Tanāva-siri*, *Tanāu*, or *Danāu*) is but one of those vagaries to which Sinologists dabbling in ancient Indo-Chinese geography are only too apt to abandon themselves. The location assigned to *Tun-hsün* by the Chinese writers—at 3,000 *li* to the south of *Fu-nan*—clearly indicates that the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula is meant, and not the northern. Here we have the extensive headland—formerly an island—of *Dōn-sun*, in front of Ligor. I prefer, however, to connect the Chinese name with the local ones of *Ūjong-tānah* or *Tānah-ūjong*, and with those, more ancient, of *Tam-śak*, *Tāmasū*, *Tuma*, *Tamus*, etc., for which *vide supra*, p. 199.

i.e. to either Hainan or the opposite Lei-chou peninsula.[1]

[1] *Tan-êrh*, now Tan-chou (West Hainan), may well represent the *Ṣandar*, or *Zandar*, or *Ṣender* of the Arabs; the remaining part, *fūlāt*, of the name being not unlikely traceable to *Fu-lo*, 富羅, the designation applied in A.D. 622 to the adjoining district since (A.D. 713) known as Lin-kao or Lam-ko; whence the possible combination *Tan-êrh-Fu-lo* = *Ṣandar-fūlāt* for the joint territory. With reference to the alternative derivation from *Śoṇa-parvata* (Ch'iung-shan) suggested on p. 248, I may point out that the title *Chu-lu*, 朱盧, conferred upon the island in B.C. 48, as noted above (p. 246), seems to lend support to that conjecture, inasmuch as the first part, *chu*, of it means 'red' or *śoṇa*, while the whole—from the fact of its being still pronounced *Chu-no* or *Shu-no* in Chinese-derived dialects—looks like a transcript of the same term. *Chu-yai* (Pearl Shore), the name of the ancient eastern division and pearl-producing district of Hainan, which was adopted in A.D. 43 as a designation for the whole island in substitution of the term *Chu-lu* just referred to, should not, however, be altogether forgotten in the present discussion, since, it will now be seen, there is some probability as to its being somehow connected with *Ṣender-fūlāt*. Pearls are considered by the Chinese to be the concrete essence of the moon; hence it may be that the original name applied on that score to the island being 'moonstone island'—in Sanskrit, *Candra-upala*—took in Chinese the form *Chu-yai*. There is some likelihood of the island of Hainan having been named after the moon. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa names eight minor *dvīpas* situated beyond sea, among which is one called *Candraśukla*, 'the moon-bright' (see Viṣṇu Purāṇa, ii, p. 129, n. 1). This, I surmise, may be Hainan. In conclusion, *Ṣender-fūlāt* may well represent either *Candra-upala*, *Candra-pulina*, *Candra-parvata*, *Śoṇa-parvata*, *Tan-êrh-Fu-lo*, or some similar term; but never Pulo Condore, as advanced by Yule and others. The Malay, Chām, and Annamese terms for 'island,' *Pulo*, and *Kŭ-lāu*, *Ko*, *Hòn*, etc., always precede the name; never do they follow it. Besides, the position of Pulo Condore is unacceptable. Owing to Yule and others having adopted it as the site of *Ṣender-fūlāt*, they had to shift *Kadranj* and *Ṣenf* on to the Gulf of Siām, at Chanthabūn and Rāch-jā respectively, thus making the Arab ships spend twenty days to cover the short distance Chanthabūn to Pulo Condore; just only one-third less than they took to go from Pulo Condore to Hang-chou! This is evidently absurd; and from my identifications of *Kadranj* and *Ṣenf* it clearly follows that *Ṣender-fūlāt* must have been either in Hainan or on the Lei-chou peninsula near by.

To the same conclusion lead the arguments I have brought forward in a preceding note (p. 248) as regards the position of *Ṣender-fūlāt* in relation to that of *Ṣenjī*. However, in view of the fact that it is not an easy matter to detect the native name which lies disguised under the term *Ṣender-fūlāt*, I would not be disinclined to include the head of the Tonkin Gulf as well in the region within which the Arab seaport may be looked for, thus making its sphere of probable location comprise the whole of the coastline from the delta of the Red River to Hainan. By this means a chance of laying claim to identification with the very puzzling *Ṣender-fūlāt* is also thrown open to the Tonkinese ports, where the trade at that period was undoubtedly far more considerable than in the districts previously pointed out.

From the accounts left us by I-tsing, who preceded the Arab merchant Sulaimān in these parts by scarcely more than one and a half centuries, we gather that the seaports most frequented by trading vessels in the region delimited as above were:—

1. 神灣, *Shên-wan*, which Chavannes ("Les Religieux Éminents," etc.) does not attempt to locate. From a passage of I-tsing, however (p. 136), it appears to have been the shipping-port for the Hà-nŏi and neighbouring

A great uncertainty still prevails as to the identity of the

districts, occupying a position somewhere between the delta of the Red River and Ha-long Bay. There is a hill-range called *Shên-wên*, or *Shên-wan*, to the east of Kami Bay, on the southern extremity of the Lei-chou peninsula and within the territory of the old *Hsü-wên* or *Sü-wan* district (q.v. *infra*), from which it may have taken its name; but it seems very improbable that the seaport alluded to by I-tsing was in any way connected with it.

2. 合浦, *Ho-p'u*, the ancient port (as well as prefectural city) of Lien-chou, which we have identified with Ptolemy's **Aspithra**; since superseded by the treaty port of Pak-hoi (北海, *Pei-hai*).

3. 上景, *Shang-ching*, which appears (pp. 108, 136, 158) to have been situated between Ho-p'u and Shên-wan, but nearer, perhaps, to the latter.

4. 烏雷, *U-lei* or *Wu-lei*, located by Chavannes (p. 57) a little to the west of Pak-hoi. It must have lain, in fact, on either side of the land-spit terminating opposite Tui-mui-tiao Islet, and formed by the hill-range marked *Ou-loi Shan* (evidently the local pronunciation of *Wu-lei Shan*, i.e. '*Wu-lei* Hills') in the Admiralty chart of the China Sea, 1884.

5. Other Chinese writers mention besides 徐聞, *Hsü-wên*, existing from the T'ang period, but further south from its present namesake, on the southern extremity of the Lei-chou peninsula.

6. Again, there exists a little seaport bearing the name of *Sin-liao Fu* on the east side of the Lei-chou peninsula near Pei-li Fu and a little below the entrance to Lei-chou river; but, apart from its insignificance, it is doubtful whether it can lay claim to a respectable antiquity as a trade resort.

Only further exhaustive inquiries can disclose which, if any, of these seaports is entitled to identification with *Ṣender-fūlāt*. As for myself, all that I can add is, that the latter part, *fūlāt*, of this term, bears a rather close resemblance to the Annamese words *Bā-lật* or *Bā-lột* occurring at present in the name of one of the mouths of the Red River, to wit, the *Kŭa* [mouth (of)] *Bā-lat*, often written also *Ba-lacht* (perhaps, more correctly, *Bā-lãch*, which means the place of meeting of three streams). Though this is now considered impracticable for sea-going craft, it may not have been so at a far earlier period. In such a case the initial part, *Ṣender*, of the Arab name, may be connected with the *Song Dãi*, the southern branch of the Red River detached from the main stream a little below *Sön-töi* (*So'n-táy*), Ptolemy's **Sinda** according to our identification. Though now discharging through the mouth called the *Kŭa Dãi*, it may well have had at a remoter period its outlet at, or near, the *Bā-lật* mouth, with which it is even at present connected by several channels. Thus, from the *Song Dãi*, or *Sön-töi* branch of the main river, and from the name of its —formerly perhaps principal—outlet, the *Bā-lật*, the territory in this part of the delta may have become known as *Song Dãi* (or *Sön-töi*) *Bā-lật*, rendered by the Arab navigators under the form of *Ṣender-fūlāt*. Of course, I give this identification as merely tentative. It should be observed, however, that some of the maps accompanying old editions or translations of Ptolemy's geographical work, mark—though it be by oversight—his **Sinda** just at the spot alluded to above. As an instance, I may refer the reader to one of the best and most esteemed editions, that of Nicholaus de Donis (A.D. 1482). Albeit the position we obtained for **Sinda** shows this place to be identical with *Sön-töi*, it does not necessarily follow that the *Bā-lật* mouth, through which the *Sön-töi* or **Sinda** branch of the main river probably discharged of old, could not be regarded by ancient navigators as the shipping-port for **Sinda**. Hence the probability of this port being, after all, the *Ṣender-fūlāt* of the Arabs. At all events I trust to have sufficiently demonstrated that *Ṣender-fūlāt* must be looked for on the section of the littoral comprised between the spot just alluded to and Hainan.

Hò-tôn spoken of in the Annals of Annam [1] as the primitive population of Campā, which is therefore styled at the outset, in that work, "the country of the *Hò-tôn*." Luro [2] believes that the *Hò-tôn* were the aborigines driven into the interior by Malay pirates from the Archipelago, who occupied the coast and pushed up their incursions as far as Tonkin and the maritime districts of Kwang-tung. Launay thus concludes [3] that the people of Campā were a mixture of Malays, Annamites, and Kambojans. This theory seems to me too far-fetched. As to the *Cām* proper, they are evidently, both from their language and physical features, of the same stock as the Malays, and, like these latter, they undoubtedly came from Southern China, taking possession of the whole coast of Annam and Cochin-China, whence they spread

Thence the Arab sea-route lay through Hainan Strait, and it was evidently by passing this that the Arab navigators reached the boundless expanse that they termed the Sea of *Ṣanjī*.

Since writing the above I have noticed that in Captain Bozorg's "Ajāib" the above name is spelled *Ṣandal-fūlāt*, and the place described as an *island* situated at the entrance to the Sea of *Ṣanjī*, between *Ṣenf* and the China coast (Van der Lith & M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 86). These indications place almost beyond doubt that the long-sought-for *Ṣender-fūlāt* is the island of Hainan; and it would be only by considerable straining that they could be made to apply to some other island formed by the delta of the Red River, either in the neighbourhood of the Ba-lacht mouth or up the Song Dāi at *P'hū-lī* (*Fuli* of our maps), whence a branch is detached connecting the Song Dāi with the main river (Fuli Canal). For the translators of the above work, *Ṣandal-fūlāt* is Pulo Condor (p. 220)—not even Marco Polo's *Sundur*; the Sea of *Ṣanjī*, the Gulf of *Tonkin* (see their map); *Betūmah*, Pulo Tioman (p. 252); *Kalah*, Kedah (p. 255 seq.); and so forth in the merry old strain. Besides the argument of the sailing distances given by the Arab navigators between their ports of call, which tells strongly, as we have shown, against the above fanciful identifications, there is the fact that the equivalents named are either barren rocks or inhospitable places. Why on earth should the shrewd Arab traders studiously avoid the thriving emporia that we know to have existed on the coasts of the Malay Peninsula, Kamboja, and Cochinchina, in order to call at all sorts of straggling islets in the middle of the sea—uninhabited, except perhaps by pirates—and other miserable insignificant places such as Pulo Tioman, Pulo Condor, and the Brothers (*Sundur*?)? This is, on the face of it, absurd; and, as regards Kedah, it did not then exist, at any rate under this name, and perhaps under any name whatever, except that of a hill (*Gūnong Jerai*) and an islet (*Pulo Srai*). Surely, the Arab merchants were not bent upon lithological investigations or on voyages of discovery. It is therefore high time, I should imagine, that such belated and absurd theories about the Arab sea-route should be abandoned for something more rational and consistent, at least, with the data of sailing distance handed down to us by the Arab navigators themselves.

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 4, 6, text; and note 24, p. 12, notes.
[2] "Le pays d'Annam," p. 70.
[3] "Histoire ancienne et moderne de l'Annam," 1884, p. 28.

across to the Archipelago, being afterwards civilized, each in their new settlements, by emigrants from the south of India, with whom they became to a certain extent intermingled. But like their relatives, the Malays, in the islands of the Archipelago and in the Malay Peninsula, the *Cām*, upon reaching their seats on the coasts of Tonkin, Annam, and Cochin-China, found these countries occupied by a population of Negrito race, whom they partly drove to the hills in the interior and partly assimilated in the course of time. This must have been the same dark race which extended across from Madagascar and the south of India and Ceylon to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, to the coasts of Annam and China, and to Melanesia. On account of its primitive state and pretended cannibal habits,[1] it received from the civilized Āryans of the north of India the name of *Rākṣasas*; but it does by no means appear that it was always and everywhere as rude and wild as represented. On the contrary, there is reason to believe, from the accounts of the Rāmāyaṇa itself, from its ready spreading—as it is now admitted by many authorities—to Indonesia and even Oceania,[2] and from the comparatively advanced social

[1] "None of the Negritos proper," observes Professor De Quatrefages in his study on the Negritos (published in the *Journal des Savants*, August and December, 1882, and translated into English in the *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 13, June, 1884), "are cannibals." "As for the Papua-Negritos, mixed with the Papuas of New Guinea and the adjacent island-groups, it is very possible that they may have let themselves be carried away by example and may have addicted themselves to man-eating; but it is impossible, for want of accurate information, to give an opinion on the subject. . . . All Negritos cook meat by boiling or roasting; all, consequently, are able to procure fire, and no doubt use the same process, the friction of two pieces of wood."

[2] "Flower is inclined to admit that the small black race which sprung up in the southerly regions of India, has spread itself east and west in Melanesia and Africa, and that the tall Negroes are descended from it. Professor Seeley thinks that the Negro race occupied, in former times, a strip of land which extended from Africa to Melanesia and is now submerged."—De Quatrefages, ibid. The same authority considers that the Negrito tribes scattered from the Andāmān Islands to the Philippines are all of an identical race, of which the Minkopi are now the purest representatives; that this race "is the fundamental negro element of all, or very nearly all, the Dravidian tribes." A connection has been noted by some philologists between the Dravidian and Australian languages. Mikluho Maclay has ascertained the identity of language among Negrito tribes of the Malay Peninsula which are isolated and have no communication with each other, from Johor to Ligor.

Dr. Fraser also remarks (*Polynesian Journal*, vol. iv, Dec., 1895): "The Dravidian tribes of the Deccan and Southern India are descended from that black race which occupied the whole of India before the Aryans came in; and

condition attained in several of its settlements, that it enjoyed once a certain degree of civilization, and that the present low status of its last remains found in almost inaccessible jungles and mountains is due to their long segregation from society and intercourse with other races. In a word, those Negritos who preferred the liberty of their jungles to servitude and oppression at the hands of the invaders of their country, turned wild; but a large portion of them were assimilated into the bulk of the new settlers, or destroyed during the incursions and devastations of the latter.[1] I have already drawn attention (p. 174 *supra*) to the fact that the process of

some ethnologists believe that portions of that black race were, by the Aryan invasion of India, driven eastwards into the Eastern Peninsula, Indonesia, and Oceania, and that the Melanesians near our shores are their modern representatives . . . . the tide of migration flowing, on the one hand, to the east and south-east from India into Further India, and what is now called the Malay Archipelago; and, on the other, from India and Ceylon west and south-west into the Maldives and onwards into Madagascar, where the reigning language is well known to be a branch of the so-called Malayo-Polynesian family."

[1] This accords with the opinion expressed by Quatrefages, op. cit. Speaking of the Aetas of the Philippines, he says: ". . . . . this degraded social status is the consequence of the persecution which these Negritos have suffered at the hands of more powerful and vigorous races. . . . If, in certain parts of the Archipelago, these diminutive negroes lead a wandering life, if they do not build huts or till the soil, the fault lies with those who persecute and civilize them. . . Have not these tribes known better days and enjoyed a more perfect social organization? . . . . It is more than probable that in the Philippines, the Aetas were once in a more advanced stage." And he goes on to say that they once occupied the whole of Luzon and had a form of government by elders; that they resisted the Tagāl invasions. He then observes that the Mamanuas of Mindanāu and the half-breed Negritos of India and of the Malay Peninsula cultivate by the primitive method of jungle clearing. The Manthras have still preserved a recollection of the days when their ancestors ruled over the whole country. At that time, they say, they had numerous records written on leaves. Even now they have head-men, each exercising his authority over a district. The Russian traveller, Mikluho Maclay, in the account of his explorations among the Negrito tribes of the Malay Peninsula (published in *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 2, Dec., 1878) says that the Sakai consider themselves the original inhabitants; that they had kings, and that such Sakai-rājas still exist. So were the Benua in former times governed by kings whose descendants are still to be found. Relics of a stone-age have been discovered in the Andāmāns, such as celts, chisels, etc., of the Neolithic period. Similar objects were also found in the neighbourhood of the Great Lake of Kamboja and in the Upper Mĕ-Khŏng valley at Lúang P'hrah Bāng. The Minkopi of the Andāmāns make sun-baked pottery, harpoons, nets, and canoes, all indications of anything but intellectual degradation. "In the Malay Peninsula, as in India," notes De Quatrefages, "conquest has destroyed States that were considerable and flourishing once upon a time, but of which even recollection has been lost, driving back to the jungles and mountains the races, more or less Negroid, which had founded them. There the race, like many other Dravidian groups, has returned to wild life. . . . In the lands where they are still to be found, these Negritos have preceded the races by whom they have subsequently been oppressed, dispersed, and almost annihilated."

assimilation, here alluded to, may still be seen in operation at present in the south of the Malay Peninsula with the *Samangs*, the *Manthras*, and other either genuinely Negrito, or mixed Melano-Malay, tribes. The south and centre of India also teem with half-breed Negritos.

In several parts of Indo-China, the early Negrito, or Negrito-descended, tribes were termed, on account of their degraded social status, 'dogs.' Such are, or seem to be, the *Sakai* of the Malay Peninsula and *Kanchō* (*Kon-chǭ*) of Eastern Kamboja, whose names have that signification.[1] But more generally, they were named 'blacks' after the colour of their skins; and the terms *Aeta*, *Aheta*, or *Ita* [='black' in Tagāla; *Ītam* in Sūlū; *Aitom* in Dūsūn (N.W. Borneo); *hītam* in Malay; *dam* in Siāmese; *hê*, *hei*, *het*, *heti* in Chinese; and *tamas* or *tamasa* (dark, dusky-coloured) in Sanskrit], applied to the Negritos in the Philippines, have probably their correspondents in the *Karun* and *Kalang* (cf. Skt. *Kāla*) of Java, in the *Sĕmang* (*Samanga*, *Śyāmaṅga*?) of the Malay Peninsula, and the *Hò-tôn* of Campā. With these terms, the Greek designation *Aithiopes*, though interpreted in a different manner (*Αἴθω* + *ὄψ* ='[sun-] burnt countenance'), may be usefully compared. It was invariably applied to the dark-complexioned races of the tropical regions; but a distinction was made between the Ethiopians of the west and those of the east, that is, betwixt African Negroes and Asiatic Negritos.[2]

Ptolemy places his **Ikhthyophagoi Aithiopes** around the frontier and the **Gulf of the Sinai**; namely, about the Leichou Peninsula and the Formosan Channel. There can

[1] The *Sakai*, though now recognized to belong to a fairer (Mŏn-Khmĕr, or Ch'ieng) race than Negritos, may have inherited their name from the Negrito aborigines of the country in which they settled. I notice, in fact, that *Sekai* (presumably the same term as *Sakai* or *Sakei*) means 'black' in the dialect of the Pĕrak-Sĕmang (see *Journal Straits Br. R.A.S.*, No. 5, p. 147). In this case *Sakai* would not signify 'dog,' but would imply a population of Negrito race, thus proving synonymous with *Ita*, *Ītam*, *Hitam*, etc. It will take many years before this and similar philologic-ethnographical questions can be satisfactorily settled.

[2] See Herodotus, lib. iii, c. 94; but more especially lib. vii, c. 70, where he very clearly sets forth the distinguishing characteristics of the Ethiopians of Asia. Likewise does Strabo, lib. xv, ch. i, 13, q.v.

scarcely be any doubt as to Negritos—the ancestors or relatives of the *Aeta*, *Hò-tôn*, and the savages of Formosa —being meant. At that period these Negrito populations must have been still in occupation not only of the seaboard of Southern China and the neighbouring islands, but also of many points of the littoral of Tonkin and Cochin-China, their last descendants being on the one end the hill tribes of Formosa, and on the other the *Tiao* or *Trao* (pygmies), the *Tioma* (or *Choma*) and *Tjru* (*Chu-ru*, *Cʰhrū*, or *Cʰhraū*) of the Bìñ-thwŏn and Khaṅ-hwā districts in Lower Cochin-China; perhaps the *Kan-chō* of Eastern Kamboja, and other tribes of the Cochin-Chino-Kambojan frontier, as yet but little known. Driven to the hills, they have now become a hill people, as did their relatives of Formosa and of the Malay Peninsula; but they dwelt originally on the sea-shore, and, like the actual *Minkopi*, *Selung*, and *Akkyē* or *Rayat Laut*, lived mainly by fishing; whence their name of **Ikhthyophagoi**. By referring to them under this term, followed by that of **Aithiopes**, Ptolemy puts us in possession of two data, the importance of which can scarcely be underrated, viz.: (1) that they were settled on the coast, being mainly fishermen; (2) that they were Negritos. Though he does not locate them all along the coastline of Annam, Tonkin, and China, we know very well that in his time, or not far earlier, these Negrito tribes occupied the whole, or nearly so, of the littoral between the Formosan Channel[1] and the Gulf of

[1] The ichthyophagous aborigines of Formosa and the Pescadores are duly represented in the Catalan Atlas of A.D. 1375 (formerly belonging to the library of Charles V of France), and located at a spot corresponding approximately to the islands referred to above, with the legend: "*Aquesta gent son saluaiges | q'uiuen de peyx cruu & beuen | de la mar & van tots nuus.*" (These people are savages who live upon raw fish and drink sea-water, and go [about] stark naked.) See Cordier's "L'Extrême Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan de Charles V, Roi de France," Paris, 1895, pl. ii, and pp. 18, 42. The identification of these tribes with the descendants of Ptolemy's **Ikhthyophagoi** is, however, my own entirely: Cordier (p. 42) merely suggests that many islands in the north-east portion of the Sea of Japan are inhabited by ichthyophagous people; but this does not suit the present case. That fish-eating tribes occupied at an early period the littoral, as well as the adjoining islands of the Indo-Chinese coast, and that they racially belonged to the same stock of the hill-men or *Kirātas*, is evidenced by the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (*Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa*, xl), where allusion is made to "*Kirātas* dwelling in islands, with stiff hair-tufts, subsisting on raw fish," in the regions to the east of India. The *Lohamukhas*, with faces of a harsh iron-

Martaban, besides the islands of the Gulf of Bengal and of the Malay Archipelago. We found them under the Burmese name of *Bhīlū* (cf. *Bhīl*, the Central India Negritos)[1] and

like black colour, called *Kālamukhas* or 'black-faced' in the Bengal recension of that poem, are evidently the Indo-Chinese Negritos; while the *Karṇaprāvaraṇas*, having ear-flaps as wide as a sheet, and the *Oṣṭhakarṇakas*, furnished with ears that reached to their lips, refer, in my opinion, to the tribes of Mōñ-Khmēr and hybridized Negrito stock whom the Chinese of the Han period called *Tan-êrh* (儋耳) or 'Drooping Ears,' and after whom they named the western division of Hainan in B.C. 110. These are the stiff hair-tufted *Li*, whose ears "reach down to the shoulders" (Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 401); the *Lē*, *Lōi*, or *Löi* of other parts of Indo-China, inhabiting the hill-tracts as well as the sea-shore, and Ptolemy's cave-dwelling **Lēstai**. (*Vide supra*, pp. 161, 162, 175, etc.)

[1] The Kedah Annals also mention tribes termed *Bīla*, and Hill-*Bīla*, along with the Sakai and Samang (see Colonel Low's translation in *Journal Malay Archipelago*, vol. ii). From the context I make out their habitat to have been the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, from the neighbourhood of Kedah up to the Gulf of Martaban. It is thus possible that they were the same people as the famed *Bhīlū*, being moreover racially and otherwise connected with the Central Indian *Bhīl*. Colonel Low takes them to have been, respectively, 'ryots' and 'hill-ryots'; but I cannot see my way to agree with him. I am, in fact, inclined to think *Bīla* to be, if not absolutely a tribal name, at any rate the characteristic designation for a special class of Negrito—or hybridized Negrito—tribes, as with *Bhīl* and *Bhīlū*. The Hill-*Bīla* would, in this case, represent the portion of the Negrito-descended population inhabiting the hill-tracts; the class of people or tribes, in a word, such as we find styled *Vṛlaḥ-kirāta-vṛta* in the old Chām inscriptions (see above, p. 163). We would thus have the equations: (1) *Bīla* = *Vṛlaḥ*, and (2) Hill-*Bīla* = *Vṛlaḥ-kirāta-vṛta*. In the event of these surmises being correct, the term *Bhīl* (= *Vṛlaḥ*?) will have been proved traceable all the way from Central India to Cochin-China. It may be of interest to point out, while on this subject, that the term *Bīla* survives to this day in connection with the Semang Negritos settled in Kedah, Pērak, Pahang, and Tringanu, it being apparently applied to the civilized portion of them, who are thus styled *Semang Bīla*. On the page quoted above, I have doubtfully suggested that the mountaineer *Vṛlaḥs* of Campā might possibly be some branch of the *Ch'ieng* race. But, like most of the hill-tribes of this race in Indo-China, they may have become more or less intermixed or blended with the Negrito autochthones, who were probably the *Hồ-tôn* above referred to. Several well-read Annamese, born and settled in Siām, whom I have consulted on the subject of the *Hồ-tôn's* identity, tell me that they were hill-tribes similar to those now called *Khã Ūt*, scattered along the Siāmo-Annamese watershed and about the southern slopes of the Khôrāt plateau. Unfortunately, as I have once already observed (p. 163 *supra*), next to nothing is known about the tribes so named.

I have, since writing the above, come across the term *Blü*, which the *Stieng* employ to designate the hill-people, and, in general, the wild tribes. The missionary Azémar, in his Stīeng Dictionary published in *Excursions et Reconnaissances, Cochinchine Française*, No. 27, explains it (p. 118) as meaning "les habitants du dessus, des montagnes," and suggests that it may be the contracted form of the two words *bīnīh lü*, 'homme d'en haut.' However it be, it is plain to me that this *blü* must be practically the same term as *Bīla*, *Vṛlaḥ*, etc. "C'est ainsi que les sauvages se nomment," the reverend Père observes, and, in fact, at p. 326 (No. 28 of the above-quoted magazine) we find

Śabaras in the Gulf of Martaban, in a former section of this paper. Of these latter the actual *Selung* of the Mergui Archipelago are probably the last remnants. The fact of celts of a shoulder-headed type, perfectly similar in shape, having been traced all the way from the district of Chutiā Nāgpur in Central India, throughout the seaboard of Burmā and the Malay Peninsula, to the Great Lake of Kamboja and the Upper Më-Khŏng in the district of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, is sufficient proof that the same race occupied the coastline and lacustrine districts of Indo-China; and that this race is the one of the pygmy Negritos above spoken of.

The Chinese were acquainted—as evidenced by their old records—with Negrito tribes from several parts of Indo-China. The one that they denominated *Chiau-yau* or *Tsiau-yau* is located by them beyond the Yung-ch'ang (S.W. Yünnan) borders. I have already adverted (*supra*, p. 72) to the connection in meaning of this term—given that it be genuinely Chinese, and not a transcript of some indigenous tribal name—with the sense conveyed by the Greek compositum *Αἰθίοψ*.[1] Ma Tuan-lin describes the *Chiau-yau* as cave-dwellers, three *ch'ih* (about 4 ft. 4 in. English) in stature, clever hunters of wild animals; and says that they came to Court twice between A.D. 58–76 and in A.D. 107, bringing presents of elephant tusks, buffaloes,

one tribe of the Stïeng designating themselves *Blü-Stïeng*. Is this the origin of the Ptolemaic Λησταῶν χώρα, or country of the **Lēstai**? (*vide supra*, p. 161)—in which case *blü* would prove to be but another form of *lĕ*, *löi*, *Balöi*, etc.

Postscriptum.—I just learn at the moment of going to press, from Siāmese sources, that there still exists a tribe calling themselves *Ha-tông*, but whom the Lāu term *Hō-thŏn*, in Eastern Kamboja, near the Bahnar and Bonam or *Banān*, and between the *Tambuen* (Tampuon or *Chom-puen*) and the Jarāi, to the west of Biñ-dïñ. These *Hō-thŏn*, so far unknown, apparently, to our ethnologists, are no doubt all that remains of the *Hŏ-tôn* of ancient Campā.

[1] H. de Saint-Denys (op. cit., p. 266) remarks that the character 焦, *Chiau* or *Tsiau*, means "*brûlé, noir*," while 僥, *yau*, signifies "nain, pygmée." Giles, however, in his Chinese Dictionary, s.v. 1,329, gives for the latter "false, deceitful." Wells Williams identifies the *Chiau-yau* with a no less remote people than "the Negritos or Papuans of New Guinea"! Fancy their coming thither *overland* to China with "buffaloes and humped oxen"!

and humped oxen.[1] According to one of our Sinologists, the *Chiau-yau* are the same people who were denominated *K'ang* (犺 lit. 'fierce mastiffs') during the Ming period.[2] From the fact that the *Chiau-yau*, or *Tsiau-yau*, did the first time (i.e. between A.D. 58–76) send tribute along with a kindred tribe called *P'an-mu*,[3] and that ၶန် (*kháng*) is the name that the '*Shān*' (Thai) of Burmā give to the *Kachyen*, or *Kachīn*, settled to the north and east of Bhāmô,[4] it would appear that the *Chiau-yau's* habitat was on the hill-tracts now occupied by the Kachīn or Singp'hô, and that they were somehow connected with the forbears of this people, if not actually identical with them. It remains to be seen, however, whether the *K'ang* are really the descendants of the ancient *Chiau-yau* aborigines, or whether they are, on the contrary—as I am inclined to suspect—merely newcomers who substituted themselves for the original occupants of the country, whom they either drove out or destroyed and partly assimilated. In the latter case the *Chiau-yau* should be more correctly identified with the ancestors of the present squat-bodied Wild Wahs. The *K'ang* are represented by the Chinese "as dwelling in the mountains of Siām, as very short, very resolute and determined, [having] round eyes, yellow irides, ignorant

[1] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 266, 267; and *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 71.

[2] D. J. MacGowan in *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 297. *K'ang-lang*, 犺狼, according to Giles, Dict., s.v. 5,924, is the name of "a kind of small ape, found in Siam, said to be employed in hunting." This is the *Macacus Sinicus*, called simply *Kháng* in Siāmese. Owing to the *K'ang* having simian habits, in so far as they lived, according to the Chinese accounts, "on fruits like monkeys," it is possible that the designation applied to them was a mere nickname alluding to that characteristic.

[3] E. H. Parker in *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 71, n. 27. It is plain to me that this term, 槃 木, *P'an-mu*, must be a transcript of Bhāmô, correctly *Bàn-Mò*, in its probable ancient form of *Varmapura* or *Barmāvar*, for which *vide supra*, p. 42. Mr. Parker remarks here, *à propos* of the *Chiau-yau*, "The *Êrh Ya* had already mentioned the *Tsiau-yau* as the third of the eight sorts of *man*, or 'rude' men, and *Hwai-Nan Tsz* had already described the south-west region as 焦 僥 [*Chiau-yau*]."

[4] See Cushing's Shan-English Dict., Rangoon, 1881, p. 68, s.v.

of metallurgy and sericulture, living on wild fruits like monkeys, dwelling in hamlets under the shade of trees impervious to the sun, their language resembles chirping of birds. The hill Laos (*Liao*) understand their nature, maintain them as slaves, dressing them in worn-out garments, feeding them on shark and other fish [which would argue them to be ichthyophagous], and giving them arrack to drink—all which satisfies them; they and their families serve their masters for life, and their masters' successive descendants, not quitting them to serve other masters; exposure to smoke and fire is fatal to them."[1] At all events, the *K'ang* did not appear at Court until A.D. 1420, when they brought tribute to the Ming Emperor Yung-lê.[2]

Of the *Ku-lun*, or *K'un-lun*, whom I-tsing calls *Chüeh-lun* and describes as being black-complexioned and woolly-haired, I have already spoken (p. 103), pointing out that they must be identified with the hybridized Negrito tribes of the Malay Peninsula and their descendants. Chinese historians mention another people in the same quarter under the name of *Lo-ch'a* (羅刹), or *Rākṣas*, whom they portray as black in colour, with red and curled hair, feet and toes like bird's claws, and teeth like brute beasts; they were dreadful in appearance, their ears were perforated; for clothing they used a strip of cloth (i.e. the usual *Pê-t'ie*, or *P'hă-tîeu*, alluded to in a former page). However, they engaged in commerce, trading with *Lin-i* (Campā).[3] They were therefore not so savage after all. They must have been the ancestors of the present *Pangan*, or *Pang-gang*, and *Tumiors* of Kelantan, Patani, and Pahang, called *Ngoḥ*

[1] *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 299.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 489, and *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 289. Chinese writers locate the kingdom of the *Lo-ch'a* or *Rākṣasa* people to the east of *P'o-li*; and as this place is invariably taken by our Sinologists to be the east coast of Sumatra, a position has been assigned to the *Lo-ch'a* either on that island itself or on the opposite shore of the Malay Peninsula. But I think that Pêrak is meant for *P'o-li* in this instance (see p. 110 *supra*), and the habitat of the *Lo-ch'a* would thus become fixed in Pahang.

(i.e. 'frizzly-haired') by the Siāmese, and *Girgassi, Gargási* (or Rākṣasas) in the Kedah Annals.[1]

In so far as Eastern Indo-China is concerned I have drawn attention (p. 171) to the fact that the Chinese envoys who visited Kamboja during the early centuries of our era described the natives as black and woolly-haired, characters evidencing that at that period descendants of the Negrito aborigines were still numerous in the country. The *Kan-chō*, I have pointed out, represent perhaps the remnants of that Negrito element. The *P'hnong*, or *Penong* (v. *supra*, p. 207), I may now add, although taller and fairer-complexioned on the average than the neighbouring wild tribes, exhibit several distinctly marked characteristics which argue a primitive type and stamp them as descendants of the race of *Fu-nan* as described by the early Chinese travellers. Among such characteristics, the notable frequency of frizzly hair with them may be mentioned.[2] The *Tiao, Trao, Chrau, Tjru*, or *Churu*, owing to their dwarfish stature, may, on the other hand, be more directly attached to the *Tsiau-yau* stock.

"Diminutive black slaves" were, according to the Kwang-tung Gazetteer, sent to the Chinese Court from the coasts of Indo-China during the Ming period.[3] A Chinese work on novelties, 1636, speaks of the black dwarfs of Cochin-China in the following terms:—"Anywhere from Annam to Siām, there are pygmies whose

[1] It is just possible that the term *Rākṣasa* or *Rākṣas* still survives in a corrupted form in the name of the present *Ruyat Utan* or *Jakan* tribes in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, and perhaps as well in the names—given that these are old enough—of the actual *Rochor* River and District in the east part of Singapore Island. In connection with the terms *Ku-lun, K'un-lun*, and *Chüeh-lun*, which I have shown to have been derived from *Kolam* and *Cholan* (p. 103 *ante*), I may call attention to the fact that the "Sejarah Malayu" calls *Raja Chulan* the kinglet who was reigning over the southern part of the Malay Peninsula in the thirteenth century A.D. (see Leyden's "Malay Annals." p. 10). This term may have been not exactly a personal name, but a title derived from the designation then borne by the country, *Chulan, Cholan*, etc. In such a case its connection with I-tsing's *Chüeh-lun* would be more than probable.

[2] "Les cheveux sont le plus souvent droits et durs, mais on trouve parmi les Pnongs un grand nombre d'individus qui les ont frisés . . . . Ce fait qu'on ne peut nier paraît révéler une fusion de deux races bien différentes et qui ne remonterait pas à bien longtemps dans le passé." (Leclère's "Les Pnongs," Extrait des Mémoires de la Société d'Ethnographie, Paris, Leroux, 1898, p. 143.)

[3] *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 292. The native work here referred to is the *Kwang-tung-t'ung-chih*, first published A.D. 1693.

stature is not over three feet [Chinese *ch'ih*, or 3 ft. 7 in. English], who are regarded as of animal origin, who sell themselves for longer or shorter periods to dealers in aloes. When engaged they are provisioned, supplied with hatchets and saws, and sent into the mountains; when their collection is completed, in one or many months, they lead their masters to the depôts, whence the commodities are transported to the coast. These dwarfs are very submissive and servile."[1] The translator of this passage remarks that the expression "three *ch'ih*" as applied to human stature must not be taken too literally, but simply means shortness. It is not difficult to recognize in the savage people here alluded to the tribes designated *Ôrang Glai* (Woodmen) by the Chām, and *Mõi-hwöng* ('unsubmitted or undisciplined savages') by the Annamese, who often term them also *Mõi Kì-nām*, i.e. 'eagle-wood savages.' They inhabit the hill-tracts to the west of the Biñ-dĭñ and Khạn-hwà districts, and include several tribes known under the names of *Ha*, *Taring* (or *Tareng*), *Tarum*, *Tathēak*, and *C'hadāng*. The first and last mentioned are probably identical to the *Salāng* or *Halāng*, of whom more anon; and may have some distant racial connection with their apparent namesakes, the *Selung* of the Mergui Archipelago. It is these *Ôrang Glai* who, up to this day, do all the heavy work in connection with the exploitation of the eagle-wood and other commodities which they bring, as the Chinese authority quoted above correctly says, "to the depôts." Such are nowadays, for instance, the two emporiums of Khạn-hwà and Trüang Sạp, in the plain of Niñ-hwà further to the north.[2]

At the stage of our present knowledge it would be too premature to say how far the *Ôrang Glai* would justify the qualification of Negrito pygmies which the author of the Chinese account referred to above seems inclined to apply to

[1] Ibid., p. 297. Here the translator, with the well-known slipshod way of identifying foreign peoples and places common to the majority of Sinologists, jumps at once to the conclusion that these dwarfish specimens of mankind were "evidently Alfours or Papuans"!

[2] See Aymonier in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 27, pp. 8 and 27.

them. Some of the most salient characteristics which formerly enabled one to trace them to that early type may have by this time become obliterated or modified through intermixture with other races. But I think that, from the multifarious evidence I have adduced from both historical records and ethnological observations of various nature, the presence of Negrito populations all along the Indo-Chinese coast at no very remote period may be considered as fairly well proved. Further investigations into the hitherto unexplored districts of Cochin-China, Annam, and Tonkin will, I scarcely doubt, contribute towards strengthening that conclusion rather than shaking it. In dealing with the past of such regions, then, we must take this ethnical element into account, since it is, as with the Dravidian tribes in India, the fundamental negro element of most wild tribes of Southern Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. No doubt it has been in a large measure assimilated by the early settlers from without; but it has evidently founded the primitive agglomerations of dwellings, the early States and principalities in this region, which have subsequently developed, as in Kamboja and Campā, under the influx of more vigorous and socially advanced races. I would conclude, therefore, that the *Hŏ-tôn* of Campā were very likely of the same race as Ptolemy styles **Aithiopes** and we call Negritos. By effect of the Chām invasion, these dusky people were partly driven back to the hills of the Campā-Kambojan frontier, but partly assimilated, and the mixed race thus produced, under the influence of immigrants from Southern India, developed that power and civilization which started at first in the southern districts of Bìñ-thwŏn and Khạn-hwà and then gradually extended northwards until it reached the limits of the present Tonkin. This work must have been already accomplished in Ptolemy's time; for it follows from our examination of his geography of these regions, that the Chām possessed then no less than two kingdoms, with capitals in Bìñ-dĭñ and Hà-tĭñ respectively.

Tonkin or *Kiāu-chī* was then under Chinese domination;

but the Chām element was probably still conspicuous in it. And this, under the influence of Indū adventurers who had come thither not from the South, but from the North, of India; and not by sea, but overland by that trade route which is now almost generally admitted to have existed between Maṇipur, through the Kubo Valley, Ava, and Ch'ĭeng-Tung to Hà-nŏi in Tonkin—or *viâ* Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng to Vĭñ—developed a civilization and founded kingdoms like those of Burmā, Lāos, Campā, and Kamboja. I have already remarked that the State of Van-lāng, the earliest mentioned in the Annamese Annals, was probably an Indū kingdom. In the chronicles of Müang Yōng I find it stated that king Dharmāśoka of Magadha (some other Indian prince is meant) made an expedition, not only to Müang Yōng, but also to *Videha* in Yünnan; and to *Müang Kèu* (*Kiao-chi* or Tonkin), whose king, out of despair, drowned himself. The shape said to have been originally given to the ancient Tonkinese capital, in the neighbourhood of Hà-nŏi, like a conch-shell (*śaṅkha*), just as it is told of *Sukhodaya* and *Lamp'hūñ* in Siām; its Sanskrit designation preserved to us by Ptolemy under the form **Aganagara**; the name of the neighbouring district-city of Sŏn-töi (So'n-tây), which he transmitted to us as **Sinda**; that of its population which he calls **Indoi**,—all these are evidences of the ascendancy of a Northern Indian element over the country, as in the neighbouring States of Yünnan, Lāos, etc., at that same period. This incipient Indū civilization was, of course, nipped in the bud by the Chinese conquests; but not so suddenly or anything like so completely as not to leave traces in the country and not to influence the march of events in it for many centuries after the beginning of Chinese rule.[1] Every outward sign of that civilization has

[1] Since writing the above I have had the satisfaction of seeing my previsions in this respect in part verified, having come across the following passage from a very interesting paper on "The Black River of Upper Tonquin and Mount Ba-vi," by G. Dumoutier, published in the *China Review*, vol. xix. Here is what the painstaking author says in regard to surviving traces of Indū influence in that region (p. 165):—"Legends abound among the tribes of the Black River: we discovered among them several of the Indian fables which, coming to Europe

probably been swept away by this time owing to the rather troubled existence which the country has had to experience; yet a thorough exploration of its remains may still reveal some indications of early Indū influence in that territory.[1]

We have now to proceed to an examination of the names of towns and streams which Ptolemy locates in this region, beginning from the lower end of Southern Campā.

Thagora (No. 122).

This term does not represent, as one may think at first glance, the toponymic *Tagara* or *Tagarapura* occurring in Western India, but the word *Sāgara*, the name of an island at the mouth of the Ganges, given it in honour of the mythical king Sagara. The corrected latitude of **Thagora** is 12° 32′, namely, a few minutes in excess of that of Ñā-trāng (Nha-trang)[2] Bay, in Khạn-hwà, where, near the mouth of the Ñā-trāng River, rose the famous temple of Pô-Nagar, the tutelary goddess of Campā, and the city of *Yāmpu-nagara*, most likely the first capital of the kingdom, with which I identify **Thagora**. It was in this neighbourhood, in the paddy-fields by the village of Vô-kan, that the most ancient inscription of Campā, that of king Mura-rāja, engraved on a block of granite, was discovered,[3] which

from the opposite direction, have supplied such pretty themes for our fabulists. Such are: The Fox and the Raven; The Three Wishes; and a few others, travestied, unfortunately, in such a way that it would be necessary in giving them to translate them into Latin, as that dead language possesses privileges denied to the living tongues. We also discovered traces of the human sacrifices which used to be made at one time near Moc-Tinh, to a sort of genius [Rākṣasa] whose shrine still exists there: this genius, who was a cannibal, used to consume an enormous quantity of human flesh, and almost depopulated the country," etc.

[1] Such is also the opinion of Professor Bergaigne, op. cit., p. 43. Sanskrit inscriptions have been, so far, discovered up to the borders of the Hà-tīñ district.

[2] 牙 (or 衙) 莊, pron. *Ya-chwang* in Chinese. This toponymic is not, however, of either Chinese or Annamese derivation, but a mere phonetic transcript of the Chām words *Īa-trāng*, meaning 'Reed-water' according to Aymonier (*Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 26, p. 179). The district is now no longer so designated, it having been renamed *Khạn-hwà* (慶和).

[3] See Bergaigne's "L'Ancien Royaume de Campā" in *Journal Asiatique*, tome xi, pp. 44, 75.

Professor Bergaigne assigns to the third century A.D. The city of Yāmpu-nagara, or its site, appears to have borne at an ancient period the name of *Kuṭhāra*,[1] which I take to signify the city of *Koṭarī*, 'the naked,' a name of Devī; for such is the goddess alluded to under the term Pô-Nagar. Bergaigne, however, does not appear inclined to ascribe it this meaning.[2] The other name for this town, *Sāgara*, which I have adopted as the equivalent of Ptolemy's **Thagora**, is easily explained from the fact—mentioned in various inscriptions found about the monument of Pô-Nagar[3]—of a mythical king by the name of *Vicitra Sagarâ* having here erected a famous *liṅga* and other monuments of a religious character at an enormously remote period, no less than the year 5911 of the *Dvāpara-yuga*. Here we have, it seems to me, the legend of the Indū king Sagara transplanted with additions and new embellishments; and we can easily understand how the city—or the mouth of the Ñā-trāng River, in analogy to that of the Ganges—would be named after him, and the traditions of his exploits in India would become localized here, just as if they had taken place, and he had lived, in Campā. And, of course, the simple-minded *Cām*, in listening to the account read from Sanskrit books originally imported from India or recited from memory, of how the mighty king Sagara subdued the *Śakas* and the *Yavanas*, the *Kamboja*s,[4] etc., naturally believed that their neighbours, the *Śak* or *Suk* of Campāśak (*Śāka dvīpa*), the *Yuen* (Yavana) or Annamese, and the *Khmērs* were the people referred to; just as among other populations of Indo-China events related in similar legends, from either Brāhmaṇic or Buddhist sources, as having occurred in India, are believed to have actually taken place in Burmā, Siām, Lāos, and Kamboja respectively.

[1] Ibid., p. 51.

[2] *Kuṭhāra* means, of course, an axe or hatchet, and also a spade; but it is evidently either, as Bergaigne observes (p. 51), "la déformation savante de quelque nom indigène," or a modification of *Koṭarī* as suggested above, for an axe is also called *Kuṭhārī*.

[3] Ibid., pp. 52, 66, 67.

[4] Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, vol. iii, p. 291 seq.

However fabulous the account of the erection of the *liṅga* by king Vicitra Sagara at such a remote period at Ñā-trāng may appear, we must nevertheless conclude that this must have been the most ancient foundation of Indū adventurers in Southern Campā, and that therefore here must have stood the most ancient settlement of the immigrants, whence their civilization and power were gradually spread all over the country. For this reason I consider **Thagora** or Sāgara to have been the first Indū outpost on that seaboard. Sāgara as a toponymic has apparently not yet been found in the inscriptions of Campā; but, as Professor Bergaigne himself acknowledges,[1] many geographical names occurring in the latter are still uncertain, and therefore they have been left for future consideration. Besides, the most ancient Chām inscription hitherto discovered does not go further back than the third century, whereas we have here to deal with a name in use from at least one century before, and which may have changed in the meantime. The most probable conjecture is that the site of the town or the port at the mouth of the Ñā-trāng River was originally named *Sāgara*, and that after the building of Yāmpu-nagara it was named *Kuṭhāra* in honour of the goddess Devī.

The liṅga above alluded to was carried off and the temple of Pô-Nagar at Ñā-trāng destroyed, according to the inscriptions, in 696 Śaka = A.D. 774, by armed men "from *Java*[2] who had come thither in ships"; but the temple was soon rebuilt, ten years later or A.D. 784, by king Satyavarman. This evidences in what great veneration both the site and temple were held, a fact to which the inscriptions bear otherwise ample testimony. Ñā-trāng Bay, protected by the large island of Trè or Dam-mong, forms an excellent harbour, and sea-vessels of moderate draft can ascend the river as far up as the present town of Khạn-hwà. Hence

[1] Op. cit., pp. 52, 53.

[2] This may be either **Zaba** or *Zapa* of Ptolemy and Friar Odoric, or else the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra; and not, I think, the island of Java, the name of which invariably appears in the ancient local inscriptions as *Yava*, and is, in any case, of later introduction.

we can understand how it could easily become the initial seat of civilization in Southern Campā.[1]

Turning now from topographical to linguistical considerations, it behoves me to justify the adoption of the term *Sāgara* as the equivalent of Ptolemy's **Thagora**, in order to dispel any doubt that may be entertained on the identity of the two words, on account of the very marked difference in sound between their initial letters. I hasten, therefore, to explain that this objectionable discrepancy is only apparent, and vanishes at once when it is understood that, according to the genius of the Chām language, the initial sibilant in foreign imported words, especially of Indian origin, is almost invariably lisped into an aspirated dental, not only in pronunciation, but also in actual writing. Thus: *śakti* becomes *thak*; *svar*, *thūor*; *siddhi*, *thīdik*; *śvasti*, *thvattik*, etc. This peculiar change is likewise often noticeable in medial sibilants, *nakṣatra* becoming *nöthak*; *aśva*, *athēḥ*, etc. Analogously, *Sāgara* would be pronounced, and perhaps also written, *Thāgara* or *Thāgor*, and it will be seen that Ptolemy's transcription *Θαγόρα* is not only perfectly justifiable, but is in entire agreement with the linguistical peculiarities of the region where this toponymic occurs.

Balonga, a Mētropolis (No. 121).

This is most certainly *Bal-Angwē*, situated, as pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, at about six miles to the north of the present district-city of Biñ-dīñ. *Bal-Angwē* is its Chām designation, while in the Annamese records it is variously styled *C'hà-bàn*, *C'hạ-lāng*, and *Dô-bàn*. We have seen how, in consequence of the loss of Upper Campā in the struggle with the Annamese, the Chām kings had to shift on to this city, and how, as a result of new reverses, they had to abandon it in 1471, retreating

[1] Crawfurd, op. cit., vol. i, p. 352, speaks of this place as being "the entrepôt of the commerce of all this part of the country." See also vol. ii, pp. 237, 238, in which last he remarks that, "being very conveniently placed, [it] is the centre of all commercial transactions of all this part of the empire."

further south into Bìñ-thwŏn. But long before the advent of this period of decline Chām rule extended, as we have shown, as far up as Tonkin, upon whose southern borders it was continually encroaching. The Chām capital was then established in the north, but this was apparently only the royal seat for the rulers of Upper Campā, while the rest of the country formed one or more separate kingdoms. In what relation these stood to the former is not clear, but undoubtedly it was at *Bal-Angwē* that the capital of one—presumably the southernmost—of them was situated. This is made evident from the fact of Ptolemy placing here —in 14° 16′ N. lat. corrected [1]—his **Balonga,** which he terms a **Mētropolis.** Topographically, the position differs only by some 20 minutes from that of the now almost forgotten *Bal-Angwē,* whose ruins lie in *circâ* 13° 56′ N. lat. Linguistically, there can be no doubt as to the identity of the two toponymics **Balonga** and *Bal-Angwē. Bal* is the very genuine Chām term for "palace, capital, royal residence," [2] occurring as a prefix to most names of the Chām capitals, e.g., *Bal-Hangor, Bal-Batthinŏng,* and the subject of the present discussion. *Angwē* is, to my belief, the local corrupted form of *Aṅga* or *Aṅga,* the name of the kingdom in Northern India of which *Campā,* sometimes called also *Campā-purī, Aṅga-purī, Lomapāda-purī, Mālinī, Karṇa-purī,* etc., was the capital. Already I have pointed out that *Lam-ap* and *Lin-i,* the designations by which the Indo-Chinese Campā kingdom or its ancient northern capital is referred to in the Annamese and Chinese records respectively, may be traced to either of the Indū imported toponymics *Lomapāda* and *Mālinī.* It cannot surprise, therefore, to find the correlated term *Aṅga* brought to Indo-China and applied along with them to a portion of it, of which it undoubtedly constituted an alternative name. Ptolemy's **Balonga** thus proves to be an accurate enough transcript of either

[1] See Table V, No. 121.

[2] *Vide* Aymonier's "Grammaire Chame," in *Excursions et Reconnaissances,* No. 31 (vol. xiv), p. 85.

Bal-Aṅga or *Bal-Angwē*, meaning, according to Chām construction and interpretation, the "Capital [of] *Aṅga* [*alias* Campā]."

This identification compels us to recognize that *Bal-Aṅga* or *Bal-Angwē* must have existed as a capital—though it be only of Lower Campā—since at least the first century A.D., and thus puts us in possession of an historical fact which is a couple of centuries ahead of those that the oldest inscriptions hitherto discovered locally have disclosed. Here it was then, in all likelihood, that king *Mura-rāja*, the author of the inscription in Khạn-hwà, reigned some time about the third century, and not further up the coast, where there were other Chām capitals and other rulers. Notwithstanding its very respectable antiquity, it is just possible, however, that Bal-Angwē was but the second historical seat of royalty for Lower Campā, it having superseded in this honour the far more ancient settlement of Yāṁpu-nagara or *Sāgara*, which, we have seen above, was undoubtedly the initial focus of civilization — and consequently of organized government—in that part of the country.

How long Bal-Angwē continued as a capital for Lower Campā we are unable to state with precision. The probability seems to be that this southern kingdom was gradually absorbed by the northern one as the latter grew more and more in power, and that Bal-Angwē became in the course of time merely the seat of a prince or chief subordinate to the monarch who held sway in the upper part of the country. This state of affairs must have come to an end in 1061 or thereabout, when the suzerain, being forced to abandon the last resort of royalty in the north, transferred his residence to Bal-Angwē, making it the capital of his now much diminished dominions. It was but natural, in view of the reverses sustained, that the suzerain would prefer taking up his quarters in a city which, like Bal-Angwē, had been from the remotest time a renowned seat of royalty and a stronghold of some importance withal, rather than proceed to build a new capital for himself elsewhere. A similar course

was adopted later on when one of his successors shifted on further south to Pāṇḍurāṅga, likewise an ancient foundation and, presumably, also the residence of some petty ruler.

There must have existed of old a certain number of such diminutive kingdoms, more or less dependent on one another, along the coast of Campā, which were successively incorporated by the northern State, *au fur et à mesure* that the latter was being curtailed at its upper end, and its capital had to be shifted over and again southwards. The chief cities of most of those realms thus came to form, as it were, so many stations in the retrograde career of the paramount kingdom, to which the capital was successively shifted back and but temporarily maintained. The second rôle that Bal-Angwē played as capital was, therefore, the historical reverse of the first. While the first one marked a decided step in advance of the budding Chām civilization northwards, the second represented merely a stage in the phase of decline, which preceded the final collapse and disintegration of the ill-fated kingdom.

Whether the names under which Bal-Angwē is referred to in the Annamese records, to wit, *Cʻhà-bàn*, *Cʻhā-lāng*, and *Dô-bàn*, sprang into use at the time of its second and last existence as capital, and were mere Annamese inventions, or whether, *per contra*, they were modified forms of local toponymics existing prior to that period, and belonging therefore to either the Chām language or that of the Indū immigrants, it is not an easy task to determine. Judging from the characters employed to represent them in Annamese, they are not exotic, but indigenous designations of very long standing—the very tribal names, in fact, borne by the early settlers. *Cʻhà-bàn* and *Dô-bàn*, written, as a local Annamese scholar informs me, 閩 盤 (in Chinese *Shê-pʻan*) and 都 盤 (in Chinese *Tu-pʻan* or *Tou-pʻan*) respectively, strongly remind us of the terms *Javan* (*Javana* or *Yavana*) and *Davan* (*Davvan*, *Tafan*) we have met with in Upper Burmā, Eastern Lāos, and elsewhere, as names for the *Chĕḥ*, *Java*, or *Cʻhīeng* tribes, after whom so many districts and even whole regions in Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago

were designated.[1] Issued from the great Mōñ-Annam stock, to them or their descendants the Chām and the original Malays belonged, as well as the *Lavā*, *Loi*, or *Löi*, whence the name of *Löi* given to the Chām. We still find tribes known as *Chevēa* or *C'havēa*, *Veh*, *Loveh*, and *Davak* in the hill-tracts to the north-west of the Biñ-dīñ district. These were undoubtedly the pioneers of the Chām who settled and gave their name to that strip of the sea-coast, whence they were afterwards driven back by more powerful oncomers.

The term *C'hā-lāng*, written 舍 狼 or 舍 獠 (in Chinese *Shê-lang*), leads, upon investigation, to similar results. In this digram *Shê* apparently stands for the name of the *Chèḥ* tribes,[2] which the Annamese pronounce and call *C'hā*. It occurs in the name of *Mêng Shê* (蒙 舍, in Annamese *Mong C'hā*), the original seat of the kings of Nan Chao. *Lang* (literally meaning 'wolves') is likewise a tribal name still to be met with in the valley of the Black River,[3] and mentioned by Ma Tuan-lin as existing, since the first century A.D., on the north-western borders of Sz-ch'uen.[4] It was not long ago well known also in Kwang-hsi, and, at a still earlier

[1] It will be observed that the initial character 闍 in *C'hà-bàn* is the same that comes first in the term 闍 婆, *Shê-p'o* or *Tu-p'o* = *Java*, *Dava*, which we have met with as a name for *P'iao*, or, at any rate, for the part of the region so named which corresponds to Upper Burmā (see above, p. 56). It also occurs, as we shall see later on, as a designation for Sumatra, the country of *Javi* or Java Minor. The Annamese pronounce the above characters *C'hà-bà* and *C'hā-vyà*, and now use them to designate the Malays from Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, as well as those who are settled in Kamboja.

[2] *Vide supra*, pp. 129–133.

[3] See *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 153.

[4] Op. cit., p. 163. They seem to have sometimes been called also *Pai* [white]-*Lang* or *Pê-Lang*. In this case the name of **Balonga** given to their settlement may have something to do with them, or may have been suggested by their presence in the territory. Tribes termed 浪 穹, *Lang-k'iung*, and 施 浪, *Shih-Lang*, occupied two of the ancient six *Chàu* or principalities of the Nan Chao kingdom. The *Shih-Lang* are said to have been north-west of the Iron Bridge that spans the Kin-sha River near Li-kiang (see *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 73, note). It is quite possible that the *Kanrāng* (or *Kan-Lang*?) were mere branches or subdivisions of these *Lang* tribes, the *Sak* being in their turn offshoots of the *Chèḥ* (*vide supra*, p. 129).

period, in Kwei-chou,[1] whence the *Chĕḥ* and other offshoots of the Mōñ-Annam race, from which the Chām as well as the original Malays are undoubtedly descended, seem to have brought it down with themselves.

But whether *C'hā-lāng* be a compound of two different, though strictly correlated, tribal names or not, the most luminous proof of its having been, in its turn, employed as an ethnical designation is, in my opinion, to be found in the fact that in the mountainous country to the west of the ancient Chām capital, Bal-Angwē, there live down to this day wild and, it is said, occasionally anthropophagous tribes known as the *Halāng* or *Salāng*, and *C'hadāng* or *Sadāng* (*Çedang* of French writers), who apparently are but varieties of the *Orang Glai*. Even excluding the *Sadāng* on the ground of a *d* occurring in their name where an *l* might be pedantically pretended in order to make the linguistical connection acceptable, I think that there can hardly be any doubt left as to the *Salāng* being the tribes after whom Bal-Angwē became known under the alternative designation of *C'hā-lāng*. It is nevertheless highly probable that the Salāng and Sadāng were in origin—if, indeed, they are not even now—the same people, or, at any rate, two closely related tribes issued from a common stock.

[1] These were originally called 猺兵, *Lang-ping* ('Wolf-soldiers') or *Lang-jên* ('Wolf-men'), and are now known either as 獞人, *T'ung-jên*, *Chwang-jên*, or 山人, *Shan-jên* ('Mountaineers'), according to Devéria ("La Frontière Sino-Annamite," p. 94). They appear to form the majority of the population of Kwang-hsi (ibid., p. 95), whither they are said to have come during the Yüan period (A.D. 1280–1368), their original home being in Kwei-chou (ibid., p. 96). They are by Chinese authors connected with the *Yau*, and, therefore, with the race of *P'an-hu*; part of them are, in fact, called *Yau-t'ung*. These latter appear to have preserved traces of cannibalism down to at least A.D. 1454 (see *China Review*, vol. xxv, p. 196). All these tribes used poisoned arrows. They seem to be in more than one way connected with the Lawā, and thus I have scarcely any doubt that they belong to the Mōñ-Annam stock. Hence I consider that Lacouperie was for the nonce correct in assigning them to the Mōñ-Annam family ("Languages of China before the Chinese," pp. 42, 43), although, strange to say, the meagre vocabulary upon which he based his assumption is for a good three-fifths Thaic, and, in his ignorance of either language, he took several words to be Mōñ-Annam derived which are purely Thai.

It may be well while on this subject to call attention to the possible identity of the term *C'hạ̄-lāng* or *Salāng* with *C'halắng* or *Salắng*, the name of the island (distorted into *Junkceylon* by our ever muddling geographers)[1] which lies off the west coast of the Malay Peninsula; with *Selangor*, the appellation of a district further to the south of the above, and, eventually, also with *Selung*, the designation borne by the descendants of the primitive population of the Mergui Archipelago. If connected, these terms would but prove once more the racial affinity we have over and again pointed out between the early inhabitants of Eastern Indo-China on one side and of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago on the other. But, I repeat, a more exhaustive enquiry into these philological and ethnical questions is necessary ere a final judgment can be pronounced.

Both the terms *C'hạ̄-lāng* and *Dô-bản* occur, under the forms respectively of *Xâ Lâng* and *Dô Bâng*, in Abbé Bouillevaux's somewhat garbled account of Chām history.[2] He says they designate the same town, which is, as we had to find out for ourselves, the Chām capital Bal-Angwē.

The second phase of this city's existence as capital was not one of unmixed pleasure, if we are to judge from the Chinese and Annamese accounts. Already I have quoted the passage from Ma Tuan-lin according to which *Hsin* or *Hsin-chou*, that is, the territory on which Bal-Angwē stood, had been held in subjection by Kamboja until about A.D. 1171, and apparently conquered by Tonkin a few years later. Between the former date and A.D. 1177 the Chām retaliated successfully upon Kamboja, and went so far as to attack even its capital. But retribution was not slow to come from

[1] Misled apparently by *Ūjong Salāng*, the form under which the island is known to the Malays. Here *ūjong* merely means a cape, or promontory; hence *Ūjong-Salāng* = the promontory of *Salāng* [Island]; perhaps originally applied to some headland of the island itself or of the neighbouring coast. In any case, the name of the island ever appears to be simply *Salāng* or *C'halāng*. In Siāmese it is generally spelled *C'halắng*, and, at times, *Thalắng*.

[2] "Le Ciampa," in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, t. iii, p. 108. The name *Dô-bàng* was borne also by one of the ancient districts of Kŭu-chŏn, now Thañ-hwā (see Des Michels, op. cit., p. 49).

that quarter, and in 1199, we are told,[1] Kamboja invaded Campā with a powerful host, stormed the capital (Bal-Angwē), seized the king, carrying him into captivity, and placed a Khmēr general to rule over the conquered country. It was not until A.D. 1220 that the Khmērs withdrew from Campā. Peace was then concluded between the two countries (1222), thus terminating a war which, according to the Chām inscriptions, had lasted for thirty-two years;[2] and in 1227 the new Chām king Śrī Jaya Parameśvara-varman (II) could finally have himself crowned and enjoy a peaceful reign. To one of his immediate successors was reserved the satisfaction of getting at last the best of Kamboja, whose power had then begun fast to decline, for we hear how this kingdom had become a tributary to Campā towards the close of the thirteenth century.[3] A new era of prosperity had then probably once more dawned upon Campā. However, not many years later on troubles began with the Annamese. At first the struggle was confined to the northern borders, and even carried at times far into Annamese territory in the endeavour to regain the lost

[1] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 557–8. The Chām inscription 409, B, 4, of Aymonier's list places these events in Śaka 1112 = A.D. 1190, but this was probably only the date at which the war began, while the capital may have fallen several years later. On the other hand, in the Chinese records the said events may have been post-dated a few years, owing to the chroniclers having put them down to the year in which information concerning them reached the Chinese Court.

[2] Same inscription (409, B, 4) as quoted above. The thirty-two years during which the struggle lasted would thus seem to comprise the period A.D. 1190–1222.

[3] This appears from the "Chên-la Fêng-t'u-chi," the account of Kamboja written by one of the envoys who visited that country in A.D. 1295–7. Herein it is stated that every year the King of Kamboja was bound to send a certain quantity of human gall "to his Majesty the King of Campā, a coterminous State, as tribute which its neighbour Campā exacts from its vassal, Kamboja" (see *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 293). At the time when the author of this narrative was in Kamboja, the practice had been abandoned, but Kamboja was apparently still subject to Campā. The human gall was used, as we learn from a Chām inscription (No. 398), to sprinkle the royal elephants, and the barbarous custom is alleged to have existed up to the reign of An-Dūang in the middle of the century just elapsed (nineteenth) among the Khmērs. So says Aymonier ("Inscriptions Chames," in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xvii, p. 64), who adds the following piece of information: "Les éléphants de guerre royaux étaient chaque année arrosés de fiel humain, enlevé à vif sur des enfants, des jeunes gens, par les gardiens ou *preneurs de fiel*, dont le souvenir est resté à l'état de Croquemitaine dans les campagnes Cambodgiennes."

provinces of the Central Campā of bygone days. But in the course of time the Annamese took a more vigorous attitude, and in 1377 they invested the Chām capital, while their fleet blockaded the port of Thī-nāi. Happily, on the throne of Campā there was then the valiant Chê-bong-ngā, whom Aymonier rightly styles the Chām Hannibal, and the Annamese forces were completely routed. A second no less serious siege was successfully resisted by Bal-Angwē in 1404, but its fortunes declined after this. In 1446 a double Annamese expedition, like that of 1377, again blockaded Thī-nāi and invested Bal-Angwē. This city was taken by assault, the king being made a prisoner. The final blow came, however, in 1471, when the now doomed capital was once more stormed, plundered, forty thousand of its people put to the sword and thirty thousand carried into captivity, including the personage who had newly set himself up as king. This disaster for ever sealed the fate of Bal-Angwē. The capital of the last remnants of the unfortunate kingdom was established further south, and the territory of the fallen one left in Annamese hands.

The first thing that the conquerors did was, with their usual barbarity, to efface the name of Bal-Angwē from the map of the world. They accordingly renamed it *Kwī-ñön*,[1] degrading it to the level of a common district-city of their own proud dominions. They, however, kept a Chām chief to govern it until the middle of the seventeenth century, when Annamese officials were substituted, who helped in bringing about its final ruin. The palace was razed to the ground, and on its site vulgar Annamese shanties were erected; the plan of its old fortifications was altered; in a word, "le génie de l'impuissance et du mauvais goût n'épargna aucune insulte à l'art vigoureux et délicat des vaincus."[2]

[1] 歸仁, in Chinese *Kwei-jên* = 'restored to meekness,' or something of that sort.

[2] These are the textual words of a French official, Mr. E. Navelle, who visited the ruins of the ancient city, giving an interesting account of them in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 29, pp. 51 seq. It is mainly to this publication that I am indebted for the particulars anent the history of the old Chām capital from the time it passed under Annamese rule, as well as for other information on its monuments and those of Thī-nāi.

Under its exotic name the fallen city still had, in truth, the marvellous power of once lifting up its head—though for a brief period—to a height worthy of its old traditions. Ñāk, the leader of that *Töi-sön* revolt through which he acquired the mastery of almost the whole of Annam and Cochin-China, made Kwī-ñön the capital of his dominions. After two sieges and five assaults it fell in 1798 into the power of Jā-long (Gia-long), and had once more to undergo the ordeal of a re-christening with a name expressive of its new status. Thus its appellation Kwī-ñön was changed into that of *Bìn-dĩñ*,[1] 'the Pacified.' The spell of this novel designation did not prove, however, of sufficient virtue as to prevent the city from reverting to its former rulers, the Töi-sön, and it took all the power and dogged persistence of Jā-long, backed by foreign assistance, including that of French officers, to reduce it, and then it was only by famine that the task could be accomplished. By way of punishment Jā-long abandoned the city after having plundered it, destitute and nameless withal, for he built a new stronghold which he called likewise *Bìn-dĩñ*, which is the city known to this day under that designation. Thus ended the fortunes of Ptolemy's **Balonga**, the Chām *Bal-Angwē*, and *C'hà-bàn* or *C'hạ̄-lāng*, the Annamese *Kwī-ñön* and, for but a brief interval, *Bìn-dĩñ*.

On the extensive site it occupied now rise three villages, as insignificant as they are uncouth; and a lonely brick tower, the only one left to stand, together with the débris of a few statues, bas-reliefs, and liṅgas, scattered about *pêle-mêle*, and the traces of ancient ramparts, ditches, and causeways, are about all that is left to attest its ancient grandeur. But through the pages of Ptolemy its original name was handed down to posterity, and can be traced back to almost the dawn of the Christian era; while what Annamese conquest did its best to efface, subsequent European research will revivify and partly reconstruct.

[1] 平 定, in Chinese *P'ing-ting*, 'Peacefully settled' or 'Brought back to Peace.' Just the very term: *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

Thus, despite the heavy effects of Annamese vandalism, we may yet hope of learning at no distant date a good deal more about the ancient **Balonga**, although we may despair of ever being able to see the day when our geographers, cartographers, and navigators will consent to part with their pet toponymic *Kwī-ñön* or *Qui-nhon*, which, in defiance of history, topography, and every other positive science, they persist in applying to the present, the barely one-century-old, *Bìn-dĩñ*, to its district, and to Thī-năi Harbour.

I have already given my reasons for holding that either this trade resort or the neighbouring older one of *Hsin*, alias *Hsin-chou*, must have been the *Senf* or *Senef* of the Arabs placed at ten days' navigation from *Kedrenj*, and noted for the kind of aloes ('eagle-wood') termed *al-Senfī*. It is well known that eagle-wood forms one of the principal productions of Campā, and that to this day in the Bìñ-thwŏn district, where the last remnants of the Chām are to be found, the care of gathering this product is confined to certain villages, the hereditary chiefs of which, called 'masters of the eaglewood,' when entering on their duties, offer up worship to the deities of the agallochum trees on certain sacred hills.[1]

Ma Tuan-lin has recorded several interesting particulars on the exploitation of the eagle-wood forests of Campā during the first quarter of the twelfth century. "Scented wood," he says,[2] "is plentiful on the hill-tracts of *Chan-ch'éng* [Campā]. Each year the people make regular cuttings of the trees under the supervision of government officials. The State levies a duty in kind upon the felled wood. Everyone must comply with this regulation before he is allowed to appropriate the surplus. It is, on the whole, what is done in China with regard to salt, in the districts where this commodity is produced."[3]

[1] See Aymonier's "History of Tchampa," loc. cit.

[2] Op. cit., p. 554.

[3] As is well known, inspectors were appointed to control the production and sale of salt in China since the time of the Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122–249); and although the industry was taken in hand by government for a short time

That *Hsin*, or *Hsin-chou*, i.e. the territory about Bal-Angwē, was one of the chief centres of the eagle-wood industry, we have demonstrated on the basis of unimpeachable evidence in a preceding page. It is of particular interest to learn further from Ma Tuan-lin that the Arab traders still frequented the seaports of Campā towards the end of the twelfth century. The learned cyclopædist tells us, in fact, how at that period "a certain *U-shih-tien* [Ashī-(Ajī, Ḥājī?)-ud-Dīn, Uzdīr?] and several other merchants of the *Ta-shih* [*Tājika* or Arab] nation" complained to the Chinese authorities of Fuh-kien that the king of Campā, who had just ascended the throne, had had seized from them certain valuable articles, which he afterwards sent as presents to the Chinese Court in order to obtain investiture.[1] Upon receiving a report of the matter the Emperor refused the presents, and ordered an investigation of the charge, suspending meanwhile the grant of a patent. From the context it clearly appears that the place where the alleged spoliation was perpetrated must have been either the capital (Bal-Angwē) itself or its seaport, known to the Arab navigators of an earlier period under the name of *Ṣenf* or *Ṣenef*, and thus the relations of the Arab traders with the Chām emporium are proved to have continued for a further four centuries after Sulaimān's time.

Throana (No. 120).

The position of this city at Turān (Tourane or Touron) has already been fixed with certainty from geographical data in the first section of this paper. Little or nothing can be

after A.D. 713, commissioners were reappointed upon the advice of Liu-Yen soon afterwards. See "Notes on the Early History of the Salt Monopoly in China," in *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxii, p. 53 et seq.

[1] Loc. cit. The Chām ruler here alluded to is called *Tsou-ya-no* (鄒 亞 娜) by Ma Tuan-lin, and I have accordingly succeeded in identifying him with the *Jaya Indravarman* (III) of the Chām inscription dated Śaka 1105 = A.D. 1183 (No. 409, A, 3 of Aymonier's list; see his "Inscrip. Tchames" in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xvii, pp. 44, 45). He was already reigning in A.D. 1175, according to the same inscription, and was, no doubt, the king taken prisoner to Kamboja in A.D. 1190–1199.

learned as to the history of this place, which, possessing a spacious, secure, and completely landlocked harbour, must have early become an important trading-mart. I presume it is referred to in Ma Tuan-lin's account of *Chên-la* (Kamboja),[1] where it is said that *Chên-la* was often in war with *Lin-i* and *T'o-huan*. *Lin-i* or *Löm-ŏp* being, as I have demonstrated, Upper Campā, *T'o-huan* very likely is meant for Central Campā or Turān.[2] In any case Turān looks like a name of Sanskrit derivation. Given that this is its correct spelling, which I doubt, it may represent the word *Toraṇa* (a pandal or gateway); or else it may be referred to other terms such as *turaṇa*, *turaṇya*, etc. Ancient remains of city walls and ramparts are said to exist at Thang-bìñ (升平),[3] a little below Turān, which will very likely repay exploration. A large inscribed stela was only a few years ago discovered in that neighbourhood amongst the

[1] Op. cit., p. 479.

[2] *T'o-huan* is written 陀桓, which suggests an old form *Dhawan*, *Dravan*, *Darvan*, *Durvana*, or *Dhruvana*, not very dissimilar to Ptolemy's **Throana**. With the latter may also be connected the term *Shang-yüan* (上源), in Annamese *Thũang-ngwĩen*, which, according to Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 539), was at one time the name of the western portion of *Chan-ch'êng* (Campā). The name of Turān is now spelled 沱灢 *T'o-nang*; and that of its port, vulgarly known as Fai-fo (corrupt Chinese *Hwei-p'u*), is written 會安舖, *Hwei-an-p'u*. Even the modern form, *T'o-nang*—in Annamese, *Dà-náng*—tends to show that the original name, whether Sanskrit or Chām, must not have been very different from *Da-lang*, *Da-ran*, and, consequently, from the forms suggested above. The European way of spelling it *Turān*, *Touron*, etc., without the unaspirated *t*, would thus seem to be, as too often is the case, incorrect. For these reasons I am inclined to back Ptolemy's form, **Throana**, against the new-fangled one of our modern geographers. Whatever Ptolemy's failings be, there is no doubt—and these pages have repeatedly shown it—that he had a far higher sense of his mission, in so far as the spelling of proper names is concerned, than the modern continuators and improvers of his work have up to the present seemed to possess. Turān's original name must therefore have been something like *Dravan* or *Dhruvan*. In this connection I may call attention to the fact that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives *Draviṇa* as one of the tribal names in *Kraunca-dvīpa* (Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 198).

[3] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 154. Their remains are situated in the *Dïen-p'hŭak* division, close to Fai-fo Bay, lat. 15° 50'.

ruins of Bā-dü; and several epigraphic records were also found in the environs of Turān itself.[1]

Doanas River, mouth (No. 119).

The course of this stream has been fully discussed in a preceding section (*supra*, p. 134 seq.). It is clear that the river referred to as debouching here is either the *Dạ̄-hàn* (Kwā́ng-trī̄ River) or the Hwẹ̄ River having its outlet at Thwō̃n-ān (Thuận-an). Its Sanskrit name was probably *Droṇā* or something similar. One should not be surprised at Ptolemy's mistake in making the Më-Khōng disembogue here, when we see it repeated fully fifteen centuries after him in the map of the East Indies accompanying Mandelslo's travels.[2] Though a stream is traced in that map in the place of the Më-Khōng and made to flow out at the southern end of Kamboja, it is left without a name; on the other hand, a river described as "Langcang flu.," evidently meant for the Më-Khōng or *Lan-ts'ang*, is represented as rising in the centre of Tonkin and debouching at or a little above Hwẹ̄ on the coast of Annam; that is, at the identical spot where Ptolemy placed the mouth of his **Doanas**..

It has been suggested[3] that Ptolemy's **Doanas** may be the *Dyardanes* mentioned by Quintus Curtius as flowing through the remotest parts of India (evidently India-extra-Gangem), and breeding crocodiles and dolphins, besides various aquatic monsters unknown to other nations.[4] And as the *Dyardanes* has been by several authorities[5] connected with the *Oidanes* of Artemidōros, who, according to Strabo,[6] described it as a river that bred the same creatures and flowed into the

[1] Aymonier (in *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.–Feb., 1891, p. 86, note) says he received eight new rubbings of ancient inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Turān, as well as from the stela of Bā-dü; but I have, so far, seen no account of them. They ought to contain some particulars as to the historical past of Turān.

[2] "Voyage de Perse," etc., Amsterdam, Le Cène, 1727, pp. 8, 9.

[3] McCrindle, op. cit., p. 209.

[4] "*Dyardanes* [*Dyardenes*, *Deardenes*, var. lect.] minus celeber [sc. quam Indus] auditus est, quia per ultima Indiae currit; ceterum non crocodilos modo, uti Nilus, sed etiam delphinos ignotasque aliis gentibus belluas alit" (lib. viii, ch. ix, 9).

[5] C. Müller's Strabo, Ind. var. lect., p. 1,034.

[6] Lib. xv, ch. i, 72.

Ganges, it has been concluded that both the *Dyardanes* and *Oidanes* were one and the same stream with the **Doanas**, and that such a stream was what is now termed the Brahmaputra. From a geographical point of view this identification would not be very objectionable in so far only, however, as the western branch of the **Doanas** is concerned, which, we have seen (p. 134 *supra*), Ptolemy has made to rise in **Bēpyrrhos**, i.e. in the Southern Himālayas of Asam, a little to the east of Tawang. This branch stream, very likely intended to represent the Brahmaputra, our author may have by error made to join the eastern branch of the **Doanas** flowing down from the **Damassa** range, which is undoubtedly, both here and in its continuation below the confluence, the Më-Khōng River. Linguistically, there is not an easily surmountable gap between the name **Doanas** on one side and the terms *Dyardanes* and *Oidanes* on the other. While both the latter may be etymologically referred to the Brahmaputra's upper course in Tibet, where it goes by the name of *Yaru Ts'ang-po* or *Yaru Tsang-bu*, and through the Himālayan gorges, where it becomes known as *Dihong* (possibly *Yar-Dihong*?)—terms not very dissimilar from *Dyardanes*, *Yar-danes*, or *Yar-denes*,[1]—I do not know how

[1] It is evidently on the close similarity in sound between the first syllable *Dyar* and *Yaru* or *Yar*, the Tibetan word occurring as a prefix to other names of rivers besides the Ts'ang-po, e.g. the *Yar-lung*, one of its tributaries, that any attempt at establishing the etymological connection between the *Dyardanes* and the Brahmaputra must be based, rather than on artificial transpositions of letters in the names given by Curtius and Artemidōros, as has hitherto been done. McCrindle, for instance, ever intent to advocate the identity of the **Doanas** with the *Dyardanes*, again observes in his "Invasion of India by Alexander the Great" (2nd ed., p. 184, n. 2): "If the first two letters in **Doanas** be transposed, we get almost letter for letter the *Oidanes* of Artemidōros, and we get it again, though not so closely, if we discard *r* from the Dyardanes of Curtius. That these two writers had the same river in view is confirmed by their mentioning the very same animals as bred in its waters." Müller, in his turn (loc. cit.), having dwelt on the possible connection between *Oidanes*, *Oimanes*, and Pliny's *Iomanes*, thus comments upon Curtius' passage: "Itaque pro Οἰδάνην legendum videtur Διοιδάνην vel fort. Διαρδάνην. Literae ΔΙ, praecedente N, facile exciderunt." Another possible clue to the origin of the terms *Dyardanes* and *Oidanes* might be found in the fact that *Di* or *Doi* are the local Asamese and Kachār terms for 'water' often occurring as prefixes in the native names of streams in this region, as, e.g., in *Di-hong* or *Di-hang*, in *Di-bang*, and in *Doi-ma* (the 'mother of waters' or 'river mother'), the nickname given to the Brahmaputra by the Asamese, who apply to it also the Sanskrit designation *Hiraṇya*, meaning the 'Golden' (River). *Doi-ma*, it will be readily seen, is not very dissimilar to *Oidanes* and *Oimanes* (or *Doimanes*); while *Dyardanes* might

far the Brahmaputra could lay claim towards possessing the varied fauna ascribed by Curtius to the *Dyardanes*. I may, on the other hand, confidently submit that of all the great Indo-Chinese rivers the Më-Khōng is the one that meets the case —or, at any rate, that does so in the most eminent degree. In the portion of its course which lies through Eastern Laos, in fact, the Më-Khōng is famous for two kinds of large-sized and edible fish, which Oriental fancy may well have likened unto dolphins, termed *Plā Bük* and *Plā Rōm* (i.e. *Bük* and *Rōm* fish respectively), attaining on the average a weight of rather more than 120 lbs. and a length of some 10 to 12 feet.[1] Mermaids (in reality some kind of water-snakes)

be etymologically referred to *Di-hiraṇya*, *Doi-hiraṇya*, or *Di-haraṇiya*, the latter seeming to be the form in which the second part of the name is pronounced in Asam.

The term *Jamuna* (or *Yamunā*) is, indeed, borne by what is now the chief channel of the Brahmaputra, after its leaving Asam and entering the plains, to its confluence with the Ganges (near the railway station at Goalanda); but this channel was, prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, a mere secondary branch of the main stream. It may, of course, have been the principal channel at a remoter date; however, no proof of this exists, neither is it possible to guess how far back into antiquity the name *Yamunā* for this channel may be traced. Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India" (3rd ed., vol. ii, p. 413) calls it also *Janai*, probably a corrupted form of *Jamnā*. But even in the event of this proving to be the original designation for the lower section of the Brahmaputra, it would not help one whit in establishing the pretended linguistical connection between the *Dyardanes*, *Oidanes*, or *Iomanes*, whatever the correct spelling of this river-name be, and the **Doanas**, which would remain quite a distinct river, it being rather an herculean task to make its name read *Doadanas*, *Doi-danas*, or something similar. On the other hand, it would not be difficult to show that the term *Iomanes*, if it really be the correct equivalent of *Oidanes*, could apply just as well to the **Doanas** or Më-Khōng, since there is positive proof (as shown above, p. 136) that this stream was also designated *Yamunā* (*Yamunā-nadī*).

[1] The *Plā Bük* appears to be a kind of sturgeon, and its roe is highly prized. It is by some people believed to ascend the course of the Më-Khōng from the sea. Strabo (lib. xvii, ch. ii, 5) tells us that not only dolphins, but also the fishes he calls *Kestreos* and *Thrissá*, used to ascend the course of the Nile from the sea, despite the crocodiles which kept in respect the other members of the marine fauna and prevented their entering the river.

Since I wrote the above there was issued by the Royal Geographical Society a book by Mr. McCarthy on "Surveying and Exploring in Siam" (London, 1900), where the reader will find on pp. 63–65 much interesting and detailed information about Më-Khōng river-serpents, as well as on the *Plā Bük* and *Plā Rōm*, the two fishes whose names have become well-nigh as famous in Indo-China as those of the *Oxyrhynchus* and *Lepidotus* of the Nile were in Egypt and, indeed, throughout the ancient Western world. See also Dr. Lefèvre's "Voyage au Laos," p. 152, where he speaks of *Plā Büks* of enormous size, "de six mètres de long."

As regards the many points of resemblance between the Më-Khōng and the Nile, the parallel has been first drawn, I think, in so far at least as the annual

called *Ngūak* (i.e. *Nāgas* or *Nāga-kanyās*) by the Lāu of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, are moreover said to haunt its upper waters, while crocodiles are plentiful almost all the way, but more especially from the point that the river enters Kamboja down to its mouths.[1] Large cetaceans, among which there may be dolphins, ascend its course from the sea and reach as far as the Great Lake during the period of the river's overflow. As regards its possible connection in name with the *Dyardanes*, I have pointed out (p. 136 *supra*) that one of the names for the Më-Khōng occurring in the old Lāu chronicles is *Khara-nadī*, while the districts it flows through in south-western Yünnan once bore designations approaching those recorded by Marco Polo under the forms respectively of *Carajan* and *Cardandan*, *Zardandan*, or *Ardandan*, after which the Më-Khōng may well have been termed. It will be observed how closely these names, especially the last two, approach *Dyardanes* (or *Zardanes*) and *Oidanes*. Another possible connection may be pointed out with *Jotana* (*Jyotana*,

overflow is concerned, by Camoens, who, as everyone knows, was wrecked at the Më-Khōng's mouths in A.D. 1556. Sings the immortal bard—

> "Vês passa por Camboja *Mecom* rio,
> Que capitão das aguas se interpreta;
> Tantas recebe d'outro só no estio,
> Que alaga os campos largos, e inquieta:
> Tem as enchentes, quaes o *Nilo* frio:
> Agente delle crê, como indiscreta,
> Que pena e gloria tem despois de morte
> As brutos animaes de toda sorte."
>
> *Os Lusiadas*, canto x, estancia 127.

[1] I have since noticed that , *ngūak*, is employed by the 'Shāns' (Thai) of Upper Burmā to designate a crocodile (see Cushing's "Shan and English Dictionary," Rangoon, 1881, p. 121, s.v.). This term becomes *ngūk* in the *Pai-i* (Thai of Yünnan) dialect, wherein it denotes the same reptile (*vide* F. W. K. Müller's "Vocabularien der Pa-yi und Pah-poh Sprachen" in *T'oung Pao*, vol. iii, p. 30). This evidence tends to show that *ngūak* is more probably the Thai corruption of the Sanskrit *nakra*, or Pāli *nakka* = crocodile, than of *Nāga* as surmised above, and that originally it had this sense in Lāu as well. Such being the case, the title of the Më-Khōng to identification with Curtius' crocodile-breeding river *Dyardanes* becomes further justified.

Zodana, Ḍodana)-pura[1] or C'hīeng Ṛung (*supra*, p. 138), from whose classical designation the Më-Khōng may well have borrowed one of its names, as it took its well-known appellation of *Kau-lung* or *Kiu-lung Kiang* from the vulgar one C'hīeng Ṛung. Finally, on the hypothesis of a quite possible error in transcription which resulted in a *Δ* being substituted for an original initial *Λ* in the Greek MS. whence Curtius probably drew his information, or owing to some other cause whereby the reading *Dyardanes* came to take the place of a preceding one having the form *Lyardanes, Landzanes*, or something to that effect, it would be easy to connect these terms with *Lan-ts'ang*, the time-honoured name of the Më-Khōng under its *variae lectiones Lān-c'hāng, Landzang, Landjan*, etc. It plainly follows from this discussion that Curtius' *Dyardanes*, whether the same with Artemidōros' *Oidanes* or not, may be the Brahmaputra just as well as the Më-Khōng, but more likely the latter, especially if the circumstance be kept in view that Curtius says nothing about its joining the Ganges, and speaks of it as if it were quite an independent river from the latter. The possible fact of Curtius having learned the existence of the Më-Khōng at the extreme eastern borders of India (as the extent of this region was understood in his days), need not cause surprise when it is kept in mind that by the time he wrote his history (early in the first century A.D.) intercourse had been going on between the valley of the Upper Më-Khōng and Asam or Bengal for several hundred years, as proved by the multifarious indications which have from time to time been alluded to in these pages. Thanks to such active intercourse, the existence of so imposing a watercourse as the Më-Khōng must have become well known in both Asam and Bengal; and as a result of this, we have seen (*supra*, pp. 138, 139) that C'hīeng Ṛung came to be given a name taken from an Asamese city. In the same manner, it may be presumed, the river flowing past it (i.e. the

[1] For *Zodana* witness, e.g., the spelling *Zodinagara* (for *Joti-nagara*) adopted by McLeod in his report (Parliamentary Papers, 1869, pp. 72, 78).

Më-Khōng) may have been designated by the very identical terms belonging to the stream (i.e. the Brahmaputra) washing the Asamese counterpart of the Further-Indian *Raṅgabari*, *Raṅgāmati*, or *Prāgjyotiṣ-pur*.[1] This hypothesis would

[1] See above, p. 138. Prāgjyotiṣ-pur on the Brahmaputra is now called Gauhati. As regards the name *Khuraṅga-mālī-nadī* for the Më-Khōng referred to above (p. 136), it evidently is the one that gave origin to the term *Kau-lung* or *Kiu-lung* (*Chiu-lung*)-*Kiang* by which the Chinese designate at times that river. From the fact that they use it also to denote C'hīeng Rung it would appear that *Khuraṅga* or *Khuraṅga-māli* was originally one of the alternative names for that district. In any case, its Chinese form proves to be a simple phonetic transcript, and should not be taken to mean 'Nine Dragons' or 'Nine Dragon River' respectively, as Sinologists delight to translate it. Colborne Baber—small blame to him—is among the chief sinners in this respect. From the extract he quotes (Supplementary Papers, Royal Geographical Society, vol. i, pt. 1, p. 186) from the "Yünnan Topography," a Chinese work published under the Ming dynasty, it appears that the mountains at whose foot C'hīeng Rung is situated were called the *Kau-lung* or *Kiu-lung Shan*—or, as he puts it, 'Nine Dragon Hills.' The Më-Khōng above this point, we are told in the same passage, was called the 'Black Water' (*Hêh-Shwei* ?—unfortunately the original Chinese name is not given, so that we are unable to institute comparisons). Devéria ("Frontière Sino-Annamite," p. 119), quoting from Chinese sources, refers to the same *Kau-lung* or *Kiu-lung* Hills as being the place where the descendants of *Kiu-lung* (the second part of this name is written with a different character), the ancestor of the Ai-Lao people, settled and gave origin to the ninety-nine tribes whence sprang afterwards the kingdom of Nan-Chao. In all likelihood, therefore, *Khuraṅga*, the term transcribed *Kau-lung* or *Kiu-lung* by the Chinese, was the name of the hill-range on the outskirts of C'hīeng Rung, and it was thence transferred to the Më-Khōng flowing past its foot. *Khuraṅga-māli* or *Khuraṅga-māla* may mean 'Highlands of *Khuraṅga*.' Under the form *Khura-māla*, or *Khura-māli*, this toponymic appears in Buddhistic literature (see, e.g., the Suppāraka-Jātaka, No. 463) as the name of a half mythical sea off the west coast of India, wherein "fish with bodies like men, and sharp razor-like snouts" and diamonds are to be found. It is just possible that it was thence adopted as a name for the Më-Khōng, on account of the strange beings said to inhabit its waters, or else of the 'razor-like cutting power' of the stream. It would be interesting to find out whether the term *Khuraṅga* is at all connected with the name of the half mythical ancestor of the Ai-Lao whose descendants settled on these highlands, or whether it is an Indū imported term belonging to the set of *Raṅgāmati*, etc. I may point out that *Kiu-lung* is the same personage as the *Kun-lung* whom the Mao Shans (Thai Mau) acknowledge as their progenitor (see Ney Elias' "History of the Shans," p. 13 seq.); while the *Kau-lung* or *Kiu-lung* mountains find their counterpart in the *Korong* or *Chorai Korong* Hill (located by tradition in the Patkoi Range, south from the ancient capital of Asam), on the summit of which the *Ahom* branch of the Thai race believe that their ancestor *Khun-tai* (practically the same as *Kun-lung* and *Kiu-lung*) alighted when descending from heaven (loc. cit., p. 31). The spelling *Korong* occurring in the Ahom legend for the name of the mountain where the Thai people had their cradle, is sufficient evidence to show that the Chinese term *Kiu-lung* or *Kau-lung* is really a transcript of an original non-Chinese mountain name such as *Kurung*, *Kurang*, and, in all probability, *Khuraṅga*, as surmised above.

At p. 135 *supra*, I have left the Chinese term *Shên-k'ung Chiang*, sometimes applied to the Më-Khōng, unexplained. It has since occurred to me that it must mean the 'River of *C'hīeng Khōng*,' this being the name of a well-known town,

explain the fact, noticed above, of the name *Yamunā* or *Jamnā* being common to both the Mē-Khōng and the Brahmaputra. Owing to such a homonymy these streams may have been frequently confounded in the accounts of travellers. And owing to it, again, Ptolemy may have mistaken the Brahmaputra for a tributary of the Mē-Khōng, and may thus have been led to make of it the western branch of his **Doanas**. But from all this it does not at all follow that the main body of this stream can be in any way connected with the Brahmaputra. That geographically it is the Mē-Khōng, and that its name, as recorded by Ptolemy, can be identified with the designations borne, either by tribes settled on its banks or by localities lying along the course assigned to it by the Alexandrian geographer, we have, it is hoped, conclusively demonstrated. By way of postscript, I may add here that a tribe bearing the name of *Duan* or *Doan* (noted as *Douon* in Pavie's map) still exists in the hill-tracts of the Mē-Khōng watershed due west of Hwē or Thwŏn-ān, the point at which, as we have shown, Ptolemy fixed the Mē-Khōng's outlet.

and a pretty ancient foundation too, on the Mē-Khōng, not far below C'hieng Sĕn, and in about 20° 16′ North lat. There now remain only the term *Fêng* and Colborne Baber's enigmatical 'Black Water' to be dealt with, in order to complete the decipherment of the rich terminology belonging to the Mē-Khōng River. The epithet 'Black Water' appears to have been applied also to either the Irāvatī or the Brahmaputra, but more likely to the latter, as may be inferred from the following passage occurring in an article, based upon Chinese sources, on "Manchu Relations with Tibet," which appeared in the *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxi, p. 249:—" . . . . the 'Great' Golden Sand River (or Irawaddy) rises in the south [frontier of Tibet], flowing through Burma to the sea. The Yaru-tsangpu, which runs through Tibet, is an upper branch of the same stream, which is also called the 'Black Water,' and is much larger than the 'Small' Golden Sand River which joins the Yang-tsze." The translator or compiler, who is Mr. E. H. Parker, has here taken the 'Great' Golden Sand River—or *Ta-Kin-sha*, as it is probably called in the Chinese text—to be the Irāvatī; but it will be seen that the Brahmaputra is probably meant, from the fact that the Yaru-ts'ang-pu is considered to be an upper branch of that stream, and that the Brahmaputra goes in Asam by the alternative name of *Hiranya*, the 'Golden,' as pointed out above (p. 282). The Irāvatī, furthermore, can hardly be said to be larger than the Yang-tsz, while the Brahmaputra would be easily looked upon in that light. In any case, the designation 'Black Water' may have been applied also to what was considered to be the upper branch of either, i.e. the Yaru-ts'ang-pu. On this assumption, the Mē-Khōng and the Brahmaputra would prove to possess yet another epithet in common.

Kortatha Mētropolis (No. 118).

I have already pointed out that this city corresponds to *Chiu-tê* or *Kiu-tê* (九 德), in Annamese *Kửu-dục*, the ancient name of the town and district now called Hà-tĩñ (河 靜). It is mentioned early in the Annals of Annam[1] as one of the fifteen *bố* or divisions of the ancient kingdom of Van-lãng, founded, it is pretended, upwards of fifteen centuries B.C. After the Chinese conquest it is alleged to have formed part of the *chün* of Jih-nan; to have been next erected into a separate *chün* by the Wu[2] in *circâ* A.D. 270, and again belittled into a simple district by the Liang (*circâ* A.D. 502). But, as we have previously observed, this dependence was, at least in the early days, merely nominal if ever; for in reality the territory belonged to the Chãm. In fact, the annals say that at the time of the Wu dynasty (A.D. 229–265) the *Kửu-dục* and adjoining districts were dangerous and impenetrable; the *Lĩau* barbarians that occupied them were indomitable and knew no fear; they could not be tackled for centuries.[3] It was only Tao-hwang, one of the Wu generals sent to subdue Kiao-chi in 260–270 A.D., who succeeded, according to the same source, in coercing the refractory districts. We must conclude then, on the strength of the above information, that *Kiu-tê* as a town or district had long existed prior to the beginning of the Christian era; and that in spite of the trumpeted Chinese conquest of the whole of Tonkin in 111 B.C., *Kiu-tê* was still in the hands of the *Lĩau*, *Lõi*, *Löi*, or *Lê*—i.e. the Chãm[4]—as late as 260 or 270 A.D. It must consequently

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 107.

[3] Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 106, 107.

[4] The Lãu, as the early confederates of the Northern Chãm, had also a finger in the pie, as will be shown directly. I have taken the *Lĩau* referred to in the above extract to be the Chãm, as it appears from the descriptions given of the *Liao* or *Lĩau* (獠, 獽) by Chinese authors, that these were populations of the *C'hĩeng* or Mõñ-Annam race, who should be connected with the *Lawạ̃*, *Li*, or *Loi* (黎), etc., and not with the *Lãu* (牢, 老, or 猱), as has been hitherto recklessly done by Sinologists. Devéria ("Frontière Sino-Annamite,"

have formed part of the kingdom of Upper Campā down to at least the last-mentioned date, if not to A.D. 446, as would appear from the evidence adduced at the outset of the present section. Hence it is reasonable to identify **Kortatha Mētropolis** with the capital of that kingdom.

We have shown that, whereas Chinese historiographers would fain make us believe that the kingdom of *Lin-i* was not founded till A.D. 137, or even so late as 220 *circâ*, by the rebellious native chief *Ch'ü-lien*, the old records, whether Chinese or Annamese, state that *Lin-i* was chastised and its capital taken, as early as A.D. 43, by Ma-yüan. We have furthermore drawn attention (*supra*, p. 127) to the fact that the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng chronicles ascribe the establishment of the kingdom of *Lin-i*—or, as they style it, *Cūlaṇī*, *Cūḷāmaṇi*, or *Cullamālinī*—to the leader of the eastern branch of the Thai emigration, whose name, I take this opportunity to add, is given as *Chū-sóng*. I have been lucky enough to find the counterpart of this tradition as to the exodus of the Thai people from Yünnan and their

pp. 112 f., 114) confounds both these peoples into one on the assumption that the character 獠 is also pronounced *Lao* or *Lau*. As a matter of fact, this only occurs nowadays among the Annamese, who, however, more generally pronounce it *Līeu*. So may one hold, for analogous reasons, that the *Lāu* (*Lāva*) are the same people as the *Lawā̤* (*Lavā*). Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., pp. 107–112) speaks of the *Liao* as being a hill people, wonderful mountain-climbers, head-hunters, cannibals to the extent of eating their deceased relatives, honouring dogs and offering them up in sacrifices, practising couvadism—all characteristics still to be met with to a certain extent among the wild *Waḥ*, the *Karens* (dog-worship), and other hill tribes of the *C'hīeng* stock, but *never* among the Lāu.* Ma Tuan-lin adds, moreover, that there are two classes of *Liaos*, to wit, the valley-dwelling, and those living on the mountain slopes, representing the unconquered and wildest portion of them. Both classes are to this day exemplified in the *Khā̃ Dōi* and *Thāt Hǜei* divisions of the *Lawā̤s* (*vide supra*, p. 58, n. 2). I think it is high time that Sinologists should be persuaded to draw a line of distinction between two so widely different peoples as the *Līau* and *Lāu*. Indo-Chinese ethnology would profit a good deal thereby, and be assisted to rise from the muddled state it is now in.

* Marco Polo mentions, it is true, couvadism as being practised in his day among the people of *Zardandan* or 'Golden Teeth,' at *Vacian* (Yung-ch'ang of the Chinese and *Wǎn-c'hāng* of the Lāu); but it is probably to the Lawā̤ and tribes of Miao stock inhabiting that district that his remarks more particularly apply. N.B. that Colquhoun mentions the *couvade* as existing among the Miao.

subsequent spread over the surrounding countries, in the legend given in the chronicles of the Nan-Chao as regards the kingdoms founded by the sons of *Ti Mêng-chü*;[1] and I have by this means got hold at last of the hitherto missing link connecting Nan-Chao with Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng history. The names of the chiefs alleged to have established the various kingdoms are somewhat transposed in the two

[1] See Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite," p. 118 seq., where a far more detailed and clear account has been given of this important group of traditions than the one I had to make use of, for want of anything better at the time being, at p. 123 above. If Devéria is correct in making *Jên-kwo* a descendant of *Mêng Chü-sung*, we would obtain the approximate date of B.C. 200 for the advent of the latter's brother *Mêng Chü-lin* in *Lin-i*, and consequently also of his other brother *Khún Lō* at Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng; our estimate at pp. 127 and 128 *supra* thereby receiving ample confirmation.

Since coming to the above conclusion my attention was drawn to the "Histoire des Princes du Yun-nan," compiled chiefly from local sources by M. E. Rocher, of which the first instalment appeared in the *T'oung Pao* for March, 1899. I was not a little surprised to find that in this valuable compilation a mess has been made of the dates concerning *Chwang K'iao's* conquest of Yünnan (which is placed towards the beginning of the Christian era, whereas it occurred so far back as B.C. 315 or thereabouts) and the deposition of his descendant *Ch'ang Kiang* in favour of the above-mentioned *Jên-kwo*. The latter event, having taken place under the Western Han emperor Wu Ti's rule (B.C. 140–86), is instead attributed by Rocher to the Eastern Han Kwang Wu Ti's reign (A.D. 25–68), and thus the history of the intervening period is, as far as Yünnan is concerned, thrown into a hopeless muddle. We have here a fairly instructive example of the care that the unwary student should exercise before accepting as thoroughly reliable the results arrived at, as regards Indo-Chinese history and kindred topics, by Chinese scholars, however they may have distinguished themselves in other fields. Fortunately, in the present instance there is the evidence from Chinese historical works coming to our assistance in re-establishing the above events at their proper chronological places. Apart from this blemish, Rocher gives us the important information (p. 16) that *Jên-kwo* was *Mêng Chü-sung's* grandson. Bearing, therefore, in mind that *Mêng Chü-sung* is alleged to have been, in his turn, the grandson of *A-yü* (Aśoka) of Magadha, we get for the accession of *Mêng Chü-sung* at *Pêh-ngai* and the establishment of his brothers *Mêng Chü-lin* and *Khún Lō* in *Lin-i* and Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng respectively, a date about midway between those of Aśoka and *Jên-kwo*; say, between B.C. 325 and 125 or B.C. 259–125, according to whether we follow the Buddhist chronology or adhere to the views of Western scholars on the date of Aśoka's coronation. These two sets of chronological data yield on the one hand the year B.C. 225, and on the other B.C. 192, as mean resultants. I am strongly inclined to adopt the former date, i.e. B.C. 225, as the one probably nearer the truth. This for the reason that *Lin-i*, whether as a district or kingdom, is mentioned by Chinese historians as being already in existence in B.C. 214, whence it follows that it must have been founded somewhat earlier than that period. Of course, in coming to this conclusion, I am guided by the fact that the true original name of this kingdom was, as I have demonstrated, of Indū derivation, and therefore in accordance with the tradition that the kingdom was founded by a prince of Indian descent, as *Mêng Chü-lin* is represented to have been; and it goes without saying that I reject as utterly unacceptable the Chinese version, according to which the *chün* of *Lin-i* was established by the Ts'in in B.C. 214.

accounts, and the locations assigned to the kingdoms themselves do to a certain extent disagree; but the substance of the story is practically the same, this being in itself sufficient evidence that both accounts have been derived from an identical source. The same remark applies to the modified versions of the same legend still surviving among the Thai of Upper Burmā and Asam, to which we have adverted in a preceding section. As regards the eastern branch of the emigration with which we are concerned at present, the Nan-Chao chronicle places it under the leadership of *Chü-lin*, or *Mêng Chü-lin* (蒙 苴 林), and ascribes to it the foundation of the kingdom of *Kiao-chi*, whereas it makes *Mêng Chü-sung* (蒙 苴 頌)—evidently the same personage with the *Chū-sóng* of the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng account—the founder of the *Pai-tsz*, or *Pêh-tsz* (白 子), kingdom, with capital at *Pêh-ngai*, over which his almost immediate descendant *Jên-kwo* (仁 果) was reigning, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 123), in B.C. 122, being shortly afterwards (B.C. 109) established by the Han emperor Wu Ti as king over *Tien* (Yünnan).

The designation of *Kiao-chi* as the kingdom founded by *Mêng Chü-lin* is, no doubt, an oversight on the part of the Nan-Chao chroniclers, for *Kiao-chi* was, down to B.C. 258, but a district of the ancient realm of *Van-lāng* represented to have been conquered that year by Aśoka himself, who, according to Lāu accounts, almost immediately withdrew, leaving it intact, or, according to the Annamese records, set down to rule it himself. Whatever may have been the real state of matters, however, this realm was overthrown in B.C. 208 by the Ts'in general *Chao-t'o*, who the following year proclaimed himself king of *Nan-yüeh* (*Nām-vīet*), with capital at *P'an-yü* (Canton); and from that period down to the Han conquest of B.C. 111 *Kiao-chi*, with the adjoining districts as far south as *Kŭu-chön* (Thañ-hwā),[1]

[1] The Annamese Annals (Des Michels, op. cit., p. 23) include also *Hsiang* and *Lin-i* in the new kingdom's territory; but a few lines further on state that in B.C. 198 *Trīeu-dà* (Chao-t'o) appointed delegates with full powers to control

formed part of the *Nan-yüeh* kingdom. It is not therefore very likely that *Mêng Chü-lin* could have set himself up as king of *Kiao-chi* at some time between B.C. 225 and 200; and viewing this toponymic as a mere generic term resorted to by the Nan-Chao Chroniclers in order to designate—without any aim at precision—the approximate location of the realm founded by *Mêng Chü-lin*, I prefer to follow the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng version, which states *Culaṇī* to have been the kingdom in question, otherwise known as the country of *Kĕu C'hŏng-būa*, or *Kĕ̄u Kŏt-thē̄ Thĕ̀n-būa*. I take the expression *Kĕu C'hŏng-būa* to mean the *Kiao* (交 *Chiao*) people of *Chị̀em-bā* (占 波 or 占 蔔) or Campā. *Thĕ̀n-būa*, literally meaning 'Lotus-throne' in Lāu, seems to be more likely a phonetic transcript of Thaṇ-hwạ̄ (清 化, *Ch'ing-hwa*); while *Kĕu Kŏt-thē̄* evidently implies the *Kiao* people or district of *Kau-têk*, or *Kŭu-dŭk* (九 德, *Chiu-tê*), Ptolemy's **Kortatha**, now Hà-tīñ. Some of the chronicles add, moreover, the explanation that this country is also called *Ānām Prakan*, or *Prakŭng*. By this, I think, that part of (modern) Annamese territory once constituting the district of *Pei-king*, or *Pi-kin* (比 景, *Pi-ching*, pron. *Tī-káñ* by the Annamese), is meant. Originally forming part of the *chün* of *Jih-nan* (B.C. 111), this district was made to include the whole of the latter's territory under the Sui, and thus the erstwhile *chün* of *Jih-nan* became henceforward known by the name of *chün* of *Pi-ching*, or *Pi-kin*. Later on it was incorporated with *Chan-ch'éng*, or Campā.[1] It must have therefore corresponded to Ngē̄-ān and Hà-tīñ,

the affairs of *Jāu-chí* (Kiao-chi) and *Kŭu-chön*, and say nothing about either *Hsiang* or *Lin-i*. This circumstance I take as evidence that the boundaries of the *Nan-yüeh* kingdom could not very well have extended beyond Thaṇ-hwạ̄ at the utmost.

[1] See Des Michels, op. cit., p. 51. The Annamese Annalists regard the two terms *Jih-nan* and *Pi-ching* as almost synonymous, the former meaning '[situated to the] south of the sun,' and the latter 'shadow [falling] below' [i.e. to the south]. The translator explains "ombre correspondante."

with perhaps the northern part of Kwắng-bìñ included.[1] At one time the toponymic *Pi-kin*, *Prakan*, or *Prakŭng* seems to have been employed not only by the Lāu of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, but also by the neighbouring nations of Western Indo-China, to designate that southern part of *Kiao-chi*, or Tonkin, comprising, in fact, the districts just named. The Burmese, we are told,[2] used to apply the term '*Kiô-pagan*' (i.e. *Kĕu Pakan* or *Kiao Pi-kin*) to Tonkin itself. But this was probably only a generic designation, meaning more appropriately the southern part of that region. The same remark applies, I should think, to the other term, *Kiô Kazĕḥ* (ကျော် တသည်း), given by Judson[3] as the Burmese name for Tonkin and its native inhabitants. *Kazĕḥ* cannot here mean *Kĕ-chŏ̃* (Kesho), as might be thought at first sight, because the name of this capital is written in a different

[1] The Annamese Annals (loc. cit.) would give us to understand that the territory of the ancient *chŭn* of *Pi-ching*, or *Tĕ́-kắñ*, is nowadays represented by the districts of Kwắng-bìñ and Kwắng-trī. There has ever been a tendency among native historians, whether Chinese or Annamese, to assign to *Jih-nan* a far more southern position than it has ever occupied, in the endeavour to show that the dominions of their race extended farther than has really been the case. Not only did our Sinologists blindly follow these historians' erring footsteps, but, dazzled by Chinese bombast and tinsel, they even exceeded the native over-estimate. Thence it comes that we are told in the works of the said Sinologists how *Jih-nan* was Kwắng-nām (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxi, p. 41), or "Quang-binh and Phu-yen [!] with all between" (*China Review*, vol. xx, p. 328), *Lin-i*, or Campā, comprising "the modern Kanh-hoa and Binh-thuân," and so forth. In a similar strain even the scholarly Chavannes, having laid down the apodictic premise that *Jih-nan* "correspond au *Quang-nam* actuel," concludes that "il est donc probable que *Pi-king* [i.e. *Pi-ching*, or *Tĕ́-kắñ*] est le port connu aujourd'hui sous le nom de Tourane [!!]" ("Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes," p. 108, n. 1). It is to be hoped that the foregoing critical examination of Chām history will luminously prove to him and his over-zealous colleagues that *Lin-i*, or *Chan-ch'éng*, or Campā, included in her halcyon days *something more* than Khạn-hwà and Bìñ-thwŏ̃n; and that their exaggerated notion as to the extension of *Jih-nan* must suffer not a few clippings ere it is brought within the bounds of historical truth.

[2] In the abstract from Mr. Gibson's Journal given by Crawfurd in his "Embassy to Siam and Cochinchina," vol. ii, p. 437.

[3] Burmese-English Dictionary, Rangoon, 1883, pp. 139 and 713.

way, viz. [1]; nor can it evidently stand for Kiao-chi; but is more likely intended for *Chiu-tê*, *Kôt-thē*, or **Kortatha**. The latter being the capital, and at one time the chief district of an independent kingdom, it is but natural that its name should have spread far and wide and become employed to designate the surrounding territory, and even Tonkin as a whole, in preference to the term *Kiao-chi*, which at best denoted but a province of the Chinese empire, and was specifically a tribal name rather more than a toponymic. It was only in the former character that it survived among neighbouring nations, and thus when these speak of the *Kiao*, *Kĕu*, *Kiô*, etc., it must be understood that they refer to the people,[2] and not to the territory, of Tonkin; a people, by the way, who were in the early days composed purely of Mōñ-Annam, i.e. C'hīeng, or Chām elements, and not of the hybrid Sino-Indo-Chinese breed constituting the modern Annamese. The same occurred with the terms *Prakan*, *An-nam*, and *Tonkin*, which only became known to foreign nations as soon as the cities or regions which they designated set up as independent States. Although *Prakan* is given as a synonym of *Kôt-thē* or **Kortatha** in the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng chronicles — and it is quite possible that it was so at the period when the whole of *Jih-nan* was included under that denomination — the original district or city known as *Prakan* or *Pi-kin* was, under the Western Han period, but a small subdivision of the *chün* of *Jih-nan* alleged to have

[1] Burm.-Eng. Dict., p. 713.

[2] The inhabitants of Cochin-China, says McLeod in his Journal (op. cit., p. 39), are called *Min* and *Kio* at C'hīeng-māi. These terms should be read *Mēn* and *Kēu*. The chronicles of C'hīeng Sĕn, I may here add, speak of one of the former kings of that country, *Khún Chūang* by name, as having made war upon the *Kĕu Mēn* or *Kĕu Mēn Tā-tōk*, and set up to reign in the country of the *Kĕu P'hakan* (or *Kĕu Prakan*) for seventeen years. His coronation as king of the *Kĕu P'hakan* is placed in the year *Kāb-yī*, and 496 of the *Culla* era = A.D. 1134. From this it would appear that the *Kĕu Mēn* were the people of *Pi-kin* and *Cūlaṇī*. I cannot trace the puzzling racial name *Mēn* elsewhere than in the Chinese *Man* and in the name of a tribe on the Annam frontier called *Mén* by the Lāu.

been established in B.C. 111,[1] and as such is said to have been situated to the north of *Lin-i*,[2] then called *Hsiang-lin*. For this reason I am inclined to identify *Prakan* with Ptolemy's **Pagrasa**, the city or seaport which will be treated on under the next paragraph. Like *Kôt-thệ̄*, it was a Lāu foundation and formed part of the kingdom of *Cūlaṇī*, as evidenced by the frequent relations it had with the Lāu kingdoms lying beyond its western borders[3]; hence,

[1] See Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 49–50.

[2] So states Chavannes, op. cit., p. 108.

[3] Especially with the kingdom of *Mūang P'hūen* or *C'hīeng Khwắng*, situated between the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng State and the Nghệ̄-ān district. I always thought that this kingdom had something to do with Ptolemy's **Bareukora**, especially as its people are called *P'hūen* (or Lāu *P'hūen*), this being very likely an old tribal name belonging to the early inhabitants of C'hīeng stock, connected with those of the tribes of the Black River called *P'hū-ōr* or *P'hū-ō* (sometimes spelled *Pou-eurh* by French writers), of the *P'o-na* (滿 那) or *P'o-la* (see Devéria, op. cit., p. 116) and, perhaps, of the *P'u-êrh* or *P'u-êrl* (普 洱) of the Chinese, whose name still survives in *P'u-êrh-Fu*, away in S.W. Yünnan.

The *P'hūen* or *C'hīeng Khwắng* kingdom was, according to the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng chronicles, established by *Khún Chet-c'hữang*, another of Khún Borom's sons, and therefore brother to the founders of the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and *Cūlaṇī* kingdoms. For this reason amicable relations existed for a long while between *Cūlaṇī* or *Prakan*, and *P'hūen*. But, according to one account, later on dissensions broke forth, and two princesses from *Prakan*, at the head of a strong army, invaded the country of *P'hūen*. They were victorious despite the efforts of *Thậu Yī*, a descendant of *Chet-c'hữang*, the original founder of the realm, who was then on the throne. This war was, however, brought to a close by the marriage of *Thậu Yī* with the two gallant princesses, a union that resulted in the fusion of the two kingdoms. Thus the sway of the *P'hūen* Lāu seems to have extended at one time to the shores of the Tonkin Gulf. Dr. Lefèvre, in alluding to the above events, adds a tradition collected locally which seems to confirm them. There are to be found in the *Nam Ngo* in the P'hūen district, he says ("Voyage au Laos," Paris, 1898, pp. 296–7), many objects in cut stone, sword-hilts, etc., remaining, it is stated, from the wars that took place between *Prakan* and *P'hūen*. The *P'hūen* State was finally annexed to Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng by King *Fậ-ngum* in A.D. 1355.

A manuscript chronicle from C'hīeng-māi tells us how a prince from *Coḷaṇī*, by the name of *Chậu Kham-dẽng* (i.e. 'Prince Red Gold'), having gone westwards in pursuit of a golden deer, reached as far as the site where the city of C'hīeng-māi rose long afterwards, and settled in that neighbourhood, founding there a city which was named *Mūang Lān-nā*, or 'City of the Rice-fields Plain.' After many generations the town disappeared through subsidence of the ground, and its site became a lake. A new capital was built near by, and in this some

I think, the reason why its name, *Prakan*, was also used by the Lāu to designate the State of *Cūlaṇī*. It is, no doubt, owing to the active intercourse existing in the early days between *Cūlaṇī* and those Lāu kingdoms, as well as to the tradition of their common origins through their having been founded by rulers belonging to the same family, that the various instances of homonymy between them and their capital cities we have noticed in a preceding section (*supra*, pp. 146–147) have sprung forth. It would not be surprising if it should turn out that the change which took place in the name of the *Lin-i* district into *Hsiang-lin* soon after B.C. 111 had some connection with the amalgamation of Müang P'hūen with Prakan, brought about by the marriage of the P'hūen king with the warlike Prakan princesses mentioned in the last footnote (p. 295). Was it through this event that *Lin-i*, having become part and parcel of *Lān-c'hạng*, received from the latter its new name, turned by the Chinese, according to the genius of their language, into *C'hạng-lan* or *Hsiang-lin*? And was it through some similar event, but perhaps with inverse issues, that the name of *Cūḍāmāla* or *Cūḍāma-nagara* was transferred from *Chiu-tê* or *Kŏt-thẹ̆* to Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, or *vice versa*, given that the conjecture about Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng having at some time or other borne such a name is correct? I shall not attempt to answer these puzzling questions, which I gladly leave to future inquirers to definitely settle by further and more far-reaching researches into the ancient history of the regions concerned. Suffice for the present to establish the fact that *Cūḍāma-nagara* is evidently but one of

generations afterwards the king of *Mēn Tā-tōk* was invited to come and reign. But his rule did not last long, as he was assassinated and a local chief put in his stead on the throne. These events must have taken place during the early centuries of the Christian Era.

It will appear from the above traditions that the State of *Prakan* (*Pi-kin*) or *Cūlaṇī* (*Lin-i*) must have occupied in its early days the territories of the present Thañ-hwā, Ngē-ān, and Hà-tĩñ districts; and that although inhabited by a *C'hieng* or Chām population, the ruling element must have been Lāu, its kings claiming descent from the Indū dynasty which, in the third century B.C., ruled in Yünnan.

the many variants of the toponymic *Chiu-tê*, *Kôt-thẹ̈*, *Kŭu-dụ̈k*, etc., blended with the term *Māla* or *Mālinī*; wherefore its correct and full form would seem to be *Cūḍā-māla*, *Cūḍāmālinī*, *Cūḷāmālinī*, or *Cullamālinī*. From this, I think, the defective readings *Cūḷaṇī*, *Coḷaṇī*, *Cūḷāmaṇi*, *Cūḍāmaṇi*, and the Chinese *Lin-i* originated. *Campā* and *Campāmālinī* only came into use, perhaps, later on, when the capital was transferred further down the coast to *Campā-nagara* or *Campā-purī*,[1] the Chinese *Chan-ch'êng* (占城), and Annamese *Chịem-thàñ*; but as this city would also be designated by the epithets *Mālinī* and *Lomapāda* belonging to the old capital, coupled or not with its name, as e.g. in *Campāmālinī*, the Chinese would continue to call the country, or its capital, *Lin-i*, and the Annamese *Löm-ọ̈p*, *Lom-ap*, or *Lam-ap*, using these terms as alternative designations for *Chan-ch'êng* and *Chịem-thàñ* respectively. At this later period we find Campā generally styled in Lāu records the kingdom of *Cuḷanī Brahmadatta*, and its king *P'hrayā Campādhirāja*.[2]

[1] An event which probably happened, as surmised above, in A.D. 446.

[2] Francis Garnier, in referring to the *sūtra* relating to the foundation of the *P'hanom stūpa* (*Thāt P'hanom* or *Dhātu P'hanom*) in his "Voyage d'exploration" (edited by Léon Garnier, p. 222), wrongly spells the first of the designations above alluded to *Chounrakni Phoumatat*, and says: "la tradition veut que *Chounrakni Phoumatat* [*sic*] soit un pays Annamite." In some of the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng chronicles occurs the form *Cuḷanī Brahmadatta-rāja*, evidently meant for *Cuḷanī Brahmadatta-raṭṭha*. I am of opinion that *Brahmadatta* here represents the name of the Chām king given as *Phàm-hò-đạt* (*P'hàm-hò-dāt*) in the Annamese Annals (Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 114–117). It was this ruler who in A.D. 399, according to the same Annals, attacked *Jih-nan* and invaded the district of *Kŭu-dụ̈k*, from which he was repelled by the Chinese governor of *Kiao-chi*. In A.D. 413 he renewed his raids, but was defeated in A.D. 415, and *Lin-i* is said to have finally submitted and become a tributary in A.D. 420 (ibid., pp. 119, 120). It is not improbable that owing to his warlike exploits King Brahmadatta came to be looked upon as a national hero, and his name associated with that of the country for the time being, while among neighbouring States it survived much longer, being regarded as part of the name of Campā, otherwise *Cuḷanī*. I cannot avoid, while on this subject, drawing attention to the fact that there is a very decided Buddhistic ring about this name *Cuḷanī-Brahmadatta* adopted here as the designation for the kingdom, whereas it occurs in the *Maho-sadha-Jātaka* as the personal name (or title?) of the king of Pañcāla when that country was in war with Videha and its capital Mithilā. Such a coincidence would seem to point out that in ancient India *Cuḷanī* may have been likewise a toponymic, perhaps an alternative designation for either Pañcāla or Angā (Campā, whether in Angā or Kashmīr).

In another section of his book, where he gives a brief account of the foundation of the *stūpa* on the Yōng hill (*Thāt-*, or *Dhātu-*, *Chōm-Yōng*), from the Müang Yōng Chronicle, Garnier says (op. cit., p. 402) that Aśoka, after having conquered

The identity of *Culaṇī* with *Chiu-tê* or *Kŭu-dŭk* and the *Lin-i* or Upper Campā kingdom that we have thus far demonstrated on geographical, historical, and linguistical grounds, receives further confirmation from the similarity in names between the *Chū-sóng* and *Chü-lin* of, respectively, the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and Nan-Chao chronicles—but more especially of the latter—and the rebellious *Ch'ü-lien* to whom the foundation of the kingdom of *Lin-i* is ascribed by the Chinese annalists. It will readily be seen that the initial term in all these names is *Chu* or *Chü*. Hence we may well surmise that *Ch'ü-lien* was very likely a descendant of either *Chü-lin* or *Chū-sóng*, whatever the correct name of the original founder of the *Lin-i*–Campā kingdom may have been. The Chinese account followed by Ma Tuan-lin[1] describes *Ch'ü-lien* as the son of a *kung-ts'an*, receiver of taxes for the *hsien* (district) of *Hsiang-lin*, and spells his name 區 連, adding that *Ch'ü* was his family appellation. The date of his rebellion and enthronement as king of *Lin-i* is placed in the last years of the Eastern Han dynasty (i.e. towards A.D. 221). Other Chinese texts, according to Chavannes,[2] refer to a *Ch'ü-lien* (with the second character in his name differently written) who likewise rebelled in A.D. 137, but met with failure, the Chinese governor of Tonkin having succeeded in restoring

the country of *Vidcha* (Yünnan, *vide supra*, pp. 64 and 121), turned his arms against *Müang Këu* (Kiao-chi), whose king, in utter despair, committed suicide. But Aśoka resuscitated him, and "lui rendit son royaume qu'il appela *Çhulanī*." We shall show in one of the following paragraphs that this episode is to be connected with the invasion ascribed by the Annamese annalists to the king of *Shu* in B.C. 258. The authorities just referred to say, however, that the *Shu* potentate, having overthrown the *Van-lāng* dynasty which then ruled over *Kiao-chi*, changed the name of the country into *Au-lāk* or *Öu-lāk* (Chinese *Ou-lê* and *Hsi Ou-lê*), a term which has evidently nothing to do with *Culaṇī*. I may add that none of the *tamnāns* (*sūtras*, narratives) on the foundation of the Thāt Chōm Yōng, nor the several versions of the Müang Yōng Chronicle I have met with, do contain a word as to this story of Aśoka having, after his conquest, changed the name of *Müang Këu* into *Culaṇī*. Hence the latter must have been an arbitrary addition, introduced by the interpreter from whom Garnier obtained his information, and I more than ever see fit to adhere to my identification of *Culaṇī* with the kingdom of *Kôt-thệ̄* or Upper Campā, feeling quite certain that Aśoka's conquest had no connection whatever with it.

[1] Op. cit., p. 419.

[2] Op. cit., p. 203.

order. The Annamese Annals,[1] quoting from the *Hou Han-shu*, make of the *Ch'ü-lien* of A.D. 137 a native chief, and explain that his name was that of a family of "southern barbarians." They say nothing, however, as to this *Ch'ü-lien* having set up as king of *Lin-i*, and are likewise silent as to the coup of *Ch'ü-lien secundus* about A.D. 221, which is only alluded to *en passant* in the commentary, compiled at a later date from Chinese sources.[2] At the same time they warn us that the *Tsin-shu* and other Chinese historical works write by mistake the term *lien* with a different character, although conveying the same sound.[3] Which this character is, we are not shown by the translator. Later on, between the dates corresponding to the period A.D. 226–230, we are told[4] that the kings of *Fu-nan*, *Lin-i*, and *T'ang-ming* (or *T'ao-mêng*?) sent envoys with tribute to the Wu emperor Ta Ti ruling at Nan-king,[5] and we are thus indirectly given

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 70.
[2] Ibid., p. 114.
[3] Ibid., p. 70.
[4] Ibid., p. 94.
[5] The kingdom of *T'ang-ming* is said (ibid., p. 98) to be the same as *Tuo-ming* (or *T'ao-mêng*?)—in Annamese *Dạng-miñ* = *Dão-miñ*—and to have been situated on the seaboard, and at the head of an extensive bay to the south of *Jih-nan*, with whose southern borders it was coterminous for a length of 7,000 *li* (some 200 miles!). It is difficult to gather, from this vague description, whether the kingdom in question was to be found on the northern or on the southern side of *Lin-i*. Judging from the fact that *Lin-i*, although then and long before that an independent kingdom *de facto*, was nevertheless still considered by Chinese writers as part of *Jih-nan de jure*, *Dão-miñ*, or *T'ao-mêng*, must have occupied a position somewhere in the north of the present Kwáng-bìñ district, perhaps about the mouths of the Song Jāng (Song Giang). There is a place marked *Minh Cam* in modern maps, close by the left bank of this stream. The *Mén* tribe referred to in a preceding note appear to have been settled in that neighbourhood. Otherwise, we must look for the location of *Dão-miñ* to the north of *Lin-i*, that is, either in Ngē-ān or in Southern Thañ-hwā. Whichever of these two surmises be the correct one, it seems, I think, very probable that this must have been the country and kingdom of McLeod's *Min*, and of the *Kēu-Mēn* or *Mēn Tā-tōk* mentioned in a preceding page. Owing to no Chinese characters being given, and no other information being contained in the books at my disposal as to the whereabouts of the *Dão-miñ* kingdom, it is impossible to push investigation any further; but it is to be hoped that Sinologists as well as Annamologists will be able to tell us something more definite from the native sources inaccessible to me. Meanwhile we may rest

to understand that *Lin-i* was, at the time, an independent State. We may, then, well conclude, on the strength of the above fragmentary evidence, that *Chü-lin* and *Ch'ü-lien* are very likely identical terms, though spelled in different ways, representing either the dynastic or the family name of the early kings of *Lin-i*, but more probably the name of the State itself, in its full form *Cūḷanī*. In support of this conjecture I may point out the coincidence in spelling between the last part of the name of *Chü-lin* (苴 林) and the initial one of the term *Lin-i* (林 邑), which would thus appear to be but a shortened form of *Chü-lin-i* (苴 林 邑), the probable original Chinese phonetic transcript of *Cūḷanī*. It must be noted, in fact, that the three characters which compose it, sounding *Chü-lang-eik* in the present Fu-chou dialect, may have been pronounced something like *Chu-lan-i* or *Chu-lan-ik* in the old days. Père Legrand de la Liraye spells *lan* the second character in the name of the rebellious *Ch'ü-lien*, whom he accordingly describes as *Khu-lan*.[1] The connection between the two toponymics *Cūḷanī* and *Lin-i*

content with having discovered a new independent State within the limits of the pretended Chinese dominions, to be added to the kingdom of *Lin-i* and to the realm of the *Hsi-t'u I* (whose borders were reached by Ma-yüan in A.D. 43); making altogether no less than three independent kingdoms, all to be found within the zone said to have been embraced by the famous *chün* or department of *Jih-nan* established by the Western Han.

[1] See Des Michels, op. cit., notes, p. 108. The reverend Père, however, took *Ch'ü-lien* or *Khu-lan* to be the name of a tribe, in which guess it will now be seen he was not so very far wrong as Des Michels thinks, since that name was the designation borne by either the kingdom or its capital. The Chinese character 邑 means 'a capital city' as well as 'a district,' and this is most probably the reason why it was employed in the transcription in preference to another more suitable for conveying the sound *i*. In the language of the *Lāu* populations of Yünnan, the sense of country, district, or city was conveyed by the term *Müang* (transcribed as *Mêng* 蒙 by the Chinese) prefixed to the name of the kingdom; thus, *Mêng Chü-lin* (蒙 苴 林), alleged to have been the name of the founder of the *Kiao-chi* (read *Lin-i*) State, is instead, no doubt, the Lāu designation for the State itself, to wit, *Müang Cūḷanī*.

Abbè Bouillevaux says (*Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, t. ii, p. 323) that *Ch'ü-lien*, alias *Khū-lien* or *Khū-lan* (whose rebellion, by the way, he places in A.D. 263!), was also called *Khu-dat*, a term which, it will be observed, approaches very closely to the form **Kortatha** recorded by Ptolemy as being the name of its capital city.

thus receives further demonstration from the etymological point of view. There would seem, then, to be no further room for doubt that the kingdom of *Cūḷanī*, or Upper Campā, although inhabited by a Chām—i.e. Mōñ-Annam descended—population, owed its original establishment to the Lāu from Southern Yünnan, headed by a prince of Indū lineage belonging to that dynasty which, said to have hailed from Magadha, founded kingdoms all over Yünnan and adjoining countries, introducing therein the civilization, the laws, customs, and beliefs, current at the time in the country of his ancestors. This circumstance proves our contention that Northern Campā, unlike its southern counterpart, received its civilization from Northern India. Numbers of natives from that region who had come to settle in Yünnan followed, no doubt, in the wake of the Indū-Yünnanese prince that led the way to *Cūḷanī*; and many more continued to flow in the new State, either directly *viâ* C'hīeng Ruṇg and Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, or indirectly *viâ* Yünnan, whither they had at first directed their steps, jointly contributing to the development of the country on Indū lines and causing it to attain that comparatively high degree of advancement of which unmistakeable traces are left to this day, as we have noticed now and then in the course of our inquiry. Later on, the number of the Indū settlers who had reached the country by the overland route began to receive considerable additions from those of their countrymen who had found their way thither by sea, and a considerable trade was, no doubt, established and carried on by the latter with their mother-country and the numerous Indū settlements spread all over the Indo-Chinese coast, the Malay Archipelago, and the Southern Chinese seaboard. Hence we may take it as certain that by the first century of the Christian era the name of the capital of Upper Campā — like those of other conspicuous cities on the same coast — must have become well known not only to Indū traders, but also to those of far more Western regions, thus easily coming to the notice of our incomparable geographer, who handed it down to posterity in

the form of **Kortatha Mētropolis.** It is now well known, in fact, that early before Ptolemy's and Marinos' time, not only Syrian, but also Parthian, Arab, and Alexandrian merchants,—outdistancing the exploits of the Phœnicians and Chaldæans, the Western world's pioneers in Eastern navigation, and following in the wake of the Dravidians of Southern India, to whom belongs the honour of having first opened the sea-route leading to the China Sea and founded mercantile settlements all over the coast of the Far East,—pushed their journeys further from India and Ceylon on to the Malay Peninsula and the Tonkin Gulf, reaching thence Canton and the mysterious far-outlying **Kattigara,** which we have identified with, and shall incontrovertibly prove in due course to be, Hang-chou. In our author's own days the famous embassy from the Roman Orient, alleged to have been sent by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, landed at a port of *Jih-nan* and thence journeyed overland to the Chinese capital Lo-yang. In referring to this event the *Liang-shu* informs us that "the merchants of this country [*Ta-ts'in,* or Syria] frequently visit *Fu-nan, Jih-nan,* and *Chiao-chih.*"[1] We shall try to find out in the next paragraph the location of the seaport at which that so-called embassy—in reality but a private commercial mission—landed. In the introductory book of his treatise[2] Ptolemy, after having referred to "those who have sailed from us to those places [in India] and have for a long time frequented them, and also those who have come from thence to us," proceeds to say: "from the same informants we have also learned other particulars regarding India and its different provinces, and its remote parts as far as the **Golden Khersonese,** and onward thence to **Kattigara.** *In sailing thither,* the voyage, they said, was towards the east," etc. These passages clearly show how the seaports of the Tonkin Gulf must have been frequented as stations on the then well-known sea-route to the China coast, and, at the same time, as *entrepôts* for

[1] Hirth's "China and the Roman Orient," p. 47.
[2] Ch. xvii, §§ 4 and 5.

the trade which thence was carried on overland with the western parts of the Celestial Empire. Hopelessly lost in their attempts to fix a suitable site for **Kattigara**, to locate which almost every simulacrum of a seaport on the whole stretch of the Indo-Chinese coast from Tonkin to Martaban was variously resorted to,[1] our Sinologists have come to the conclusion that it was not until A.D. 166, the date of the

[1] Richthofen ("China," vol. i, pp. 509, 510, note 1) identified it with *Kiao-chi*!—a view which, strange to say, Colonel Yule adopted, declaring the arguments adduced by that authority in favour of the location of **Kattigara** in the Gulf of Tonkin to be "absolutely convincing." Some time afterwards Mr. Holt, in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, showed himself determined to believe with Gosselin that **Kattigara** was probably not far from the present Martaban! The latest dictum of Sinology on the subject is, to my knowledge, to be found in a lecture delivered by Dr. Hirth before the Berlin Geographical Society (printed in the *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1889, No. 1). Therein the author, concurring in the main with Von Richthofen's view as to the location of **Kattigara** near the Chinese frontier on Annamese territory, attempts to arrive at a more precise determination of its site by basing himself upon the similarity in names between Ptolemy's city and *Chiu-tê*, *Kau-tek*, or *Kiu-dŭk*, which latter, he thus concludes, may be the long sought for **Kattigara**. The present pages, where *Chiu-tê*, etc., is, I hope, conclusively shown to be instead identical with Ptolemy's **Kortatha Mētropolis**, will prove Dr. Hirth's suggestion to be untenable. It may interest the general reader to learn that besides the places above named, Canton, the mouth of the Mē-Khŏng River, and even Singapore have severally been mentioned as the sites of the ancient **Kattigara** (see Richthofen's "China," vol. i, p. 508, etc.).

I have noticed, since writing the above, that in a lecture delivered the 7th December, 1893, on the occasion of the Winckelmann jubilee, by Mr. H. Nissen, of Bonn, on "Der Verkehr zwischen China und dem Römischen Reiche," Hà-nŏi is accorded the preference, although Canton or some other town further up the coast of China proper is also suggested as a possible location for **Kattigara**. Of the same opinion is Professor Schlegel, who, in reviewing the above essay in the *T'oung-Pao* (vol. v, 1894, p. 369), expresses himself in the following terms:—"Von Richthofen denkt an Hanoi, während man gewöhnlich darunter Canton oder irgend eine Stadt des eigentlichen China (z. B. Chinkiang, mit Fragezeichen in einer älteren Auflage des Kiepert'schen Atlas antiquus) versteht. Hanoi ist jedenfalls derjenige Punkt, der sich noch am ersten mit der chinesischen Tradition vereinigen lässt. Nur müssen wir nicht vergessen, dass nach der letzteren, der Platz, wo die fremden Gesandten landeten, *Jih-nan-kiao-wai* (日南徼外), d.h. 'ausserhalb der Grenze von Jih-nan zu suchen ist' (Hirth, op. cit., *passim*), während Hanoi im Herzen dieses Grenzlandes gelegen war. Der Vortragende hätte Ausführliches über diese Frage in Hirth, Chines. Studien, S. 19 ff. vorgefunden." These passages will give a fairly accurate idea of the stage that Western research on this question had reached when the first part of the present inquiry into the Ptolemaic geography of Far Eastern Asia appeared (in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1897).

Ta-ts'in embassy to China, that the sea-route to the Far East was opened by Western traders, and that Tonkin formed then, and from that time only, its terminus, which was not removed further on till the third century, and then only as far as Canton.[1] Such narrow views will have to be considerably broadened now that we have shown **Kattigara**, the Heraclian pillar of early Western Oriental navigation, to have stood considerably further to the east since the very first century of the Christian Era. **Kortatha Mētropolis** and the other cities or seaports on the Tonkin Gulf mentioned by Ptolemy cease accordingly to play the rôle of termini tentatively ascribed to them by our predecessors in the field of Far Eastern historical geography, and appear to us in their true light of entrepôts for the trade with the southern China frontier and intermediate stations on the maritime route to the Chinese coast.

Having thus far shown the part that **Kortatha Mētropolis** performed in Indo-Chinese history as well as in Western Oriental commerce, it remains to be seen whether its site can be determined with greater approximation within the district where we have located it, and to account for the form of its name (**Kortatha**) adopted by Ptolemy.

As regards the emplacement of the city, the corrected latitude we obtained for it in the tables being 18° 42′ N., it will be seen that its position coincides with the site of the present Vĩñ (Vinh), close by the mouth of the Song-Kắ (滝哥) River (termed *Nạm Nõn* in Lāos). As this was the eastern terminus of the overland route from India and Burmā known to have existed from at least the first century A.D.,[2]

[1] Hirth, loc. cit., and *China Review*, vol. xviii, pp. 51–53.

[2] See Parker in *China Review*, vol. xx, p. 339, where, however, he makes, as usual with Sinologists, a muddle of ancient Indo-Chinese geography by making *Yüeh-shang* (an old kingdom occupying the southern part of the present Thạñ-hwạ̄ district with, perhaps, a portion of Northern Hà-tĩñ) extend as far as Burmā, and suggesting that the *Ta-ts'in* embassy of A.D. 166 "most probably landed at Mergui or somewhere else in the Talaing kingdom of Burmā, which was therefore held to be a part of *Yüeh-shang*" (!), and proceeded thence overland to Vĩñ. See also Hirth in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for July, 1896, p. 494, where he quotes the following passage from an old Chinese work: "To reach *T'ien-chu* [India] from Annam, there is an overland road by which one may go to this country," etc.

I am inclined to adopt the position of Vĭñ for Ptolemy's capital city rather than that of Hà-tĭñ, a little below. It is, however, only by means of archæological investigations conducted in that neighbourhood, that the exact site of that capital can definitely be determined. The Annamese Annals,[1] we have pointed out, make mention of a fortress of *Khū-lŏt* on the Northern Campā frontier, which, unsuccessfully besieged by the Chinese governor of Kiao-chi in A.D. 431, was finally taken in 446, access being thereby gained by the invaders to *Hsiang-lin* (i.e. *Lin-i* or Campā) territory. This frontier stronghold, said to have stood on the northern bank of a stream called the *Lô-dzung*,[2] must have been situated either on the Song-Kā about Vĭñ or considerably further to the north by the bank of the Song-Mā in the present Thañ-hwạ district, and it had, I think, nothing in common with **Kortatha**. I prefer, in fact, to connect it rather with Ptolemy's **Pagrasa**, which will be treated on in the next paragraph.

As regards the connection in names between **Kortatha** and the *Kŭu-dŭk*, *Kau-têk*, or *Kôt-thẹ̈* district, or the chief city which gave the latter its name, I should think it has been made sufficiently evident in the foregoing pages as to scarcely need any further demonstration. I shall, however, add a few more remarks of a purely linguistical nature in order to throw, if possible, more light on this highly interesting subject. Which was the real original name of the district or its chief city it is impossible to guess, since it was differently spelled and pronounced, as evidenced by the different forms we have given, to wit: *Chiu-tê*, *Cūḍā*, *Cūḍāma*, *Cūḍāmāla*, *Cūḷā*, *Cūḷanī*, *Coḷanī*, *Cūḍāmaṇi*, *Cūḷāmaṇi*, *Cūḷāmālinī*, *Cullamālinī*, *Lin-i*, *Kôt-thẹ̈*, *Kau-têk*, *Kŭu-dŭk*, *Ko-tĭk*, etc. Although these are, as a rule, mentioned as designations borne by the district or kingdom, it is almost certain that they belonged originally to its chief city, and that it was from the latter, as usually occurs in Indo-China,

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 122 and 124.
[2] Ibid., p. 122.

that the kingdom took its name. If a distinction were to be made, I should be inclined to think that we are here in front of two sets of names, one of which may be assigned *Chiu-tê*, *Kot-thẹ̈*, or *Cūḍā* as prototype, and the other *Mālinī* (the name of the Indū Campā, transferred to its Indo-Chinese counterpart). It is apparently from the union of both that the form *Cuḷāmālinī* and its derivatives were arrived at. Whether of these two sets of names one belonged to the kingdom and the other to its capital, or whether both were indiscriminately used for either, it is impossible to say. The latter was probably the case in later days. But at an early period I should imagine that *Chiu-tê*, *Kot-thẹ̈*, or *Cūḍa* more properly designated the city which, at the same time, as usual with Indū and Indo-Chinese capitals of kingdoms, may have also been known under several other names. The term **Kortatha** can, in fact, be traced to various distinct denominations belonging to ancient cities of India.

In the first place, I observe that it may be a contraction of *Nagar Ṭhaṭṭha*, vulgo *Nagar Thatha*, in which case its name would seem to have been imported here from the banks of the Indus,[1] and its location would suit very well—allowing for presumable displacements that occurred in the course of the Song-Kă—either Vĭñ or Hă-tĭñ.

In the second place, it may be observed—as I already pointed out at the outset of this chapter—that the name of **Kortatha**, or *Kau-têk*, very likely represents the term *Kuṭhāra*, or *Kauṭhara*, occurring in Southern Campā as the probable designation once borne by the ancient city of Yāṁpu-nagara. Final *k* is, as a rule, pronounced indifferently as *k* or *t* in Annamese and some of the Southern Chinese dialects: thus

[1] See Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," p. 288 seq., for *Nagar Tatha*, a name which, he says, means 'city on the river bank.' It was an ancient and important emporium. The contraction of *Nagar* in *Gar*, *Gor*, *Khor*, or *Kor* is a very common one in Indo-China. I may quote as instances in Siām: *Khorāt*, a contraction of *Nagar-rāj*[*-sīmā*], therefore termed *Khorazemá* in nearly all books of travel of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; *Korayok* or *Khorayok*, the vulgar designation for *Nagar-nāyaka*, etc. The Khmērs generally make *Angkor* out of *Nagar*, *Naṅgar*, or *Naṅgor*, by metathesis. Another common modification of these terms in Siām is *Lakhŏn* (for *Lagor*, *Nagor*).

the characters 九 德 (*Chiu-tê*) used in spelling the ancient name of the Hā-tīñ district, while being read *Kau-têk* at Canton and *Kŭu-dŭk* in Annam, are instead pronounced *Kiu-tet* by the Hakkas and *Kŭu-dŭt* in some parts of Cochin-China. Their ancient sound may thus have been something like *Kau-tet*, or *Ko-tat*; and as it is a well-known fact that final *r* in Western words is often changed into final *t* in their corresponding Chinese equivalents,[1] it follows that the above characters may well be a phonetic transcript of the term *Kuṭhāra*, or *Kauṭharā*, as pronounced in the early days by the Chinese settled in Tonkin and the Chino-Annamese cross-bred natives of that region. We have incidentally drawn attention to the form *Khu-dat* for the name of *Khū-līen*, *Khū-lan*, or *Ch'ü-lien*, which we take to be a dialectal corruption of *Cūḍā*, *Chiu-tê*, or *Coḷanī*. Hence there appears to be nothing improbable as regards the terms *Kau-têk*, *Kiu-tet*, or *Ko-tat* being meant for renderings of *Kauṭhara*, *Kuṭhāra*, etc. And it is but natural that Ptolemy's informants, hearing them thus variously pronounced from the natives of Sino-Annamese extraction who roamed and trafficked about the seaports of the Tonkinese and Chām coast frequented by Western traders, reported them to him under the somewhat hybrid forms *Ko-dat*, *Ko-tat*, *Kotar*, *Kortat*, etc., which were synthetized by the Alexandrian geographer in the form **Kortatha** he handed down to us.

Thirdly, it may be suggested that the Chinese dialectal forms referred to above sprang from an original term, *Cūḍā* or *Cūḷā* (meaning a crest or diadem in, respectively, Sanskrit and Pāli), possibly a contraction of *Cūḍāmāla*, *Cūḍāmaṇi*, or *Cūḷāmaṇi*,[2] constituting the early designation

[1] See "Chinese equivalents of the letter 'R' in Foreign Names," by Dr. Hirth, in the *Journal China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi, p. 214 seq. At the same time I may remark that the forms *Kau-têk* and *Kŭu-dŭk* may also be directly traced to the Sanskrit *Kaṭaka* (='tableland,' a 'royal capital or metropolis'), however different this be from Ptolemy's transcript **Kortatha**. *Kaṭaka* was the name of the former capital of Orissa, now usually written *Cuttack*.

[2] A jewel worn in the top-knot on the crown of the shaven head, in the crest or diadem. In support of this conjectural name of the capital compare *Śrī Bani*, the designation borne by one of the Northern Campā capital cities, pronounced

of the country, and subsequently transformed by the Sino-Annamese into *Chiu-tê*, *Kiu-tèt*, *Kau-tèk*, etc.

Whichever of the three surmises made above be the correct one, only further local investigation will be able to disclose. Meanwhile, we may rest satisfied with the conclusion that Ptolemy's **Kortatha** most assuredly corresponds to the district-city of 九德 (*Chiu-tê*, etc.). Were other evidence wanting, the mere fact of these characters being to this day pronounced *Kiu-tet* by the Hakkas would be sufficient to establish the etymological connection.[1]

Pagrasa (No. 117).

We are here in the presence of a toponymic identical to the one (No. 93) we have already met with on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siām, and explained (*supra*, p. 191) as being composed of the two Khmēr terms *Pā* or *Bā*, meaning 'chief,' 'great,' and *Krāṣ*, of as yet undetermined signification. Given that the name of the city or mart now under discussion can be traced to the same original terms, it would but prove that an identical language prevailed on both the Gulfs of Tonkin and Siām, a fact which does not come as a surprise to us, since we have over and again insisted

Śrī Banōi by the Chām. This term may well be a mere travesty of *Śrī Maṇi*, unless it can be proved to be connected, as I have already pointed out, with the indigenous term *Bā-lōi*.

[1] Dr. Hirth, in the paper referred to above, in which he endeavours to trace the origin of Ptolemy's term **Kattigara** to the name borne by the ancient district of *Chiu-tè* or *Kiu-tet*, makes a quotation from a Chinese work which requires rectification! "The Chinese geographer," he goes on to state (see *China Review*, vol. xviii, p. 53), "points out a city called *Huan-chou*, situated south-east of Nge-an, opposite the promontory of Hainan, as the place where the ancient *Kao-tê* [i.e. *Chiu-tê*, etc.] was located when it was the capital of one of the three principalities—*Sin-ch'ang*, *Wu-p'ing*, and *Kao-tê* [in Annamese, *Tŏn-c'hüang*, *Vŏ-biñ*, and *Kiŭu-dŭk*]—which formed the three divisions of Annam which existed in the beginning of the third century." This extract does not help us one whit in establishing the exact position of *Kao-tê*, since *Huan-chou* was not a city, but a district established in 581–601 by the Sui in the place of the ancient *bŏ* of *Huŏi-hwan* (which included Ngē-ān and part of Hà-tīñ), and since *Kiŭu-dŭk* itself did not at first make part of *Huan-chou*, but was included in it much later, viz. between A.D. 627 and 650, by the T'ang (see Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 107 and 153).

throughout the preceding pages on the fact that the coasts of both those regions were at the early period we are concerned with inhabited by a population of the same—i.e. Mōñ-Annam or, as I prefer to call it, *C'hīeng*—stock, to which the Chām also undoubtedly belonged, notwithstanding what is asserted otherwise by ethnological and philological authorities. The term *Bà* passed over to the Thai, who retain it to this day in the sense of 'chief,' 'master,' 'teacher,' or '*guru*'[1]; and that it obtained favour with the same signification among the Chām is exemplified by the term *Bā-shêh*, still applied to the highest caste of the priesthood, descendants probably of the Brāhmaṇs of Campā, who are to be found all over Bìñ-thwō̃n, more especially in the valley of Panrāng.[2]

But we have likewise observed that in some dialects of the semi-wild tribes of Kamboja, *Bā* or *Bah* means also the embouchure of a river as well as a confluent, and it is probably in this sense that we find it in many a name of the *Bā* or *Pā* class, such as *Bā-Śak* or *Pā-Śak*, *Pā-Tāni*,[3] and Ptolemy's **Pagrasa, Palanda**, etc. In Annam *Bā* (妃, *Bà*) is frequently used as a prefix to the names of marts owing to the fact, it is said, that many of these were established close by the house of some influential tradeswoman, wherefore they came to be designated as the 'market of *Bā* (dame) so and so'; *Bā* literally meaning 'dame,' 'lady,' in this case.[4] It is, however, doubtful whether at the early period now under

[1] In the expression *Khrū-Bā-Āchān* (*Guru-Bā-Ācārya*), used as a collective designation for teachers. In ancient works, such as the "Northern Annals," *Bā* is used as a title of respect prefixed to the name of chiefs, princes, chief artisans, etc.

[2] See Aymonier's "History of Tchampa," loc. cit., p. 26, and the same author's "Les Tchames et leurs religions," p. 43. The term *Bā-shêḥ* may be compared with the Siāmese *Bā-c'hī* (*Bā-jī*) and the Khmēr *Bā-ku*, both meaning Great or Chief Teacher, Chief Priest (as applied to Brāhmaṇs).

[3] Usually explained as *Pā* (father) of *Tāni*, but I am inclined to think that *Pā* has the old Mōñ-Khmēr sense here also. Locally, however, it is now pronounced with the short vowel thus: *Pă-Tāni*.

[4] See Landes, "Contes et Légendes Annamites," in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 22, p. 388, footnote; and No. 26, p. 281, index, s.v. This privilege accorded to the fair sex finds its explanation in the fact that all over Indo-China the retail trade is mostly in the hands of women, and that, as admitted in *conte* 52 (see index, p. 291) by the Annamese author himself, "in Cochin China women are superior to men in the conduct of business, an often-remarked fact."

consideration the term *Bă* was as yet used in this sense in the district where **Pagrasa** stood, and I should accordingly think that either of the two significations given at the outset are entitled to our preference, the second one appearing to be the most eligible.

The rectified latitude, 19° 54′ N., obtained in the tables for **Pagrasa** indicates for this city or mart a location about the mouths of the Song-Mā, not far away from the present district-city of Thạn-hwā and from the *Kŭa-Dāi* or 'Great Mouth' forming the southernmost outlet of the *Song-kạ̄i* (Song-koi) or Red River flowing by Hă̄-nŏ̄i city. In the term *Kŭa Dāi* or 'Great Mouth' we may have the Sino-Annamese—and consequently modern—equivalent of the ancient Mŏñ-Annam toponymic *Bā-* or *Pā-grāṣa*. If not, the location proposed at the mouths of the Song-Mā would agree very well with the name of the city, given that the prefix *Pā* or *Bă* is to be taken in its second sense of embouchure of a river; and in this case the term **Pagrasa** would mean the *Grāṣa* (or *Krāṣ*) mouth (city, village, mart, or harbour). There is a place marked *P'hŭ-khē* (Phu-khê) in modern maps, a little above Thạn-hwā and by the bank of the Song-Mā, which would seem to answer all requirements, its name meaning 'city of the stream' or 'city (at the mouth) of the river,' and approaching very closely in sound — allowing for the modifications it must have undergone in passing through Annamese tongues unable to pronounce the *r*'s and final *s*'s—to *Bā-Krāṣ* or *Pā-grāṣ*. But it is perhaps better to leave the final settlement of these questions to local experts.

Proceeding, therefore, in our preliminary inquiry, the next toponymic that attracts our attention is that of *Kazĕḥ*, already noticed as applied to a part of Tonkin by the Burmese, in the expression *Kiò-Kazĕḥ* meaning evidently the *Kĕu* or *Kiao* (people) of the Kazĕḥ (region or district). *Kazĕḥ* may well be intended to represent *Krāṣ* or *Grāṣa*, and *Pā-Kazĕḥ* the mouth of the river of the *Krāṣ* country (*Pāgrāṣa*). I do not insist, however, on this identification, which is to be regarded as merely tentative, owing to the

lack of sufficient data wherewith to establish the exact location of the *Kiô-Kazëḥ* district. The same remark applies to our suggestion as regards the possible identity of **Pagrasa** with the stronghold of *Khū-lŏ̄t* or *Khu-lât* made in the preceding paragraph. This fortress, we have seen, was situated on the northern border of Chām territory, and by the bank of a river recorded under the now forgotten name of *Lô-dzung*, which may have been either the Song-kā̆ or the Song-Mā̆. The district of *Lô-dzung*, where the source of this stream is located, and from which the latter took its name, is described as part of *Jih-nan* from the time of the Han conquest (B.C. 111), and located to the north-west of *Lin-i*.[1] From the fact that it is mentioned in the list of the *Jih-nan* subdivisions immediately after that of *Tí-kán* (*Pi-kin*), and two places before that of *Hsiang-lin* (*Lin-i*), it would appear that *Lô-dzung* was lying considerably north of the last-named, being at the same time coterminous (probably on the west) with *Pi-kin*.[2] *Khū-löt* stood then, probably, on *Pi-kin* territory, and may have been its chief city, corresponding at the same time to Ptolemy's **Pagrasa**, which it somewhat resembles in name. The term *Khū-löt* or *Khū-lât* is, in fact, possibly the Annamese corruption of the local word *Krat* or *Krāṣ*, which, in conjunction with the prefix *Bā* or *Pā*, may have formed the real name of the city. Not being supplied with the native characters used in spelling the Annamese name of the

[1] See Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 122 text and 87 notes.

[2] Ibid., p. 50. The names of the five districts into which *Jih-nan* is alleged to have been subdivided by the Han in B.C. 111 are given in the following order, proceeding from north to south :—

(1) Chöu-ngȭ (Chou-ou)—location described as being north of *Chan-ch'êng* (Campā, or *Lin-i*).

(2) Tí-kā̆n (Pi-kin)—location described as being north of *Chan-ch'êng* (Campā, or *Lin-i*).

(3) Lô-dzung (Lu-yung)—location described as being north-west of *Chan-ch'êng* (Campā, or *Lin-i*).

(4) Töi-kwìen (Hsi-ch'üan)—no location given.

(5) Tüang-löm (Hsiang-lin)—located to north-west of modern *Chan-ch'êng* (Southern Campā).

city, we cannot judge how far the etymological connection we have suggested can be maintained. But it seems quite certain, from the arguments we have adduced in the preceding pages, that **Pagrasa** must have been somehow connected with the ancient district of *Tĭ-kắñ* and its well-known port, whether *Khū-löt* was its chief city or not. The correct name of this district, we have shown, must have been *Pakan*, *Prakan*, or *Prakŭng*, since it is up to this day so pronounced by the Lāu, and very slightly differently by the Burmese (*Pagan*) and Southern Chinese (*Pi-kin*, *Pei-king*); *Tĭ-kắn* being merely the modern Annamese way of reading the characters by which its name has been recorded in Chinese historical works. We have likewise pointed out that it was most probably a Lāu foundation, forming part of the Indū-Lāusian kingdom of *Cūlaṇī*, and have located it to the east of the *P'hūen* State in the present Thaṇ-hwạ̄ district in accordance with the evidence elicited from Lāu as well as Chinese records, which latter describe it as lying to the north of *Lin-i*. That **Pagrasa** stood in the territory of *Prakan* seems, therefore, an undeniable fact. And the very close resemblance in names noticeable between the two places suggests also an etymological connection. Truly, the finals in both differ considerably, but it must be borne in mind that well-nigh two thousand years have elapsed since Ptolemy noted down as **Pagrasa** what he heard pronounced *Pā-krāṣ* or *Bā-grāṣ*, and that during that interval there has been ample opportunity for these terms to become modified into *Pā-krān* or *Bā-grān*, and thence, by metathesis, into *Prākān*, *Prakan*, *Pagan*, etc. The modern Annamese form *Tĭ-kắn* is a good instance in point as to the evolution that the pronunciation of those terms must have undergone. In any case, I shall leave it to future research to establish whether the name of **Pagrasa** is to be connected with that of the *Tĭ-kắn* or *Prakan* district or of its chief city, be it *Prakan* or *Khū-löt* that the latter was called, or something to that effect. Suffice it for the present to have fixed the position of **Pagrasa** within the territory of *Prakan* and at the mouth

of the Song-Mā, not far from the present Thạn-hwạ̄ district-city, which is the place obtained by calculation in our tables on the basis of Ptolemy's data. It will be seen, then, that **Pagrasa** was very likely the famous port on that sea-coast called *Pi-kin* in Chinese records, after either the name of the district, *Pi-kin*, i.e. *Prakan*, or its chief city. Which was the case we are unable to decide, but it seems very probable that the expression 'port of *Pi-kin*' merely meant the 'shipping port for the *Pi-kin* [i.e. *Prakan*] district,' and had no specific reference to the name borne by the port itself or the town or mart rising on its border. At any rate, we presume that this may have been the place at which the *Ta-ts'in* embassy of A.D. 166 landed, since this mission is said, it will be remembered, to have proceeded to China from the northern frontier of *Jih-nan*, and it must accordingly have disembarked about here in territory which was then considered, *de jure*, as part of the Chinese *chün* of *Jih-nan*, though perhaps not as yet belonging to it *de facto*. Should the latter have been the case, *Pi-kin* or *Pra-kan* must have passed under Chinese domination in A.D. 43, as a result of Ma-yüan's expedition, which reached, as we have seen, the borders of Thañ-hwạ̄. On the other hand, should **Pagrasa** turn out to be identical with *Khū-löt*, its territory must have remained part of the Cūlaṇī or Upper Campā kingdom down to A.D. 446, the date at which *Khū-löt* fell at last into the power of the Chinese.

Dōrias River (Nos. 116 and 181).

This is the river of Hà-nôi, usually referred to under the vague designation of Song-koi (more correctly *Song-kāi*), which merely means 'Chief river' in Annamese. It is formed by the junction of three respectable streams all rising in Southern Yünnan, to wit:—

(1) The 'Black River' or *Song-Bờ*, termed *Nạm-Thẹ̄* by the Lāu, *Thẹ̄* being, no doubt, its correct and time-honoured name.[1]

(2) The 'Red River,' known to the Lāu as the *Nạm-Tāu*, i.e. the *Tāu* River, which, we shall demonstrate directly, is its old and real appellation.

(3) The 'Clear River' or *Song-Lu*, designated by the Chinese *Lu Kiang* (瀘江, *Lu Chiang*) and *Ch'ing-Ho* (清河) or *Ch'ing Kiang* (清江).[2]

Of the three branches just named, the Red River or *Nạm-Tāu* has, from the greatest antiquity, been regarded as the principal one; hence its name was also applied to their

[1] In fact it is known under a similar designation, *Dà-jāng* (沱江, *T'o-chiang*), to the Annamese.

The Chinese names *Pa-pien Kiang* (把邊江, 'boundary encompassing river') and *Li-hsien Kiang* (李仙江, 'Plum-fairy River'), applied to it within Yünnanese territory, do not deserve being retained in our maps, since they evidently are comparatively modern. It is to be noticed that the Chinese consider the *Pa-pien* a mere tributary, and the *Sa-p'u Ho* (薩普河), one of its upper affluents, the principal branch, and give the name *Li-hsien* to the watercourse resulting from their junction. Somehow the term *Sa-p'u* appears to be of Buddhist origin, and connected with the term *P'u-sa* (菩薩), the Chinese contracted form of *Bodhisattva*. The term *Hạk Hồ* (黑河, *Hê Ho*), i.e. 'Black River,' applied to the *Li-hsien* in the lower part of its course, before it joins the Red River, is also, no doubt, of very modern (Chinese) growth; while the native denomination *Song-Bờ* which the river bears here is very probably derived from *Chỗ-bò* (墟坡, 'Market-limits')—the Cho-bo of our incorrigible geographers and cartographers, a flourishing village situated at the point where the stream, after precipitating itself down a barrier of limestone boulders, enters a very picturesque defile and turns towards the north to meet the Red River. The term *Song Phuam* marked on the Black River above An-Châu in Devéria's map (op. cit., p. 84) is, if correct, another possible designation for this stream.

[2] To the Annamese it appears to be known also as *Song Bồ-đề* (滝菩提, *Song P'u-t'i*), meaning the 'River of *Bodhi*,' presumably of the *Bo-* or *Bodhi*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), from some such tree having formerly stood on its banks, or else from the town named *Bồ-đề* (*Bodhi*), which Taberd, in his "Tabula Geographica Imperii Anamitici," 1838, marks on the right side of this stream.

combined waters from Sön-töi (Son-tây) down to the sea. The terms *Song-koi* or *Song-kại* (滝 弓) and *Song-ká* (滝 哥) —both equally meaning 'Principal,' or 'Chief,' 'River'— by which their common channel is now usually designated, are, it goes without saying, of too recent introduction and too vague withal to deserve of being paraded in our maps and geographical treatises as is so often done. If time-honoured tradition counts for anything and is to be at all followed, the name Red River, *Nạm-Tâu*, or its Sino-Annamese form *Dầu-jāng*, should be preserved and applied to the main river throughout its whole length, from its sources in Yünnan to its principal outlet in the Tonkin Gulf, discarding altogether the multiform designations that both Chinese and Annamese have devised for the various portions of its course.[1] The term *Dầu-jāng* occurs in the Annamese Annals

[1] The designations here referred to are :—

(1) *Ch'ih-shwei Ho* (Red-water River?) for its headwaters in the neighbourhood of Mèng-Hwa.

(2) *Yüan Chiang* for the portion of its course lying within the Yüan-chiang (元 江) district lower down. It must be noted that this district only dates from Mongol times, being formerly in the hands of the Lāu, who called it *Müang Chung*. Hence the name Yüan-chiang for this portion of the river's course is indisputably modern and of Chinese origin.

(3) *Ho-ti Chiang*, 河 底 江 (Lower River?), for the next tract down to Man-hao.

(4) *Li-hwa Chiang*, 梨 花 江 (Pear-blossom River), or *Li-shê Chiang*, 禮 社 江 (River of the sacrificial offerings), below Man-hao, the point where it begins to become navigable by boat.

(5) *Fu-liang Chiang*, 富 良 江 (Very rich or very wealthy River), in Annamese *P'hū-lūang Jāng*, for the portion of its course within Annamese territory.

(6) *Êrh Ho*, 珥 河 (Earring River), in Annamese *Nĩ-hà*, a poetical name for the portion of its course that lies within the Hà-nõi district.

(7) *Hung Chiang*, 紅 江 (Red River), for the portion of its course nearest to the sea, on account, it is said, of the colour of its water, especially during the high tide.

Besides these designations it may possess several others which did not come

since as early a date as *circâ* A.D. 550,[1] and I have already

within our notice.* All those just now referred to are, with one exception, of very modern introduction. The exception is to be made in favour of the fifth term, *Fu-liang Chiang*, which I find mentioned by Ma Tuan-lin once under the date 1076 A.D. (op. cit., p. 335), and the next time in a passage he quotes from Fan Shih-hu (better known as Fan Ch'êng-ta, last quarter of twelfth century), reading as follows (ibid., p. 349): "Starting from T'ai-p'ing [South Kwang-hsi] and proceeding straight southwards, one passes *Kwang-lang* and *Hua-pu*; next he crosses the rivers *Fu-liang* and *Pê-t'êng* [White-creeper River], and reaches the capital of Annam [then called *Thang-long* = the ancient *Dāi-lā* and the modern Hà-nõi] in four days." I shall not concern myself with the 'White-creeper River,' which is presumably the Song-kao, Song Kà-lô, or Thāi-bīn, and should have accordingly been enumerated first, but shall confine my remarks to the *Fu-liang* or *P'hū-lūang*. That this is the Red River most Sino-Annamese scholars seem to be agreed (see, e.g., Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite," p. 55, where only the Annamese name is given and no native characters, which I had, as usual, to hunt up for myself, and found, as above stated, in Ma Tuan-lin; and his "Histoire des relations de la Chine avec l'Annam," passage quoted by the Abbé Launay in "Histoire de l'Annam," p. 25, n. 1). It is mentioned under this name in connection with the ill-fated end of the patriotic *Trưng* (徵, *Chêng*) sisters, vanquished by Ma-yüan in A.D. 43, whose bodies, drowned in a tributary of the *Fu-liang Chiang*, floated down until they reached the main watercourse (Launay, l.c., quoting from Devéria, op. cit.). From the antiquity of the native text where this narrative occurs, it will be possible to judge how far back into the past the term *Fu-liang* can be traced. If it already existed in A.D. 43, the date of the events referred to, it would prove a formidable rival to the designation *Tâu* or *Dâu*. Both terms may have, however, coexisted from an early period as alternative names for the same river. It may turn out, on the other hand, that the native author of the above narrative used, when penning it, the name *Fu-liang* current in his time for the river, instead of the old one *T'au* or *Dâu* occurring in the ancient records he consulted. The Abbé Launay, in his "Histoire de l'Annam," p. 68, between the dates 1279 and 1293 A.D., speaks of a river called *Vān-kiep* in Annamese, which, he says, is the same as the Red River and the *Fu-liang Chiang*. If so, we should have still another entry to make in our list of the designations borne by the Red River. It would be well worth while to ascertain whether the character used to represent the first syllable of the term *Vān-kiep* is the same or not with 湾 *Wan*, employed to designate the Mê-Không (v. sup., p. 135).

[1] See Des Michels, op. cit., p. 144, where this river is described as rising in the country of the Ai-Lao. This is exact, as the Red River has its sources

* A possible one is 滝 澞, *Song-Lũ* (in Chinese 澞 江, *Lũ Chiang*), occurring in Sino-Annamese records, which seems to apply more to the Red River than to the 滝 瀘, *Song-Lô* or Lu Chiang (瀘 江), i.e. the Clear River. The map in Rocher's work ("Le Yün-nan," vol. i, 1879) has the term *Ta-yang Chiang* marked above the river's confluence with the Chin-shwei Ho, its left tributary coming from *San-chia-ch'ang*. Again, the denomination *Lien-hwa T'an* (蓮 花 灘, properly meaning the 'Rapids of Lien-hwa') is sometimes applied to the portion of the river's course about Man-hao in the relations of Western travellers (see, however, Devéria, op. cit., pp. 51, 52).

pointed out in these pages (p. 125 *supra*) that the Red River or *Nạm-Tāu* is the stream therein alluded to. I have since found out that to this day the Annamese still designate the Red River by the same term, *Dầu-jāng*, which they write 洮 江 or 桃 江 (in Chinese *T'au-chiang*), meaning 'Peach River' in Chinese; but locally, more properly, 'Rose-apple River' or 'Pink River,' as the first character is used to denote the rose-apple (*Eugenia Jambu*) and the pink colour in Annam. It goes without saying, however, that this is merely the interpretation put by the modern Annamese upon the old name given to this stream by the early settlers about its banks, whether of Mōñ-Annam or Indū descent. What that old name was like, we may judge from the form *Tāu* or *Dāu* in which it has come down to us from antiquity,[1] and yet more accurately from the form **Dōrias** in which it has been recorded by Ptolemy. For it is most certain that Ptolemy's **Dōrias**

in the neighbourhood of *Mêng-shê* (now Mêng-hwa T'ing), the ancient chief town of the Ai-Lao and Nan-Chao. Des Michels has, however, left the *Dầu-jāng* unidentified, nor has he given us the native characters with which its name is spelled. One of the fugitive Annamese princes, we are told (ibid.), settled at the headwaters of the river and built there a city, proclaiming himself king of *Dầu-lāng* (*T'au-lang*). From this it would appear that his State was named after the Red River. Since writing the above I was glad to find in Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite" (pp. 52 and 55) the confirmation, from Chinese sources, of my identification of the *Dầu-jāng* or *T'au-chiang* with the Red River. It is to be regretted that this author, also, does not give the equivalent Chinese characters, which I had to find out for myself. I trust that those I obtained and gave above in the text are correct. From a Siāmese translation of the *Việt-nām Sử-kỉ*, a native history of Annam which has recently appeared in Bāngkōk, I gather (p. 80) that the kingdom of *Dầu-lāng* had been so named from the *Dầu*, or Red, River, my surmise thus proving correct.

[1] I am of opinion that the term *Lŏm-Dầu* (臨 桃, in Chinese *Lin-t'au*), still existing as a designation for the *Lŏm-Dầu* district (臨 桃 府, *Lŏm-dầu P'hŭ*, the Lam-dao or Lam-tao of maps) on the left bank of the Red River just above its confluence with the Black River, is simply the local transcript of the Lāu name *Nậm-Tāu* for the Red River, of which *T'au-chiang* or *Dầu-jāng* is the Sinicized form. These considerations show that the character 桃 or 洮 in the above toponymics must not be taken in its literal sense, but should be viewed as a mere phonetic rendering, in Chinese dress, of the old name *Tāu*—or of its probably still older form *Dāu*, etc.—borne by the Red River.

designates no other river than the one we know from at least the sixth century A.D. to have been called *Tāu* or *Dàu*, and but recently termed by Europeans the 'Red River.' The positions we have obtained in our tables for both its sources and outlet agree most remarkably with those assigned to them in modern maps. The difference is merely 10′ of latitude in excess for the mouth, which can be explained by variations that may have taken place in the river bed, an ordinary occurrence in all deltas. The difference is greater for the sources, but yet within one and a half degree of the truth, in both latitude and longitude. Hence not only does the topographical identity of the **Dōrias** with the Red River become incontrovertibly proved, but it plainly follows that Ptolemy had a far clearer idea of this river's course than even the Jesuit Fathers who mapped it down in the early part of the eighteenth century and innocently considered it to be a branch of the Kin-sha or Upper Yang-tsz ![1]

From a linguistical point of view, the identity of the name of the **Dōrias** with those—*Tāu, T'au, Dàu*—by which the Red River has been for centuries, and is still at the present day, known to the Lāu, Annamese, Chinese, and, in fact, to all neighbouring nations, is too evident to need demonstration. *Dāu* and *Tāu* are undoubtedly the apocopated forms of some ancient term not far different from **Dōrias**, and presumably of Indū origin. This may have been *Tūryā, Taurya, Dumriyā, Durgā*, or something to that effect.[2]

[1] See Devéria, op. cit., pp. 55, 56, who adds that the error was reproduced by d'Anville in the maps he drew up on the pattern of those of the Jesuits.

[2] Compare, in fact, any of these with the name *Fu-hang* of the Red River alluded to above, should it really be so ancient as it seems. But for the initial it might be taken as the equivalent of **Dōrias**. The characters used in spelling it sound *Hou-liong* or *Pou-liong* in the Fu-chou dialect, *Pu-ryang* in Korean, and *Fu-riō* in Japanese. Substituting *T* or *D* for the initial we would have *Turyang, Duryang, Turiō, Duriō*. Possibly the river was called in the old days both *Fu-liang* and *T'āu-liang*. In any case, there is sufficient evidence of its having borne in the sixth century the name of *Dàu-lāng* (Chinese *T'au-lang*), for we have seen that the fugitive Annamese prince who settled at its headwaters in about 550 A.D. christened his new kingdom *Dàu-lāng* after the river. The term *Dàu, T'au*, or *Tāu* now applied to the Red River by, respectively, the

Aganagara (No. 114).

In the first section of this paper I have identified this city with Hà-nôi (Hanoi),[1] the present capital of Tonkin. An examination of Annamese records shows that the seat of government of *Kiao-chi* has almost invariably been either at Hà-nôi or in its immediate neighbourhood. At the time of the early kingdom of Van-lāng (文郎, in Chinese *Wên-lang*) the capital was established at P'hong-chôu, on the site or a little to the north of the present Sơn-tòi (Sơn-tây).[2] Later on, namely, in 258 B.C., P'hān (泮), king of Thūk (the feudal state of *Shu*, 蜀, in Sz'ch'uan), overthrew the

Annamese, Chinese, and Lāu, is thus very likely a contraction of an ancient form *Dān-lāng*, *T'an-lang*, *Tān-lang*, or *Tan-rang*, which constituted the early full name of the river in question. This being the case, the connection of the latter with some Indū term such as, e.g., *Tūrya*, *Turiyaṁ*, *Turaṅga*, *Dumriyā*, etc., would become still more manifest.

It may be not without interest to recall here the fact that Dampier, in 1688, terms *Domea* the northern branch of the Song-kāi (Song-koi) River, after the name, he says, of the first town he met after entering it, which stood on the left bank, at from five to six leagues from the mouth (see Prévost's "Histoire Générale des Voyages," vol. xi, 1753, p. 431). This *Domea* branch is, as I have ascertained, the *Kīa Thāi-biñ*, or present western outlet of the Thāi-bìñ (太平) River, through which an arm of the Song-kāi discharges to this day, and the main stream could easily be reached by merchant vessels in Dampier's time and later (*vide* Taberd's map, 1838, which marks the outlet in question as 'C. Đại-bình,' and makes the main body of the 'Sông Cả' flow through it). Other writers, however, apply the term *Domea*, which they more frequently spell *Dornea* (as e.g., in Everard's "Treatises," p. 17, quoted in Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India," 3rd ed., vol. iii, p. 909, s.v. 'Tonkin'), to the 'Tonkin River,' i.e. the main course of the Song-kāi itself, thus leading one to conjecture that this term *Dornea* or *Domea*, whether now applying to the river or to a mere village on its banks, may be a relic of the name **Dōrias**, etc., once borne by that stream.

[1] 河內 (in Chinese *Ho-nei* = 'river interior'), formerly called *Kẻ-chõ*, 几㘝 (in which 几 is the Latin *qui* [Parker, in the *China Review*, vol. xxi, p. 281, is mistaken in suggesting 畿, *chi*, *ki*, or *ke*, 'metropolitan area'], and 㘝 means 'market'; hence, 'those of the market,' 'market people,' or, simply, '*the* mart'). The latter is the term so recklessly transcribed *Kesho* in our maps and geographical treatises. Needless to say that both these designations are quite modern, the name of the ancient chief city of Tonkin, which stood practically on the site of the present Hà-nôi in Ptolemy's time, being *Lung-pien*, as will be shown in due course.

[2] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 2.

monarchy of Van-lāng,[1] changed the name of the State into

[1] I must call attention to the fact that the account of this expedition of the king of Thūk agrees very closely with that of the conquest of Tonkin by king Dharmāśoka of Magadha, as given in the Müang Yōng chronicle referred to on pp. 297–8 *supra*. The Annamese Annals say that the king of Thūk invaded Tonkin in order to punish the king of Van-lāng for having refused to give him his daughter in marriage; and that the Van-lāng monarch, upon learning of the advance of his enemy, jumped into a well, causing his own death. (Des Michels, op. cit., p. 9.) The Müang Yōng chronicle states that Aśoka, having conquered the whole of Jambu-dvīpa except *Videha-raṭṭha* (Yünnan) and *Müang Kēu* (Kiao-chi), whose kings had not yet gone to pay him homage, marched an army into their countries. The king of Yünnan submitted, but the ruler of Tonkin, in utter despair, "jumped into the water," drowning himself, as soon as he saw the enemy approaching. The meek Aśoka, however, had his body recovered and brought to him; then, by pouring over it some consecrated water of divine virtue from a goblet, he recalled the deceased potentate to life. The king of Kēu, as soon as he recovered his senses, made his obeisance to Aśoka; and the latter, satisfied with having obtained his submission, reinstated him upon the throne, and withdrew with the army in the direction of Müang Yōng. It will be seen that the date given in the Annamese Annals for the invasion of the king of Thūk, 258 B.C., falls about midway between those stated in Buddhist accounts and those put forward by Oriental scholars for the period of the reign of Aśoka, i.e. 325–289 B.C. and 259–223 B.C. respectively. Moreover, the king of Thūk is called *P'hặn* or *Thūk-P'hặn* (蜀泮), while Aśoka is also known by the name of *Aśoka-vardhana*. (Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, vol. iv, p. 187. See also p. 188, where the variant *Śuka* occurs.) Does it not, then, seem likely that the name *Thūk-P'hặn* is intended to represent the term *Aśoka-vardhana* or *Aśoka-Brāhmaṇ* (*Śok-van*, *Śok-brāhm*)? I leave these questions to the reconsideration of Oriental scholars. In the meantime, it appears to me pretty well certain that the king of Thūk must have been a prince from India and not from China; and that here, as I have remarked on p. 301 *ante*, the establishment of an Indū monarchy in Tonkin is implied. The name of the district where the king of Thūk established his residence, *P'hōng-khē*, looks like a rendering of *Vaṅga*, or *Baṅga*; the new designation given to the kingdom, *Ŏu-lāk*, *Âu-lāk*, savours also of Sanskrit (*Alakā*, *Ārakṣa*, *Āryaka*? The Bhāgavata Purāṇa places a river, Āryakā, in this region); in fine, the shape given the city, like a conch-shell, or *śaṅkha*, and other coincidences show very clearly the Indū character of the conquest. Even the commentators of the Annamese Annals (see Observations, p. 10) do not believe that the invaders were from China, and are of opinion that allusion is made to some prince from the north-west, beyond the frontiers of Van-lāng. It must be remembered that at about the same period, or B.C. 315, the general Chwang-K'iao, from the southern Chinese State of Ch'u, conquered *Tien* (Yünnan) and then established himself there as king, having to contend before long for the mastery with a prince from Magadha. An Indian prince bearing the name of Aśoka had, in fact, by that time settled near the Ta-li Lake, where his descendants reigned afterwards for many generations (see above, p. 123). The State of *Shu*, whence king Thūk-P'hặn is said to have hailed, had been annihilated by the Ts'in since 326 B.C., or sixty-eight years before his invasion of Tonkin. Hence there could not have been any king of *Shu* in 258 B.C., when the said invasion took place.

As regards the designation *Ôu-lāk* or *Ŏu-lāk* applied by the victorious king Thūk P'hặn to the conquered country, the Annamese annalists tell us (Des Michels, op. cit., p. 11) that Tonkin had already been known as *Lāk-viet*

Öu-lāk (*Âu-lạk*), and established his residence at P'hōng-khē (封溪, in Chinese *Fêng-ch'i*) in the province of Bạk-niñ (Bac-ninh), district of Dông-ngàn, a little to the north-east of the present Hā-nôi. Here, in 255 B.C., he built for himself a capital by the name of *Luổ-thàñ* or *Loa-thanh* (in Chinese 螺城, *Lo-ch'êng* = 'conch-shell ramparts'), so

(駱越, in Chinese *Lo-yüeh*) or *Māk-vĕt* (*Mak-bet*, etc., cf. with Sulaimān's *Mabed*, p. 205 *supra*; in Chinese 貉越, *Ho-yüeh*) at the period of the Chinese Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122–255), and was called Western *Ôu* or *Öu* (西甌, in Chinese *Hsi-Ou*) and *Öu-lāk* (甌貉, in Chinese *Ou-ho*) under the Ts'in (B.C. 255–206), both these being evidently contractions of *Tŏi Öu-lāk* (*Hsi Ou-lo* or *Hsi Ou-ho*). Fields on the seaside called the 'Fields of *Lāk*' (*Lāk-dĭen* 駱田, in Chinese *Lo-t'ien*) are also mentioned, with the remark that the natives who lived by their produce were termed '*Lāk-hŏu*' (駱侯, in Chinese *Lo-hou*) and the district chiefs *Lāk-thị̆ang*. *Öu* or *Ou* (甌) is still a name for *Wên-chou* (and a river in its neighbourhood), the kingdom of which it was the capital in Han times being called *Tung-Ou*, i.e. 'Eastern *Ou*.' This State then included Southern and Western Chêh-kiang. By analogy, it appears, Tonkin was called *Hsi-Ou*, i.e. 'Western Ou.' *Hsi-Ou*, we are told, in fact (loc. cit.), was lying to the west of *P'an-yü* (Canton). According to Kang-hi, it has been remarked (*China Review*, vol. xviii, p. 320), the inhabitants of modern Hainan are still called *Ou-jên* (甌人), being immigrants from *Ou* or *Ngeu*, as Wên-chou is designated to this day. From this it would appear that the early populations of Tonkin and Chêh-kiang belonged to the same racial stock, which, ethnographically, is to a certain extent probably true. I cannot help, however, thinking that the designation *Öu-lāk* or *Öu-hāk* (甌駱, 甌貉, in Chinese *Ou-lo*, *Ou-ho*, *Au-hok*, etc.) formerly borne by, or applied to, Tonkin may be of Indū origin. Besides the derivations suggested above, I would advance a possible one from *Uraga*, in view of the local legends ascribing a Nāga origin to the early kings of the country, and the connection that is noticeable in the names of its ancient capitals with the dragon or king of serpents.

The name *Kiao-chi* or *Jāu-chĭ* was not applied to the country, according to Sino-Annamese historians (see Ma Tuan-lin, p. 308, and Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 45, 46), until the Han conquest of B.C. 111. Before that period it existed as the mere name of a province (including the territory around the present Hà-nôi and adjoining districts on the east, north, and west) under the ancient kingdoms of *Van-lāng* (down to B.C. 258) and *Nan-yüeh* (B.C. 208–116). Originally *Kiao-chi* or *Jāu-chĭ* was probably a tribal name, connected, as I have pointed out, with *Java*, *Yava*, *Yavana*, etc. (its first syllable is still pronounced *Yāu* instead of *Jāu* in several parts of Cochin-China). Its extension to the whole of Tonkin dating only from after B.C. 111, it is evident that it cannot have been before that period the racial name for the whole of its population—as many writers have hitherto assumed—but only for a limited portion of the same.

called because its walls turned round spirally like the whorls of a conch-shell.[1] It was called also *Tịi-long-thàñ* (思龍城, in Chinese *Sz-lung-ch'êng*), *Khă-lŭ-thàñ*[2] or *Kŏ-lwă* (古螺, *Ku-lo*), and *Kôn-lôn-thàñ*, the latter name being due to the height of its walls, which towered above the ground not unlike the *K'un-lun* (崐崘) Mountains.

The kingdom of *Öu-lāk* or *Thūk* had but a short existence, for in 208 B.C. the *Ts'in* general *Chao-t'o* (趙陀) conquered it and made himself king with capital at P'an-yü, at that time the name for Canton. In B.C. 116 the Han overthrew this dynasty, and in B.C. 110 they sent an official to govern the *chün* or province of Kiao-chi. The seat of government was then established at Long-bīen (龍編, in Chinese *Lung-pien*) or Long-wīen ('the Dragon's folds'), a city so called because when its walls were built a dragon was seen coiled up in the neighbourhood.

This city is, according to one version, the same as Hà-nŏi, the metropolis of Tonkin,[3] and it appears to have held this rank, with short intervals, ever since. Another version is to the effect that the administrative residence was first established by the Western Han at *Līen-thō* (somewhere to the north or north-east of Hà-nŏi), whence it was removed in B.C. 106 to *Kwang-hsin* (廣信, now Ts'ang-wu, the prefectural city of Wu-chou in Kwang-hsi), being successively shifted in A.D. 210 to *P'an-yü* (Canton), and back again in Tonkin to *Long-bīen* in A.D. 264.[4] Finally, a third version states that the Western Han seat of

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 11. It is evident that a conch-shell is implied. Of this surmise I have since found the confirmation in the Siāmese version of the *Vīet-nām Sử-kị* alluded to above, where (p. 18) the city walls are said to have wound round spirally like the volutes of a *Śaṅkha* shell. The Annamese Annals translated by Des Michels (ibid., p. 12) state that there were nine convolutions or folds, the king's palace standing in the centre.

[2] Also occurring in the inverted form *Thàñ-khà-lŭ* (城可樓, in Chinese *Ch'êng-k'o-lŭ* or *Ch'êng-k'o-lou* = *Śaṅkhala*?).

[3] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 53.

[4] Ibid., pp. 52, 53, and 101.

government stood at the outset at *Lwá-löu*, an ancient city the ruins of the ramparts of which are still to be seen near the actual village of *Lúng-khē*, district of *Sïeu-lwāi*, province of Bạk-niñ, at some thirty *li* (about five miles) to the north of Hà-nõi.[1] The ancient name of the district just referred to was *Dìn-löu*.[2] It would appear from this description that *Lwá-löu*, if not absolutely identical with the *Lwá-thàñ* of K'unlunic fame—I borrow this reboant, although perfectly harmless, adjectived form from Lacouperie, who so well loved to employ it,—must have stood very close to its site (which, we have seen, was also in the province of Bạk-niñ, district of *Dông-ngān*, and a short distance north-east of Hà-nõi), and may perhaps have been named after it; for *Lwá-löu* and *Lwá-thàñ* look practically identical as toponymics. It is a pity that the native annalists do not tell us whether these terms designate one and the same city or not. Some among them give us indirectly to understand, however,—which is rather more important for our present inquiry—that the city of *Lwá-löu* rose within the territory of *Long-bïen*.[3] Most of the evidence is thus in favour of the seat of government for *Kïao-chi* having been situated, during Western Han rule, in the *Long-bïen* district, and, if not at Hà-nõi itself (identified with the *Long-bïen* district-city of the period), at any rate within a radius of no more than five or six miles from it.

Opinions again differ not a little as to the location occupied by the administrative residence during the succeeding Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25–221). Those who incline to place it at *Long-bïen* (i.e. Hà-nõi) in Western Han times, declare that it was removed thence to *Mē-liñ*

[1] Ibid., p. 181.

[2] Ibid., p. 53.

[3] Ibid., p. 181. This I make out by inference as follows:—The ruins of *Lwá-löu* are stated (loc. cit.) to have been still extant in the district called *Tộng-biñ* in A.D. 825, the date at which the latter became the seat of government under the T'ang dynasty. This district of *Tộng-biñ* is said to have been formed out of a portion of the territory belonging to the district known by the name of *Long-bïen* under the Han. Hence it follows that *Lwá-löu* must have stood on ancient *Long-bïen* territory.

(north-east of Sön-töi) in about A.D. 25, and there remained under the Eastern Han.[1] But this view is emphatically rejected by the modern native historians, who hold that *Mĕ-liñ* never enjoyed such a privilege at the period in question. At the same time they are not at all explicit as to what they believe to have then been the seat of government for the *chün* of Kiao-chi proper, as distinguished from the *bŏ̃* or *chou* of *Kiao*. Since the latter included Tonkin as well as Kwang-tung, its general administrative residence may well have been from B.C. 106 to A.D. 210 at Kwang-hsin in Kwang-hsi, and next at *P'an-yü* or Canton (A.D. 210–264) as stated.[2] But with regard to the former, the district governor must have resided either at *Luă-lŏu* or *Long-bīen*. The greater share of probability rests with the latter-named city, for we are told that its ramparts were built since A.D. 208, or fully

[1] Ibid., pp. 52, 53.

[2] Ma Tuan-lin says (op. cit., p. 308) that the Western Han emperor Wu-Ti decided (B.C. 111) that the governor of the nine *chüns* of the *bŏ̃* or *pu* of Kiao-chi was to reside in the *chün* of Kiao-chi proper. "It is thus," he adds, "that the toponymic *Kiao-chi* prevailed," an observation corroborating our previous remarks as to the date at which this term began to spread beyond the limits of the district where it had originated. In A.D. 203 the Eastern Han changed into *chou* the administrative designation of *bŏ̃* or *pu* formerly applied to the region, and thus the latter became known as the *chou* of *Kiao*, being usually termed *Kiao-chau* or *Chiao-chou* (Des Michels, op. cit., p. 85); but the Tonkinese district of *Kiao-chi* proper continued to retain its name and character of *chün* of *Kiao-chi*. Not long afterwards, however, and precisely in A.D. 264, the Wu emperor Mo-Ti split the *chou* of *Kiao* into two territorial divisions, of which the northern one—termed *chou* of *Kwang* or *Kwang-chou*—had its gubernatorial residence at *P'an-yü* (Canton), and the other on the south—called *Kiao-chou*, and practically corresponding to the Tonkin of our days—had the seat of government fixed at *Lang-pien* (Long-bīen). Hence *Long-bīen* came to be often alluded to in historical accounts since that period as the Kiao-chou capital, or simply *Kiao-chou*. A knowledge of these frequent changes in the nomenclature of both the province and its chief city is absolutely necessary in order to avoid the confusion of localities and place-names which may easily arise from a superficial examination of Sino-Annamese records. Thus, prior to A.D. 264, the term *Kiao-chi* designated at one time (1) the region including Tonkin and Kwang-tung, with the southern part of Kwang-hsi; (2) the district of *Kiao-chi* proper (territory about Hà-nŏ̃i) in the same region; (3) the chief city of the latter. After A.D. 264 the term *Kiao-chou* denoted the country that we now call Tonkin, as well as its chief city; while *Kiao-chi* was used both for the said chief city and for the particular district in which it stood. Verily, "the heathen Chinee is peculiar," none the less so in his topographical nomenclature.

fifty-two years before it became the capital of the re-organized *chou* of *Kiao-chi*, now reduced by the Wu to practically the same limits occupied by the Tonkin of the present day. There would be no reason for such defensive works, had not *Long-bien* been at that period the seat of government for the *Kiao-chi* district. I am not prepared to assert that the jurisdiction of the official residing at that city extended to the adjoining Tonkinese *chüns* as well, for these appear to have had separate governors, subordinate, equally with that of the Kiao-chi *chün*, to the governor-general at Kwang-hsin or P'an-yü. But in view of the long connection that the *Long-bien* district had had with the ancient capitals of the region, and that the *chün* of *Kiao-chi* of which it formed part and parcel now had with the name borne by the whole territorial division of *Kiao-chou*, I should imagine that the *Long-bien* district-city must have enjoyed a certain prestige, if not actual ascendency over the sister-towns, and must somehow have been regarded nominally as the chief city, and its district as the principal district not only of the Kiao-chi *chün* but of the whole Tonkinese territory. Its strategical position at the head of the delta of the Red River, which made of it, down to recent years, the key of Tonkin, and to about four centuries ago its principal commercial port,[1] has no doubt, and in a great measure, contributed to heighten that prestige and give point to that ascendency, granted that the latter already made itself manifest at the period in question. At any rate, it is undoubtedly due to the peculiar advantages enumerated above that *Long-bien* was singled out among all the sister district-cities for protection with defensive works; and it is difficult to perceive the full necessity of such a step being taken without admitting that *Long-bien* was, at the same time, the seat of government for, at least, the *chün* of Kiao-chi.

It was in connection with the building of its bulwarks that a coiled dragon is fabled to have been discovered in

[1] "Il n'y a guère plus de quatre cents ans que Hanoï a cessé d'être port de mer" (*Excursions et Reconnaissances*, Cochinchine Française, No. 30, p. 166).

its neighbourhood, as already stated. From this incident, we are told, the city had its name changed into *Long-wĭen* (龍 蜿, in Chinese *Lung-yüan*), the 'Dragon's stealthy approach.' But its former designation, *Long-bĭen* (龍 編, in Chinese *Lung-pien*), must have been also connected with some dragon story, for it means, as we have seen, 'Dragon's folds,' or 'Dragon's coils.' Under this name the district had been known since the time of the Han conquest (B.C. 111), when, according to one of the versions given above, it became the seat of government for the whole region of Kiao-chi. Since A.D. 208, the date at which its *chef-lieu* was girt with protective ramparts, it is mentioned in native records both as *Long-bĭen* and *Long-wĭen*. From A.D. 264 to A.D. 533 the administrative residence for the whole *chou* of Kiao-chi stood at *Long-bĭen* district-city.[1] At the latter date a revolt broke out headed by the patriotic Lĭ-bôn. This personage took possession of *Long-bĭen*, drove out the Chinese governor maintained there by the Liang dynasty, and having readily become the master of the adjoining districts, he set up as king of the country (A.D. 538), which he called *Nām-vĭet* (南 越, in Chinese *Nan-yüeh*).[2] His reign, however, was but of brief duration, and in consequence of reverses he met with at the hands of the imperial troops he had to withdraw westwards into the hill tracts of the Black River, where he was carried off by jungle fever in A.D. 548. Thereupon one of his valiant generals proclaimed himself king with the title of Trĭeu-Vĭet-vūang, and having defeated the imperialists made *Long-bĭen* his residence (A.D. 550).[3] Thus, after an interval of seven and a half centuries, Tonkin recovered its independence from foreign rule, with *Long-bĭen* as capital.

A few years later a formidable competitor arose against Trĭeu-Vĭet-vūang in the person of Lĭ-p'hŏ̄t-tŭ, a relative of the former king Lĭ-bôn. Civil war broke out, and fortune favouring Lĭ-p'hŏ̄t-tŭ, he suppressed Trĭeu-Vĭet-vūang,

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 101.
[2] Ibid., pp. 132 and 135.
[3] Ibid., pp. 143, 144.

and set himself up as king (A.D. 569).[1] From that date *Long-bīen* ceased to be the capital, for the new ruler established his residence at P'hong-chôu (north-east of Sön-töi), the ancient metropolis of *Van-lāng*. The Vĭet-nām kingdom was destined, however, to be short-lived. In A.D. 602 the Sui despatched against it an expedition which was successful, and Lī-p'hŏt-tŭ made his submission.[2] Tonkin thus became once more a Chinese possession, being known under the old name of *Kiao-chou* at first, and *Kiao-chi* shortly afterwards.[3]

The T'ang re-established the designation *Kiao-chou* in A.D. 619; but having reorganized the country in A.D. 679, they called it 'Protectorate general of *An-nan*' (安南), i.e. the protectorate general that was to 'pacify the south.' Thence originated that vague term *Annām* (this being the local pronunciation of the above two characters), which, in the course of time, with the extension of Sino-Annamese dominions southwards at the expense of Campā, came to be applied to what was formerly Chām territory, while being superseded (in 1428) by the term Tonkin (東京, *Dông-kiñ, Tung-ching, Tung-king*, etc.) in the region it used to designate at first. The seat of government for the protectorate was established at *Kiao-chou*, i.e. the *chef-lieu* of the *Kiao* district.[4] Whether this was the old *Long-bīen* city or not we are not told, but we may well declare ourselves for the affirmative. In A.D. 757 the designation *An-nan* for the protectorate was changed to *Chên-nan* (in Annamese *Trönnām*), only to be re-established, however, in 768.[5]

In the interval we hear of a new city being founded, which is termed *Lā-thàñ* (羅城, in Chinese *Lo-ch'êng*). Its construction, the native historians tell us, was started in A.D. 767, continued in A.D. 791, and completed and improved upon in A.D. 808,[6] from which date the town

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 149, 150.
[2] Ibid., p. 151.
[3] Under Yang-Ti's reign (A.D. 605–617). See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 308.
[4] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 158.
[5] Ibid., pp. 168 and 171.
[6] Ibid., pp. 169, 173, 176.

is usually mentioned under the slightly modified form *Dãi-lā* (太 羅, in Chinese *T'ai-lo*), evidently a contraction of 大 羅 城, *Dãi Lā-thàñ*, 'the great city of *Lā*.' The foundation of this city is wrongly ascribed by some to the famous Kau-P'ien (高 駢) in A.D. 866.[1] A fortress by the name of *Lā-thàñ* was indeed built by this Chinese general at the date mentioned, but elsewhere.[2] At the same time a little citadel also called *Lā-thàñ* had been erected outside of *Dãi-lā* city, close by the banks of the *Tô-lĩkh*, apparently a small branch of the Red River detached near the present Hà̃-nõi. Hither, we are informed, the seat of government for the Annam protectorate was transferred in A.D. 824,[3] presumably from *Dãi-lā*. This frequency of the term *Lā-thàñ*, applied promiscuously to three different places, viz., (1) the city of *Dãi-lā*, (2) Kau-P'ien's fortress, and (3) the citadel outside the walls of *Dãi-lā*, generates a good deal of confusion, which is made worse confounded when the commentators of the ancient annals tell us how the earthen mounds rising on the exterior of the four sides of the present Hà̃-nõi are likewise called *Lā-thàñ*.[4]

We shall try to find our way through all this chaotic nomenclature in order to establish the identity of *Dãi-lā*, which is the pivot upon which turns the whole of the present inquiry. We have seen that *Dãi-lā* had been known as *Là-thàñ* scores of years before its less glorious namesakes came into existence. Now, we are told in a note of the translator that this *Là-thàñ*, otherwise *Dãi-lā*, is the same city as is now termed *Kẽ-chõ* (Kesho) or Hà̃-nõi.[5] At the same time, we have seen on a former page that the native commentators identify the ancient *Long-bĩen* city, whose walls were built in A.D. 208, likewise with Hẵ-nõi.[6] Therefore

[1] Ibid., p. 207, a statement refuted at p. 210.
[2] Ibid., p. 210. Outside of Kim city is the place indicated, but in which district this was to be found we are not told by the befogging commentators.
[3] Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 180 and 210.
[4] Ibid., p. 210.
[5] Ibid., p. 173, and note 979, p. 197 of the Notes.
[6] Ibid., p. 53.

Dãi-lā must have arisen close to the site of the ancient *Long-bīen* or *Long-wīen*; perhaps on its ruins, as it is possible that *Long-bīen* may have been dismantled and partially destroyed during the Chinese invasion of A.D. 602, which is the last time we hear of its existence.[1] We thus obtain the equation: *Long-bīen* or *Long-wīen* (A.D. 208–602) = *Lā-thàñ* (A.D. 767–808) = *Dãi-lā* (A.D. 808–866 et seq.). Let us see what further proofs can be adduced in support of its correctness.

The native commentators tell us that the *Lị̄* made *Long-wīen* their capital, changing its name to *Thang-long* ('Dragon at rest'), a designation which it preserved under the *Trồn* and the *Lê*.[2] Now, according to the Abbé Launay,[3] Lị̄-thãi-tổ, the founder of the local *Lị̄* dynasty, who reigned between A.D. 1010 and 1028, had established his capital at *Dãi-lā*, and, after having embellished it considerably, he changed, in consequence of a dream, its name into *Thang-long*. This capital, that author tells us in a note, is the present-day Hà-nổi. We learn furthermore that towards 1399 A.D. a new capital having been built further to the west with the name of *Töi-dô* (西 都 in Chinese *Hsi-tu* = 'Western Capital'), *Thang-long*, i.e. Hà-nổi, became known, by contrast, as *Dông-dô* (東 都 in Chinese *Tung-tu* = 'Eastern Capital').[4] On or shortly after A.D. 1428, the date of the *Lê's* advent to power, its name was once more changed into *Dông-kiñ*[5] with exactly the same signification (東 京, in

[1] See ibid., p. 150, where it is said that the indigenous king *Lị̄-p'hỗt-tử*, whose capital was then at P'hong-chôu, had just appointed a governor over *Long-bien*.

[2] Ibid., p. 53.

[3] "Histoire de l'Annam," p. 48. I have to avail myself of this work for this later period, although I am aware that it is by no means a standard one, for want of a better authority. Des Michels' valuable translation of the Annamese Annals unfortunately stops at A.D. 967, and it is a pity that it was not brought down to completion, especially as he would then have given us an index of all proper names with their transcription in native characters, as he promised to do at the outset. In inquiries like our present one the toiling investigator is always handicapped in his identification of toponymics by the difficulty of getting at the native characters by which they are represented in the countries where they occur.

[4] Launay, op. cit., p. 89. He seems to ignore, however, the designation *Thang-long* which the city had borne up to that date.

[5] Ibid., p. 111.

Chinese *Tung-ching* or *Tung-king*). Thence the designation *Tung-king* or Tonkin came to be applied to the whole region. We are therefore on perfectly solid ground in asserting that the present Hà-nôi, the former *Dāi-lā* or *Lā-thàñ*, the ancient *Long-bīen* of A.D. 208, and its still more remote though less conspicuous namesake, which constituted the *chef-lieu* of the famed *Long-bīen* district of the Han since at least B.C. 110, are practically identical in so far as they rose on the same site—perhaps on the ruins of one another—each being the historical continuation of its predecessor, and all together representing in almost unbroken succession, for fully twenty centuries down to the present day, the administrative seat for the government of the country.[1]

[1] In confirmation of this result of my independent investigations I have since come across the following passage by Mr. E. H. Parker (in the *China Review*, vol. xx, p. 53), where the identity of Hà-nôi with *Long-bīen* is demonstrated by evidence collected on the spot. This identity is, however, traced down to A.D. 550 only, when *Long-bīen* had become the capital of *Nām-vīet*, the first independent kingdom established in Tonkin since the Han conquest. The passage referred to runs as follows:—

"Mr. Dumoutier, of Hanoi, has made the interesting discovery that the ruins of *Kau P'ien's* capital or citadel are still visible in the immediate neighbourhood of Hanoi. [This must refer to the *Lā-thôñ* citadel which, we have seen, was not built there by *Kau P'ien*, but elsewhere.] In the month of July last Mr. Dumoutier conducted me for the second time over the site, and pointed out the débris of bricks and pottery several feet in thickness. Referring to the native Annamese History Primer, 啓童記約 [*Khải-dòng-thwiet-ụ̈ak*], I find it distinctly stated that the modern *Hanoi* is the *Taila* city [*T'ai-lo-ch'êng*] of Kau-P'ien, and the still more ancient *Lung-p'ien*, the first real independent capital of *Yüeh-nan*, the capital of the Southern Emperor [*Tìen-Lị̄ Nām-dế*], who with his successor *Chao-yüeh Wang* [*Trìeu-Vīet-vūang*] reigned there for thirty years. Thirty-two years later [A.D. 602] the country was incorporated with the *Sui* Empire of China, and it was during the succeeding dynasty of *T'ang* that the great struggle for supremacy between the Chinese and Siamese [*sic* for *Nan-Chao*, i.e. *Lāu*, but not at all, properly, 'Shān,' i.e. Siāmese] races took place, Annam being a mere catspaw. Mr. Dumoutier has prepared a history of *Kau P'ien*," etc.

From the above passage it appears that the native literati are not unaware of the identity of Hà-nôi with the ancient Long-bīen, although they make so much confusion in annotating the old records. As regards the location of *Dāi-lā*, the following passage from a historical work is quoted in the Annamese Annals (Des Michels, op. cit., p. 210):—"According to the Dāi-thàñ-ŭüt-thông-shī the city of *Dāi-lā* stood outside the provincial town of the *chou* of *Jāu* [Kiao-chi chou]. At this spot [the seat of government for] both the *chün*, which bore the name of *Kiao-chi* under the Han, and the protectorate of the T'ang were to be found. In the course of time they fell into ruins, and it is now difficult to

Summarizing now the results of the above discussion, we find that, according to the most accredited views and the evidence to hand, the capital of the *chün* (province) of *Kiao-chi*—if not, indeed, for the whole region of Tonkin as understood in our days—stood, during the two and a half centuries or so immediately preceding the publication of Ptolemy's work, on territory forming part of the *Long-bïen* district; and, more precisely, at either—

(1) *Lwá-löu*, a city about five miles to the north or north-east of the present Hà-nŏi, which is seemingly identical with *Lwá-thàñ* or *Kŏ-lwá*, the capital of the ancient *Öu-lāk* or *Ôu-lāk* (*Ou-lo*) kingdom (B.C. 258–208); or,

(2) *Long-bïen* district-city—after A.D. 208 called *Long-wïen*, and later on *Lā-thàñ* (A.D. 767) and *Dāi-lā* (A.D. 808)—rising practically on the site of the present Hà-nŏi.

There is, therefore, no possible doubt that either of the two ancient cities just named corresponds to Ptolemy's **Aganagara**, and that the location we have assigned to the latter in our tables on the site of Hà-nŏi has every chance of proving absolutely correct, and in the worst instance cannot be out more than some five miles from the position indicated. We must remain content with this result, so eminently satisfactory, it being impossible at the present stage of our knowledge to push the topographical inquiry any further. Investigations conducted locally should very soon settle the question as to which of the two neighbouring cities pointed out must be finally identified with Ptolemy's **Aganagara**. Provisionally we hold for *Long-bïen*, i.e. Hà-nŏi, which appears to be the most eligible of the two.

Passing now from topographical to linguistical considerations, we find that the chances are almost equally divided between *Lwá-löu* and *Long-bïen*. *Lwá-löu*, we have seen, is, to all appearance, the same as the erstwhile *Lwá-thàñ* or

recognize their ancient vestiges." It is to be hoped that Mr. Dumoutier's investigations, the results of which are so far unknown to me beyond what is set forth in the above extract, and the researches of other European scholars, will finally settle the points of detail that still remain doubtful or obscure in this topographical question.

Kô-lwá, the ancient conch-shell-shaped city whose high towering walls were compared in majesty with the *K'un-lun* mountain, the Olympus of Chinese fiction. This particular as to the loftiness of the city walls may have suggested to the Indū settlers in the country the designation *Agranagara* (in Pāli *Agganagara*), meaning 'High City' or 'High Citadel,' which would naturally be adopted by the ruling class (of Indū descent, as we have shown), as well as by the people, at a period when Indūism was in the ascendant and Chinese influence was as yet probably *nil*.

On the other hand, as regards *Long-bien*, it is quite possible that its name, absolutely Chinese in character, is but the translation of some older designation of Indū origin borne by the city, and likewise connected with the dragon, the Sanskrit *Nāga* or *Uraga*, such as e.g. *Nāga-nagara*, *Uraga-nagara*, which may have become in the course of time contracted by the vulgar or by foreigners into *Aganagara*, whence Ptolemy's **Aganagara**. The term *Uraga*, we have seen, is probably embodied in the toponymic *Ôu-lāk* applied to the maritime region about Hà-nôi in general, and, specifically, to the kingdom founded there by the *Thūk* (Aśoka?) dynasty in B.C. 258. Subsequently to the fall of the latter the term *Uraga* or *Ôu-lāk* may have survived in connection with *Lwá-thàñ*, the *Thūk* capital, and its later namesake *Lwá-löu*; or else with *Long-bien*, the name of the particular district where that capital stood, passing thence to the *Long-bien* district-city, in the event of this having been made the seat of government by the Han, instead of *Lwá-löu*.

Yet another interpretation may be put upon the term **Aganagara** should we feel inclined to derive it from the Sanskrit *Agranagara* or the Pāli *Agganagara*. Both these words may be taken to mean also 'Chief City.' In this sense **Aganagara** would imply the *chef-lieu*, the administrative residence for the *chün* of Kiao-chi, and perhaps for the whole Tonkinese region, in Ptolemy's time. This, again, leads us to either: (1) *Lwá-löu*, the erstwhile *Lwá-thàñ*; or (2) *Long-bien*, the present Hà-nôi.

Thus, unless we ascribe to the term **Aganagara** the meaning of 'High or Lofty City,' we find ourselves brought face to face, in the arena of philological debate, with the same alternatives that confronted us on the field of historical controversy. Surely, it is only from a thorough archæological survey of the sites of the two cities in dispute that the definite solution of this intricate problem can be expected, it being unlikely that the vague and often contradictory information contained in the extant records can throw any decisive light on the question.

In so far as the ancient and somewhat mythical *Lwă-thàñ* is concerned, it should be remarked that, although it may have been destroyed in consequence of the fall of the Thŭk kingdom in B.C. 208, its site was not forgotten, nor perhaps entirely abandoned. We have seen, in fact, that according to one version the Han seat of government was established there in B.C. 111, when the old Thŭk capital was perhaps rebuilt in the form of a provincial chief-city bearing the slightly modified name of *Lwă-löu*. As time rolled on and the memory of its ancient glory dimmed in the mist of centuries, a halo of myth and fable began to grow around the historical traditions connected with the ancient city, to which each successive generation considerably added. The designation of *K'un-lun* or Olympus-like city was applied to it, we are told, by the Chinese of the T'ang period (A.D. 618–907).[1] The story as to the loftiness and spiral arrangement of its walls has, no doubt, been sensibly magnified and partly invented in after ages.

In 939 A.D. a pleasant surprise awaited the legendary city. Ngô-kwiễn, governor of the *chou* or province of *Ái* (established in A.D. 523 on the territory of the ancient *Kŭu-chön*, now Thạñ-hwạ̄[2]), having rebelled against Chinese rule and set up as king of the whole Tonkinese region, established his capital at the ancient *Lwà-thàñ*, which became henceforth known by the name of *Kŏ-lwă* (占螺,

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 12.
[2] Ibid., p. 131.

in Chinese *Ku-lo*).[1] The Ngô dynasty founded by him had, however, but an ephemeral existence, and came to an end in A.D. 965, although the country managed, in spite of internal dissensions, to maintain its independence from Chinese domination for another four and a half centuries. The capital was then removed to *Hwà-lü* in Ngē-ān, and next to *Dāi-lā* or *Hà-nŏi*, now called *Thang-long*, in the first quarter of the eleventh century; and never again do we hear of the ancient *Lwá-thàñ* or *Kŏ-lwá* coming to the front in Tonkinese history. Future investigations will tell whether, in its earlier days, it did so under Han rule, thereby winning a permanent place in Ptolemaic geography.[2] Until its claim to such a position is established, however, I prefer, as I said, to consider its competitor *Long-bien*, the present-day Hà-nŏi, as the real **Aganagara.**

Sinda, a town (No. 115).

This name evidently represents the Sanskrit *Sindhu* or *Sindh*, which in Chinese takes the forms *Shên-tu* (身毒) and *Hsin-tu* (信度). The Annamese *Sön-töi* (Sơn-tây), although spelled with quite different characters and looking in more than one respect what it is represented to be—namely, a modern designation applied collectively to the territories of several ancient districts known of yore under absolutely dissimilar names,[3]—is likely to have, as we shall

[1] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 221.

[2] I have just learned, although too late in time to make use of it in these pages, that Mr. G. Dumoutier, several years ago, published a monograph on the ancient *Lwá-thàñ* or *Kŏ-lwá*, under the title "Étude historique et archéologique sur *Cô-Loa*, capitale de l'ancien royaume de *Âu-Lạc* (réunion de *Thuc* et de *Van-lang*)," in *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, t. iii, 1892. I draw attention to this work here, as perhaps in it the reader may find the elements for the solution of the question set forth above.

[3] *Sön-töi* (山西, in Chinese *Shan-hsi*) has, in Annamese, the meaning of 'Western Hills' or 'Western Hill-tracts'; this designation being apparently applied to the province it now denotes on account of this being situated at the foot of the hills bounding Tonkin on the west. But probably it is, as surmised

see, some etymological connection, whether direct or indirect, with the term *Sindhu* and its derivatives, which it strikingly resembles in sound. Quite independently, however, of the still problematic circumstance as to the name *Sön-töi* being the modern Sino-Annamese travesty of an ancient local term *Sindhu*, or something to that effect, handed down in a more or less corrupted form through many successive generations, topographical reasons concur in pointing to *Sön-töi* or its immediate neighbourhood as the most probable site where Ptolemy's **Sinda** must have stood. Hence, although my identification of **Sinda** with Sön-töi may still be open to criticism from a linguistical point of view—at any rate, in so far as the alleged modern term *Sön-töi* is concerned—it is almost beyond doubt geographically correct, especially if, as I think, **Sinda** in Ptolemy's time—like Sön-töi in our own day—designated not only a town, but also the district of which it formed the *chef-lieu*. However it be, these topographical indications, coupled with the fact of the close similarity in names between the two places, entitle Sön-töi to be regarded, for practical purposes, as the present representative of the ancient **Sinda**.

Truly, it may be objected that the rectified position we have obtained for **Sinda** in the tables, while almost coincident in latitude with that of Sön-töi, which it exceeds by a mere 3′, is as much as 57′ less than the latter in longitude, thus falling far away into the valley of the Black River, somewhere to the west of P'hū̆-yen Chôu (富安州). This being, however, a rather peculiar location for a thriving commercial centre, such as we may well suppose **Sinda** must have been,

above, merely a modern travesty of the early name borne by the district. In Chinese *Sön-töi* or *Shan-hsi* would mean instead 'West of the Hills,' which is topographically untrue. The *chef-lieu* is likewise called Sön-töi. The present province embraces the territories once belonging to the ancient districts of *Chôu-vĭen*, *P'hŭak-lōk* (福祿, *Fu-lu*), and *Van-lāng* of the primordial *Van-lāng* kingdom; to the districts of *Chôu-vĭen* and *Mĕ-lĭn* of the Han period; to the *chün* or province of *Tön-ch'üang* (Hsin-ch'ang) of the Tsin (constituted A.D. 271); and to the *chou* of *P'hông*, or *P'hông-chôu* of the T'ang, formed A.D. 679. (See Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 2, 8, 49, 57, 103, 106, 160, and 232.)

it will be far more expedient not to lay too much stress on the result obtained in longitude, and to assume for that town a position somewhat more to the east and out of the wilds than that. By a glance at a modern map it will be noticed that at a short distance to the north-west of Sön-töi a most interesting geographical phenomenon occurs, for here both the Black and the Clear Rivers join the Red River within almost a stone's throw of each other, forming, as it were, a common confluence, which has, indeed, ever been considered as such by the natives, it being usually referred to in the Chinese records of this region as the *San-ch'i-chiang* (三岐江) or 'confluent of the three rivers,' and employed as an alternative term for Sön-töi.[1] The strategical as well as commercial importance of this multiple junction of waterways, tapping the valleys of three conspicuous streams, is too evident to need demonstration, and must have attracted attention since the earliest days. That such was the case is proved by the fact of the ancient kingdom of *Văn-lăng* having been established just about this spot. It was on the northern bank of the main river that its capital *P'hong-châu* stood, and precisely on the territories of the present *Löm-dàu* (臨桃, in Chinese *Lin-t'au*)[2] and *Viñ-tùang* districts, whose *chef-lieux* lie within short distances respectively, to the north-west and the north of Sön-töi city. The circuits of *Bākh-hāk* (白鶴, in Chinese *Pai-hau* or *Pê-ho*), at the confluent of the Clear River with the main stream, and *Sön-vī* (山圍, in Chinese *Shan-wei*), near the junction of the Black River with the latter, are pointed out as the most probable sites;[3] hence we may limit the position of the ancient *P'hong-châu* between the two confluents.

Thus the territory in question became the scene of the

[1] See Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite," pp. 53–54.

[2] Evidently named, as we have already observed, from the *Nạm-Tāu* or *Dầu* (Red) River, whose name is sometimes written with the character 桃 instead of 洮. *Löm-dầu*, I notice, is now usually spelled 臨滔, *Löm-thāu*; but for the old form 臨桃 see Devéria (op. cit., p. 54), who is, I believe, correct.

[3] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 2.

earliest events mentioned in Annamese history, and seems to have been also one of the first seats of Indū power and civilization in Tonkin, for the place-names *P'hong* (峯, in Chinese *Fêng, Fung*, etc. = *Bańga* or *Vańga*?) and *Van-lāng* (文郎, in Chinese *Wên-lang* = *Banrāńg, Vanrańg, Vanarańga*?)[1] look much like being of Indū origin. The Annamese annalists, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of their later masters, the Chinese, do, of course, endeavour, with a supreme pride as well as delight, to trace the ancestry of their ancient kings to the fabulous Chinese emperor *Shên-nung*, otherwise *Yen-ti*, the 'Fiery God,' said to have ruled between B.C. 2838 and 2698; but the legendary accounts they give must naturally be taken *cum grano salis*, and we are presumably within reasonable bounds of historical truth if we place the foundation of the Van-lāng kingdom at a much less remote date, say in the fourth or fifth century before the Christian era, or only a couple of hundred years before the invasion of king Thŭk-P'hạn (Aśoka-vardhana?) took place. This result is to some extent borne out by the native annals themselves. According to the latter, in fact, there were eighteen kings of Van-lāng, the length of whose reigns is not given. Reckoning back from the last ruler, dethroned in B.C. 258 by King Thŭk, for the full number of eighteen reigns as indicated by the annals, and at the rate of twenty years a reign, a very reasonable average, we get to B.C. 618, say to the end of the seventh century B.C., which would thus prove to be the remotest date to which the foundation of the Van-lāng kingdom could be ostensibly shifted back.

[1] This name should be compared also with that of *P'hanrāng*—said to be a contraction of *Pāṇḍuraṅga*—in Lower Cochin-China. The Cantonese pronunciation, *Mên-long*, of the characters with which it is spelled, suggests also a probable form *Manrang* or *Mën-rang*; but it is little likely that the *Mën* or *Këu-Mën* are implied. Dumoutier, in the usual reckless style adopted by our Sinologists of interpreting Indo-Chinese toponymics transcribed in Chinese characters after the sense that the characters themselves have in the Chinese tongue, takes *Van-lāng* (in Chinese *Wên-lang*) to be the name of a tribe which he thus translates as the '*Savants*' (see *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 150). It is, indeed, high time that our Sinologists should give up this absurd, useless, and utterly unjustifiable system of dealing with the foreign place-names occurring in Chinese records.

But as next to nothing is told us of the exploits of these eighteen rulers, history being silent even as to the individual names they bore, and simply referring to them as the *Hùng-vūang*, i.e. kings of the *Hùng* dynasty, after the title of its founder, we may well reduce the number of them to a mere few without fear of being very far wrong, and thus we obtain the fourth or fifth century B.C. as about the extreme chronological limit to which the origin of the Van-lāng kingdom can be logically assigned. Such being the case, this primordial Tonkinese kingdom would prove approximately coeval in its rise to other realms founded elsewhere in Indo-China by adventurers from Northern India, and there seems thus to be nothing extraordinary in our assumption, which we trust will one day find confirmation in fact, of its having had a similar origin.

Meanwhile it will be admitted, I hope, that the connection I have pointed out between the toponymic Sinda recorded by Ptolemy, and a Indū term *Sindhu* or something similar, is unmistakeable. It cannot fail to occur to one as quite possible that the district we have just described, being so rich in fluvial waterways, may have received from the early Indū settlers the name of *Sindhu*, which, it is well known, means generically a 'river,' and its native inhabitants the name *Sindhus* or *Saindhavas*, because of their dwelling in an eminently fluviatile region. Similarly, the chief city or commercial centre of the district—for something of the kind must have existed—may have become known as the town of *Sindhu* or *Sindḥ*, either from the district itself or from its being situated, as very probably was the case, on the banks of the main river and close by the *Sindhu-saṁgama*, as the *San-ch'i-chiang* of Chinese writers of a later period would then be called.

Against the objection that would naturally be raised as to no mention occurring in the native annals concerning the period in question of any district or settlement bearing a name similar or even slightly approaching in sound to *Sindhu* or *Sindh*, I shall oppose the demonstration that some well-defined trace existed within the very territory of the

present Sön-töi, of some such term, handed down to us in the form of a tribal name which, whether derived from it or not, is with it undoubtedly connected.

We are, in fact, told in the native accounts of the ancient Van-lāng kingdom, that the latter was founded by a prince *Lāk-long*,[1] of Dragon (*Nāga*, *Uraga*, or *Lăk*) descent on his mother's side, who, as the legend has it, often appeared to his courtiers in the form of a dragon coiled up on the throne. This extraordinary personage wedded a girl of celestial, or divine, lineage (from Sun or Fire, identified here with the Chinese Fire-god and Emperor Yen-ti) bearing the name of *Ôu-kĭ* (= *Aggi*, the Pāli word for 'fire'?), and had a hundred children by her, of whom fifty were boys and the other half girls. When these had sufficiently grown up in age, the prince said to his bride: "I am of Dragon (*Nāga*, *Uraga*) descent, and thou art offspring of the Celestials. Water and Fire, being elements antagonistic to each other, cannot long dwell together," and forthwith he intimated that they should part, after having divided the children of either sex equally amongst them, each of the parents taking one half. This was agreed to by the mother, but before the separation took place their eldest male child was appointed to rule, by common consent, over the country that was the scene of these events, with the title of *Hùng-vūang* (雄王), i.e. King Hùng. It was this potentate who founded, according to the legends, the *Van-lāng* kingdom with capital at P'hong-chôu, on the bank of the Red River opposite to that of Sön-töi. Princess

[1] *Lạc-long quân* of Des Michels (op. cit., p. 1) and others. But here *quân* (*kwön*) is merely the Chinese 君, *chün* = 'prince'; hence *Lāk-long kwön* means Prince *Lăk-long*. In this name *long* is the Sino-Annamese term for 'dragon'; while *Lāk* (駱, Chinese, *lo*), although having a different meaning, is very likely a corrupt rendering of its Indian synonyms *Nāga* or *Uraga*. The above name means, therefore, Nāga Prince, or Prince Dragon. Des Michels informs us (ibid., p. 6, notes) that according to the legend this prince, being of dragon race on his mother's side, took pleasure dwelling in the bosom of the waters. This is, of course, a fiction allusive to the amphibious character of the people of the delta inhabiting a country still subject to tidal influence, and having no doubt acquired proficiency in boatmanship, whereby they were likened unto serpents and called *Nāgas* or *Uragas* (*Lāk*, or *Ôu-lāk*), their country being termed the country of *Lāk*, and their fields the fields of Lāk (*vide supra*, p. 321).

Ôu-kī, his mother, returned with one half of her offspring to the region of Mount *Bā-vī*—situated to the south-west of Sön-töi close by the Black River, and not far from its junction with the main stream—apparently her original home; while Prince Lāk-long with the other half of the children, minus the newly crowned king Hùng, proceeded to the alluvial plains of the delta, the region of waters or Nāga country, as the legend says, where he settled.[1] Some accounts represent him as having taken up his abode at the bottom of the sea, the mythical sojourn of the Nāgas; but this is, of course, merely an allegorical allusion to the mode of life of the people of the delta, spent for the most part afloat and, as it were, amidst the waters, owing to the periodical inundations, tidal and otherwise, to which the country was subject.

Endeavouring to read through the above legend by divesting it of all the mythical finery in which Oriental imagination has wrapped it up, we find that the sense it is intended to convey is very probably as follows:—The country of Tonkin was in its earliest days inhabited by two populations distinct in habits and mode of life, at least, although probably issued from a common original Mōñ-Annam stock, to wit: (1) a people of the plains, identified with the element of Water and ascribed a Nāga descent, either because of their dwelling on the border of streams and on that part of the delta subject to periodical inundations, or of their being addicted to serpent-worship; perhaps for both reasons at the same time; (2) a people of mountaineers, living in the hill-tracts on the west, about the celebrated Mount *Bā-vī*, and identified with the element of Fire (*Aggi*, or *Agni*), because of their worshipping this element, especially in its celestial form of thunderbolt and genius of the mountains (volcanoes), a cult of which traces still

[1] It should be understood that the version I have followed here is in the main that contained in the above-quoted Siāmese translation of the *Vīet-nām Sṷ́-kī*, the account given in the annals translated by Des Michels (pp. 2, 3) being too brief, and the one presented by the Abbé Launay (pp. 8, 9) too garbled, to be of much use.

survive in that region,[1] and of their probably being metal-workers like most hill tribes of C'hīeng race now in Indo-China. Each of the two peoples had their own chief, both coming in the course of time nominally under the supreme authority of a king, said to be descended from an intermixture of the two races, but being more likely the scion of some adventurer who had come from India, and had united the two heterogeneous populations of the country under the same sceptre, thus founding the first simulacrum of a kingdom among peoples who were not at all by instinct kingdom-founders, but accustomed to independent tribal organization. The fact of the district where the capital stood being, like the whole kingdom itself, called *Van-lāng*, shows that the *de facto* jurisdiction of the new ruler did not probably extend much beyond the limits of that very district, while

[1] At Mount *Bā-vī*, of which worship Dumoutier speaks in the following terms (see *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 105):—"Every three years, people say, in those parts the neighbours of Mount Bā-vī are in the habit of offering to the genius of Tản-Viên [another name for the mountain; see note on next page] axes of bronze and stone; the *huyện* [district] of Bât-bat supplies the stone-axes, and the *huyện* of Thông-thiện those of bronze. The offering is made in the forest temple: the genius comes to fetch these axes, which he uses for knocking mortals on the head during storms. From the cloudy peaks of Tản-Viên, say the natives, amid flashes of lightning, he hurls shafts of bronze and stone indiscriminately: these shafts bury themselves deeply in the ground, but each thunderclap makes them jump up again, and they are found soon afterwards on the surface of the ground, whence they are carefully collected, for they constitute a valuable talisman against thunderbolts." From a Siamese MS. in my possession I learn that a similar worship was, and probably is still, practised in Yünnan, as the following extract I translate will show:—"The *Hŏ-lúang* [i.e. the Great *Hŏ* or Yünnanese] dwell in a city at the head of the *Nŏng-Sé* Lake [the Great *Nŏng-Sé*, i.e. lake of Yünnan Fu], near which there is a high mountain. They practise the worship of genii. This they perform by placing a copper axe with offerings of food high up on the mountain slope; then they withdraw to wait at a *śāla* [resting shed] below. Soon the genius displays a flash of light like a rainbow descending upon the offerings. An interval of obscurity follows, during which the spirit devours the eatables. When his repast is over the luminous streak reappears, and then the oblators go up for the tray left empty of its contents, which they take back with them. It is said that the Müang *Tum-wāng-fā-hūen*, in the Hŏ country, was at an early period the Müang *Sāei-Thên* [tributary to the *Thên* or celestial spirits], where the copper axes were made which are offered [literally, brought as tribute] to Balarāma." We see from this extract that the early Indū immigrants identified the Indo-Chinese genius of the mountains and thunder with Balarāma or Rāma with the axe, the axe meaning the thunderbolt. Since that period he has ever been looked upon in this character by Indo-Chinese populations. The Siāmese call him more often *Rāmāsura*.

the people of the delta and those of the mountains each continued, as will be seen directly, under their own particular chiefs. It is, in short, the same state of affairs that we meet with in ancient Kamboja: the lords, there styled kings, of Fire and Water[1] of the early populations, now

[1] *Sdach-P'hlöng* or 'Fire-King,' and *Sdach-Tök* (from Skt. *udaka* = 'water') or 'Water-King,' said to be still found among the Jarāi and Tampūan tribes on the eastern frontier of Kamboja. For a brief account of them and their mode of life see *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 16, pp. 172, 173. According to the Annamese, there would seem to have existed Fire and Water Kings—*Būa-lüa* 帚焆 and *Būa-nụ̄ak* 帚渃, as they style them—also in Campā. It would be well to ascertain whether those of the neighbouring Jarāi and other frontier tribes are meant, or local ones. Marini ("Delle Missioni," etc., Roma, 1663, p. 33) states that part of the territory of the *Rumoi* (by which he evidently means the country of the *Khā̃* tribes called *Mōi*, 每, by the Annamese and sometimes *Khā̃-Mọ̄i* by the Lāu) acknowledged the authority of Fire and Water Kings (" . . . certi popoli [*Rumoi*] che habitano nelle montagne più alpestre, e che vbbidiscono a due Regoli, che colà chiamano Re dell' acqua l'vno, e Rè del fuoco l'altro . . . "). Tosi ("Dell' India Orientale," Roma, 1669, pp. 165 and 208), a few years afterwards, repeats the same statement with further particulars, and more correctly terms those tribes *Kemoi*, which spelling proves that the *Khā̃-Mọ̄i* are really the people implied. His description runs: " . . . incominciamo dalla parte più lontana verso Ponente [i.e. from the westernmost part of Tonkin], cioè dalle montagne de' Kemoi . . . Regnano in quei monti, che per lungo tratto stendono i loro aspri, e seluosi gioghi due Regoli, vno, che si chiama Re del fuoco, l'altro, che si noma Re dell' acqua, a' quali rendono vbbidienza trà gli altri montanari i popoli Kemoi, huomini, che hanno più del seluatico, che dell' humano, e che resi dall' asprezza di quei luoghi inaccessibili securi, non riconoscono la souranità del Re del Tunchino, benche sotto la sua giurisditione compresi sieno" (p. 408). As in December, 1646, when proceeding overland from Wīeng-Chan to Ngē̃-ān, the Piedmontese Padre Leria crossed, according to Marini (op. cit., p. 538) the *Rumoi* (i.e. *Kemoi* or *Khā̃-Mọ̄i*) Mountains, it follows unmistakeably that the latter were the range forming the separation between Lāu and Tonkinese (or Annamese) territories, and that the tribes settled on its slopes had probably Fire and Water Chiefs of their own, as distinct from those of Campā and Kamboja.

It occurs furthermore to me that the puzzling terms—hitherto unexplained—火舍, *Hwo-shê*, and 水舍, *Shwei-shê*, the latter of which is said to refer to *Lam-ap* (Campā), and especially to its ancient southern capital *C'hà̀-bà̀n*, *C'hạ̄-lạ̄ng*, or Bal-Angwē (cf. *China Review*, vol. xx, p. 203, where 'Quinhon' is given, which is practically the same), mean 'Fire' and 'Water,' *Shê*, *C'hạ̄*, or *Chëḥ** respectively, and therefore allude either to the above *Khā̃-Mọ̄i* or to tribes of the same race settled on the hill-tracts of Lower Campā subject to Fire and Water potentates. Similarly, the terms—likewise so far unexplained—火眞臘, *Hwo-Chên-la* (sometimes called *Lu-*, 陸, i.e. 'Dry-land' or 'Highland,' *-Chên-la*), and 水眞臘, *Shwei-Chên-la*, said to refer to the two

* *Vide* pp. 128–132 and 272, *ante*.

relegated to the hill-tracts on the east of that realm, both acknowledging the nominal rule of the monarchs of Kamboja, alleged to be descended from the union of the hill tribes with women of Nāga race, but in reality owing their origin to adventurers from India. These coincidences in the early legends of the two countries tend to show that their primitive populations belonged to the same racial stock and were subject to similar influences, passing through analogous phases of social development.

Towards the fall of the Van-lāng kingdom, i.e. about 300 B.C., we hear that one of its last rulers of the Hùng dynasty had a beautiful daughter by the name of *Mî-nüang*, whose hand was sued for by three different parties, these being the king of *Thük* (evidently in Southern Yünnan) and the two chiefs of, respectively, the mountain and the riverine or maritime tribes. After much hesitation the princess was ultimately conceded in marriage to the chief of the hillmen, who led his prize to his residence on the *Bā-vī* mountain. This unexpected dénouement aroused the indignation of the other two suitors. The king of Thük, on his part, enjoined his son and grandson to destroy the Van-lāng kingdom as soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself. His threat became an accomplished fact under his grandson, Thük-P'hān, in B.C. 258, as already explained. But the chief of the people of the plains took immediate

States into which Kamboja became split up in or shortly after A.D. 707 (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 483), evidently mean respectively 'Fire' and 'Water' Kamboja, and thus throw a novel sidelight into ancient Kambojan and, indeed, Indo-Chinese history in general, showing that the authority of Fire and Water Kings was at that period by no means restricted, and mostly nominal as at the present day. As *Hwo-Chên-la*, or 'Fire Kamboja,' included, according to the Chinese authors themselves, the "northern and mountainous region," and *Shwei-Chên-la*, or 'Water-Kamboja,' the "southern half of the country, bounded by the sea and studded with lakes" (ibid., op. cit.), it will be seen that the portion of the population ruled over by the Fire King corresponded to the mountaineers, while that subject to the Water King consisted of the inhabitants of the plains and of the delta, living in a water-covered region, and therefore likened unto *Nāgas*, exactly as we have shown was the case in ancient Tonkin. In the face of this evidence one must feel inclined to admit that these Fire and Water Chiefs were real personages and not myths, as we shall see directly it has been suggested, at least in respect of Tonkin. Behind them there must have been tribes of flesh and bone, and not mere phantoms.

action against his successful competitor, and a long series of wars thus ensued between the dwellers of the plains and the hillmen, in which the latter ultimately came out victorious.

In Annamese tradition the chief of the mountaineers is called *Sön-tiñ*, and that of the people of the delta *Thwî-tiñ*—literally 'Genius of the Mountains' and 'Genius of the Waters.'[1] They undoubtedly are, however, the mythical impersonation of two contending tribes of the mountains and plains, and in such light they are regarded by many a native chronicler and a Western commentator.[2]

Now, it is with the *Sön-tiñ* or hillmen that we are concerned. The residence of their chief was, as we have seen, on the *Bā-vī* mountain, which has in consequence become so famous in Annamese legend.[3] The tribe must

[1] In native characters. 山 精 (in Chinese *Shan-ching*) and 水 精 (in Chinese *Shwei-ching*). *Tiñ* or *ching* means 'essence,' 'spirit.' Hence, *Sön-tiñ* or *Shan-ching* = 'Spirit of Mountain,' and *Thwî-tiñ* or *Shwei-ching* = 'Spirit of Water.' I may here incidentally point out the etymological connection, so far overlooked, I think, between the Sanskrit and Chinese words for 'water' = *shwei*, *thwî*, *shui*, and *toya*.

[2] So in the *Vīet-nām Sử-kī*, for instance. The Abbé Launay ("Histoire de l'Annam," p. 12), Romanet du Caillaud ("Notice sur le Tong-king"), and others, positively take them to be tribes, and I think they are right, the terms *Sön-tiñ* and *Thwî-tiñ* being rather curious designations to apply to a single person, while there is nothing strange or improbable as to a conflict having actually ensued between the tribes of the plains and the hillmen. Hence I cannot at all agree with Mr. Dumoutier's view (see next note) that *Sön-tiñ* and *Thwî-tiñ* belong entirely to the dominion of poetical myth. Fire and Water Chiefs, we have seen, are an old Indo-Chinese institution.

[3] *Bā-vī*, 巴 位, so written in Annamese, means 'Three tiers,' or layers, owing to its being said to present a three-storied appearance. It is also called *Tản-wïen*, 傘 圓 (in Chinese *San-yüan*), or 'parasol-round.' In connection with it and the *Sön-tiñ* legend the following extract from Mr. Dumoutier's paper on "The Black River of Upper Tonquin and Mount Ba-Vi" (see *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 165) should prove of interest:—"Mount Ba-Vi has an elevation of about 4,000 feet; its jagged profile is distinguishable in clear weather from all parts of the delta. Ba-Vi is a popular name, which means Three Peaks [? see above], but its poetical name is *Tan-Vien* (parasol-round). The Annamese regard this mountain with a timorous veneration, and connect it with all sorts of marvellous legends; they hold it sacred, and say that its peak is the dwelling of one of the powerful genii, who is able to launch thunderbolts upon the plain. There are historical traditions touching the very earliest beginnings of the Annamese nation connected with Ba-Vi. These

have accordingly extended along the hills skirting the right bank of the Black River, their chief settlement or trading centre being probably situated near the present Sön-töi district city, on the edge of the main stream (Red River), and at the foot of the extreme spurs of Mount Bā-vī. This

traditions take the form of graceful legends, some of which are very curious. The oldest is in reference to the difference between the two genii, the one of the mountains [i.e. *Sön-tiñ*] and the one of the waters [i.e. *Thwŏ́-tiñ*]. Both were rivals for the hand of a young princess [that is, *Mĭ-nūang* of the *Van-lāng* kingdom], but the first secured it, and took his wife to the top of Mount Ba-Vi. Enraged at his discomfiture, the genius of the water declared war against the genius of the mountains; he raised typhoons and let loose aquatic monsters to attack Mount Ba-Vi. There was a terrible struggle, in which the genius of the waters was beaten, and had to retreat; but he returned to the charge every year, and so, when the Annamese observe the Red River, Black River, Clear River, and the Song Day leaving their beds, mixing their waters with the plain, and inundating the foot of Mount Ba-Vi, they say: 'There go the two genii again quarrelling for the woman.' The genius of *Tan-Vien* does not allow the privacy of his retreat to be violated, and therefore it is difficult to persuade the Annamese to ascend the mountain: they say that he shows himself to mortals, when it is fine weather, in the shape of a cloud which clings to the upper part of the chief peak. There are three temples on the mountain, dedicated to him, and representing the three separate peaks, and also the three 'layers' of the mountain, which, according to the Annamese, have each a different colour: the last layer, which is the dwelling of the god, is red; and it may be observed that the summit of Mount Ba-Vi does sometimes appear so to the people in the plain, when it is lit up by the rays of the setting sun. The topmost temple is in the second stage of the mountain, in the midst of the virgin forest, in a situation unequalled for savage grandeur; when this temple needs repairs, the genius takes the carpenters out of the villages, and carries them to the temple, and these personages return home in the same way without being conscious of the work they have done." For other stories told of the genius of Mount Bā-vī and his habits, see Landes' "Contes et légendes Annamites," in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 20, pp. 311–313. Of course, many legends have grown up about this famous mountain, and the struggle between the *Sön-tiñ* and *Thwŏ́-tiñ* may have been, like the Trojan war in the old Western world, clad in the vesture of poetical fiction, in order to make it more marvellous and attractive to the Oriental mind. All these surviving relics and epic traditions of bygone ages, so redolent of interest to the folklorist and historian, and so glowing with local colour, will soon be, however, a thing of the past, for their doom has been decreed. A scheme has been set afoot, and probably has by this time already been carried out, "of erecting on the highest peak of Ba-Vi a statue of St. Michael, striking down the devil in the form of a dragon, and of turning the mountain into an object of religious pilgrimage" (*China Review*, art. cit., p. 166). Mr. Dumoutier signified his approval of this splendid idea, only objecting that the allegory of the spirit of evil in the form of a dragon being ill-chosen for a country where that beast is the emblem of wisdom, virtue, military valour, and nobility of birth, it would have been better to replace it by a tiger, which is there emblematic of evil and the incarnation of the unspeakable One. So, let us by all means have St. Michael with the tiger on the top of Mount Bā-Vī, symbol of the triumph of righteousness as understood in our present utilitarian age! There will then be some hope, for Mark Twain's humorous scheme of erecting a statue to Adam, of meeting in its turn with its realization, through the instrumentality of some zealous missionary, on the top of some conspicuous peak of the K'un-lun or the Himālaya!

territory is what must have constituted at first the dominion and stronghold of the *Sön-tiñ*. But in the course of time these people may have pushed on along the hill-range bounding on the south the delta of the Red River as far as the sea-coast just above Thañ-hwā. This seems the more likely from the fact of the *Sön-tiñ* having been, as we are told, victorious over the *Thwī-tiñ*, part of whose country they may have annexed, at least that portion lying at the foot of the hill-slopes. If they have at all reached the littoral of the Gulf it must have been at the point where the southern branch of the Red River detached at Sön-töi, and, called the *Dāi* or *Song-Dāi*, has its outlet (*Kŭa-Dāi*), which lies just at the extreme of the hill-spurs bounding the delta on the south. It is on the section of the coast comprised between the *Kŭa-Dāi* and the *Kŭa Bā-löt* or *Bā-lạt*, the present principal mouth of the Red River, that we felt inclined in a preceding paragraph (p. 251) to locate the *Senderfūlāt* of the Arabs—the place which, as we have observed, may have been regarded by ancient navigators as the shipping port for **Sinda**. We have pointed out in that connection that in some of the maps accompanying early editions or translations of Ptolemy's geography, among which that of Nicholaus de Donis (A.D. 1482), **Sinda** is actually marked on the sea-shore just about the spot referred to; and, Ptolemy's **Indoi**, whose name is here spelled *Sindi*, are located to the west of it, that is, on the hill-tracts forming part of *Sön-tiñ* territory. This transposition, if not caused by oversight, may be due to the fact of the *Dāi, Song-Dāi*, or Sön-töi branch of the Red River having been regarded and become known as the **Sinda** or *Sön-tiñ* River, and its outlet as the shipping port for **Sinda** or Sön-tiñ territory; **Sinda**, the chief settlement, lying, as it seems more probable, at the point of embranchment, or slightly further up towards the *Sindhu-saṁgama* or confluent of the three rivers, in the neighbourhood of the present Sön-töi.[1]

[1] It may also be observed that the southern portion of the present Thañ-hwā district was known until quite recently under the name of *Sön-thại* or *Sön-thại Trön*, and is so marked in Taberd's map ("Tabula Geographica Imperii Anamitici,"

I have scarcely any doubt that Ptolemy's **Sinda** and **Indoi** are connected with the *Sŏn-tiñ* tribes and their principal settlement in the neighbourhood of the present *Sŏn-töi* and Mount Bā-vī. The term **Indoi** is almost certainly a clerical error for **Sindoi**, as appears from the form *Sindi* adopted by Nicholaus de Donis and others. Its resemblance to the term *Sŏn-tiñ* is, it must be admitted, very striking; but still more so is that of **Sindoi** with *Sŏn-töi*, although, perhaps, this is merely an accidental coincidence, the toponymic *Sŏn-töi* being in appearance modern. Nevertheless, it would be worth while to enquire whether, as we have suggested with some reason, *Sŏn-töi* is an adaptation, in Sino-Annamese garb, of an old indigenous term like *Sindhu*, *Sindhava*, etc., that survived, in a more or less modified form, in local tradition down to a few centuries ago. The same remark applies to the tribal name *Sŏn-tiñ*, which, as we have explained, looks rather queer to be of Annamese origin. *Nụi*, 𡶀, is, in fact, the indigenous Annamese term for 'mountain,' and not *sŏn*, which is the local, and perhaps old, pronunciation of the Chinese 山, *shan*. Now, at the dawn of the third century B.C., the epoch of the *Sŏn-tiñ* wars, Chinese influence in Tonkin was as yet practically *nil*. Hence we see at once that *Sŏn-tiñ* cannot be aught else but the Sino-Annamese travesty, at a later period, of a local tribal name or toponymic such as handed down to us by Ptolemy under the forms **Sinda** and **Indoi** or **Sindoi**, derived, in all probability, from the terms *Sindhu*, *Sindhava*, applied by the early Indū settlers either to the population they found in occupation of the territory about the *Sindhu-saṁgama*, the confluence of the three rivers, or to the place of meeting itself of the three streams. From the fact of this people living in a hilly country and bearing the traditional name of *Sindhus* or *Sindhavas*, the Chinese who centuries afterwards came to rule supreme in Tonkin, must have thought it a clever feat to Sinicize that term into

A.D. 1838). Of course, this name *Sŏn-thại* is spelled in a different way from that of *Sŏn-töi*, and is ostensibly modern; still, it is worthy to note the curious coincidence of the presence of such toponymics as *Sŏn-töi*, *Sŏn-thại*, *Sŏn-nām*, *Song-Dāi*, in the very region where Ptolemy located his **Sinda** and **Sindoi**.

Sön-tiñ, the probable pronunciation at the period of the two characters that represent it, thus making it convey at the same time the meaning of 'mountaineers,' tolerably well consistent with the topography of the country that formed their habitat, although in rather striking opposition to the Indū terms, which mean a river-people. But, as instanced by many Chinese transcripts of foreign place-names we have explained in the course of the present inquiry, the early Chinese colonists never bothered themselves as to what such names meant, their only preoccupation being of rendering them as nearly as possible phonetically by such particular characters as would convey some definite meaning, no matter however odd, to their countrymen. As regards the term *Thwí-tiñ*, it was, no doubt, invented so as to make *pendant* with the other, for we have seen that the real name of the people of the delta or their country was *Ôu-lāk* or *Uraga*, probably exemplified in Ptolemy's **Aganagara**, their principal settlement—as the name of their ancient rivals the *Sön-tiñ* or *Sindhus* is embodied in **Sinda**, undoubtedly their chief city or trading mart, practically corresponding, it will now be evident, to the present *Sön-töi* (So'n-tây).

The **Indoi** (No. 225).

The original location of this people at and about **Sinda**, or Sön-töi, and their probable subsequent expansion towards the sea-coast, along the hill-range bounding on the south the Red River Delta, having been fully discussed in the foregoing paragraph, it remains now to add but a few considerations, chiefly of a linguistic and ethnological character.

The name **Indoi** applied to them by Ptolemy is, we have suggested, a probably faulty transcript of **Sindoi** or, as some among his translators and commentators put it, *Sindi*. To this view we adhere, although perfectly aware that a tribe bearing a very similar name to **Indoi** is still found on the Kamboja-Annam watershed—much further south, it is true, but which may have occupied at the period in question part

of the Tonkinese hill-tracts referred to, being subsequently driven off thence by other peoples advancing from the north. The tribe to which we allude is that of the *Inthī*, or *Indī*—so far, I believe, unheard of by our ethnologists—and forms a branch of the *Ta-ôi* (not *Ta-hoi* as I see generally written[1]) inhabiting the hilly country of the Attapü district, the *Attopeu* of French books and maps. The possible fact of this tribe still dwelling on Tonkinese territory in Ptolemy's time can in no wise upset our conclusions, but would, on the contrary, furnish us one more plausible argument wherewith to account for the origin of the term *Sindhu* and its derivatives in that region. For, being granted that *Indī* was the original and local tribal name of its primitive inhabitants, the early Indū immigrants and civilizers would, upon learning it, be led to change it into *Sindhu*, and apply therefrom the designation *Sindhu* or *Sindh* to the country. From these modified terms, and not from their prototype *Indī*, Ptolemy's **Sinda** and **Indoi**, or **Sindoi**, as well as the Sino-Annamese form *Sön-tiñ*, could only have been derived, it being quite certain that Indū influence had been exerted in the country long before Ptolemy's time. At best the reading **Indoi**, if correct, would prove that in our author's day the original term *Indī* was still current, along with the Indūized forms that ultimately superseded and outlived it. But perhaps it will be well for the present not to lay too

[1] I dedicate this seasonable remark to all those—and they are legion—who write *Nam-Hou* or *Nam-Hu* instead of Nạm Ū, *Hou-then* or *Hu-then* instead of *Ū-thēn*, and so forth, thus increasing the already considerable list of unrecognizable, and locally unintelligible, place-names. My information as to the existence of the *Inthī* or *Indī* is derived from native sources, the basis being a Siāmese description of twenty-one tribes, all said to belong to the *Ta-ôi* family, only three or four of which—the *Davāk* and *Lañāu* (the *Legnau* of our writers) among them—have, so far, been brought to the notice of the public. Now that we know the correct spelling of *Ta-hoi* to be *Ta-ôi*, we may obtain a clue to the antecedents of the presumably collateral tribe of the *Sen-oi* of the Malay Peninsula (*vide supra*, p. 159), about whose origin nothing is so far known; whereas no connection could be inferred from the faulty spelling in vogue. This exemplifies the necessity of the topographical and ethnological lists concerning Indo-China being revised by competent authorities, if any further progress is to be made in the historical and ethnical study of this so highly interesting region.

much stress on the presence of the *Indī* on Tonkinese territory at the period in question;[1] hence I prefer to ascribe the origin of the epithets *Sindhu* and its Ptolemaic derivatives to the causes at first referred to.

Turning now to examine into what was the racial stock to which the **Indoi**, or **Sindoi**, must have most probably belonged, there seems to be no reason for doubting, from what has been said, that this tribe was a branch of the so-called Mōñ-Annam race, or, to put it more precisely, of the same race as the tribes now on the Kambojan-Annamese watershed, which latter are, as likely as not, its very descendants driven further to the south by newcomers. No historical notice of the people inhabiting the hill-tracts to the west of Tonkin is found in Chinese records earlier than A.D. 271, when we are told that the said hill-tracts were, and had been long before that, occupied by the *Līau*. Now, *Līau* is a generic name for populations of the Mōñ-Annam race, the *Li*, *Loi*, *Löi*, etc. Although the old **Indoi** had by that time probably left for more southern climes, we may well take it that these *Līau* who replaced them were offshoots of the same racial stock to which the **Indoi** belonged —in a word, their younger brothers. The already quoted passage from the Annamese Annals[2] most distinctly states that down to A.D. 271 the territories of *Vó-biñ* (*Wu-p'ing* = present Bạk-niñ and Hụ̈ng-yen districts), *Kŭu-dụ̈k* (Hā̀-tĩñ), and *Tön-ch'ǖang* (*Hsin-ch'ang* = P'hong-chou = Sön-töi) were dangerous and impenetrable, for the *Līeu I*, or *Līau*, barbarians who inhabited them were undaunted and knew no fear: for centuries they could not be tackled. The Chinese general and commissioner T'au-hwang was first successful in chastising and pacifying them in A.D. 271; out of their territories he made the three *chüns* above referred

[1] There is a tribe known to the Phu-thai as *Hín* or *Khā̄-Hín*, dwelling on the hill-tracts of Müang Thḗng (Dī̄en-bīen P'hū́) and Müang Mun, between the Nạm Ū and the Black River, whose name may be etymologically traceable to that of the *Indi*, *Sindi*, or *Hindi*. I have not seen it mentioned, so far, in any European account of that region.

[2] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 106.

to and established over thirty colonial districts, which he placed under the jurisdiction of *Kŭu-chön* (Thaṇ-hwā). The *Līau* alluded to here could not evidently be the Lāu, i.e. people of Thai race, for although we have seen that the latter formed the ruling class in *Kŭu-dŭk*, or Hà-tiñ, and Ngĕ-ān, the bulk of the population must have been Chām; and it is besides highly improbable that they could hold Sön-töi and Bąk-niñ as well at the period in question. At a much later date Chinese writers still speak of *Līau* tribes occupying the hill-tracts to the north and north-west of Sön-töi;[1] and quite recently we have been told of *Mān-Līau* (蠻 獠) being yet to be found in the district of Twīen-kwāng (宣 光), not far to the north of the same place.[2] I have no doubt that populations of the C'hīeng or Mōñ-Annam race are in every instance implied, although Chinese writers may have made some confusion between *Līau* and *Lāu*, owing to these two terms being almost alike in sound.[3]

[1] In A.D. 546, according to the Annamese Annals (Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 138, 139), the fugitive native emperor Lī-bôn took refuge among the *Līau* in the country of *Kwŏt-Līau Dŏng* (*K'iu-Līau Tung* = the caves or mountainous recesses of *K'iu-Līau*), ending his days there in 548 A.D. From the account of Lī-bôn's doings, the region here referred to, which has been left unidentified by the commentators, appears to have been on either the Red or the Clear River, in the north or north-west of Sön-töi. *K'iu-Līau* is very likely the name of a branch of the Līau, applied to the district where this particular branch had settled. Although the spelling in native characters is not given, it seems very probable that this people were the 鳩 獠, *Chiu-Līau*, the race from whom the modern *T'u-Līau*, 土 獠, of South-Eastern Yünnan and Kwang-hsi are said by tradition to be descended. (See Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite," p. 114.) It is worthy of note that these *T'u-Līau* are also termed *Shan-tsz*, 山 子 (Annamese *Sön-tŭ*), or 'Sons of the Hills,' a name much analogous in structure to those of the *Shan-ching* or *Sön-tiñ* and of the *Khā Dōi* (for which latter see above, p. 58).

[2] See Devéria, op. cit., p. 69, where this people are, I believe wrongly, taken to be Lāu. According to Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 70) the name *Mān-Līau* was, in fact, applied to the *Pan-shun Mān* (板 楯 蠻), who are affiliated with the *Miao* stock.

[3] See note on p. 288 above. Mr. Parker remarks (*China Review*, vol. xxii, p. 610) that "for some unaccountable reason the *P'ei-wén Yün-fu* reads the character 獠 or 獠 as *chao*," while "in another place the second character is read

I shall leave it to subsequent research to clear up this point, and also to show whether the 西屠夷 (*Töi-dô* or *Hsi-t'u I*) located by some native writers on the northern side of the *Hsiang-lin* (Hà-tiñ) borders, and by others further to the south of *Lin-i*[1] at the time of Ma-yüan's expedition into Tonkin (A.D. 43), are in any way connected with the **Indoi** or **Sindoi**. For although they are shifted so far down the coast, from the incidental mention that the brass pillars erected by

as *lao*," and vaguely adds that either character "is usually applied to the Indo-Chinese [?] tribes." In the preceding page (609 ibid.) he goes further and makes the sweeping assertion that "the 獠 [*Līau*] are the *Thai*, or Siamese [?!] colonists who date from about 1,000 years ago. *Liao* or *Loa* [Lōi, Lāu?] is a term which covers Burmese, Siamese, Annamese, and Indo-Chinese generally, including Arabs and Hindoos, [*excusez du peu!*] *when they come by sea.*" This far-fetched notion as to the ethnographical area embraced by the term *Līau* seems to have been suggested to Mr. Parker by the following extract he gives elsewhere in the same Review (vol. xxi, p. 56): "The 程史 [*Ch'êng-shih*] says that at Canton (番禺 [*P'an-yü*]) there were a good many Indo-Chinese (海獠 [*Hai Līau*, i.e. 'Sea-Līau' or 'Coast-Līau']). The most influential were the 蒲 [*P'u*] family, called the 'white barbarians' (白番人 [*Pê-Fan Jên*]), originally nobles from Chan-ch'êng (占城, near modern Tourane [*Campā*, as we have diffusely shown]). Having had bad weather in coming to Canton, they were afraid of going back, and begged permission of their king to remain in Canton as a sort of commercial agency. With reference to the above, it may be noted here that 蒲 [*P'u*] seems to have been a common family name amongst the ruling castes of Hindoo origin settled in the South seas generally." However, in the foregoing extract, the term *Hai Līau*, i.e. *Līau* of the Sea or of the Sea-coast, seems to imply that the persons alluded to were Chām, at least by naturalization, thus proving our contention that the word *Līau* refers especially to populations of the Mōñ-Annam race, and not at all to the Lāu or Thai or to other Indo-Chinese populations that do not belong to the Mōñ-Annam or Miao stocks. That the word in question cannot apply to Burmese, that is, to Tibeto-Burmān tribes, is sufficiently evidenced from the statement of the Chinese historians, who class the *Līau* among the southern barbarians, and tell us that they did not spread into *Shu*, i.e. Sz-ch'wan, from their native homesteads in the southern mountains, until A.D. 343 and after (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 106–9, who draws his information from the *Tsin Shu* or Chronicle of the Tsin dynasty, the first historical work where the *Līau* are referred to). As regards the term *P'u*, it is not a family name in the present instance, but the Chām title *Pô* borne by Chām ministers and chiefs (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 545 and 547, for the names of two dignitaries of *Chan-ch'êng* prefixed by such a title). *Pô* means simply 'lord,' 'Mr.'

[1] *Vide supra*, pp. 231 and 233; Des Michels, op. cit., p. 62; and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 97 and 418.

Ma-yüan in that region denoted the line of demarcation between Han dominions and the territory of the *Hsi-t'u I*,[1] we may well infer that their real habitat was no further south than Thaṇ-hwā, which district, we have shown, was in all probability the farthest point reached by Ma-yüan, and therefore the place where his famed pillars were set up. Now, it has been seen that the *Sön-tiñ*, Sindoi, or *Sindi* had very likely, and before Ma-yüan's time, extended from Söntöi towards the coast, reaching the latter at about the same point; hence the suspicion arises that the *Hsi-t'u I* may have been somehow connected with them. The Chinese historians of the T'ang period are inclined to regard the *Hsi-t'u I* as the descendants of the soldiers left behind in the country by Ma-yüan, and add that for this reason they called themselves *Ma-liu* (馬留), i.e. 'left behind by Ma[yüan],' or *Ma-liu Jên*, that is, *Ma-liu* Men;[2] but it does not seem to me that this story deserves much credit. It should be probably classed along with the wonderful yarns wherewith Chinese writers delight to adorn their narratives. If *Ma-liu* were really an alternative designation for the *Hsi-t'u I*, it may be more likely connected with *Mālinī* or *Cūḍāmala*, *Cūḍāmaṇi*, *Cūḍāmalya*, the name of the Upper Campā (*Lin-i*) kingdom,[3] in which case the *Ma-liu* would prove to be Chām. The term *Hsi-t'u I*, if taken in the sense of 'Western *T'u I*' or *T'u* (in Annamese *Dỏ-dzī* or *Dỏ*), leads, more or less, to a similar conclusion, the native vocable implied being in appearance *Dōi*, a synonym of *Loi*, *Löi*, *C'hīeng*, and the generic designation for the hill tribes of Mōñ-Annam race. I should not think that people in any way connected with the modern *T'u* (土) or *T'u-jén* (土人)—called *Thổ* by the Annamese—now occupying the hill-tracts about the Black River, the Red River, and to the east of the latter as far as Kao-bằng on the Kwang-hsi frontier, are meant, for these are said to be a very heterogeneous tribe, the scattered groups of which have not all the same language, and are alleged

[1] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 418.
[2] Ibid., pp. 418, 419, and 97, 98.
[3] *Vide supra*, pp. 127, 144.

to constitute the remains of those military colonies which the Chinese government used to station there to guard the frontier and the newly annexed territories.[1] Should

[1] See *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 152; and Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite," p. 97. I may add that those among these tribes called *Thổ-dēn*, 土 顛, or 'Black *Thổ*,' by the Annamese, are apparently of Thai race, being the same people whom the Eastern Lāu term *Pʿhu-Thai Dam*, or 'Black *Pʿhu-Thai*,' from the colour of the garments they wear. They were in occupation, at no distant period, of the whole region comprised between the Black River and the Nạm Mā (the *Song Mā* of the Annamese), which then formed the *Sīb-sŏng Chuḥ-Thai*, or Twelve Thai Marches (literally, the 'Twelve-Thai-holding' [Districts]) of the Lúang Pʿhraḥ Bāng Kingdom. Parker is somewhat in error (*China Review*, vol. xix, p. 196) in suggesting 十 二 土 州, or 十 二 歹 州 (*Shi-êrh Tʿu* [i.e. *Thổ*], or *Shi-êrh Tai*, *Chou*), as the probable Chinese equivalents. *Chuḥ* means 'to hold,' 'to contain,' and not exactly *Chou*, a political or administrative division. According to Dumoutier (see *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 168) the natives of the sixteen *châu* (*Chầu*) of the Black River also style themselves *Thổ*, 土. This has led later travellers in that region, among whom are Messrs. Nicolai and Lefèvre Pontalis, to identify the *Thổ* in general with the *Thai* (see *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 33, 1890, p. 13; *Journal Asiatique*, 1892, No. 2, p. 10, extrait; and *Tʿoung Pao*, Mars, 1896, pp. 54–58). But while, on the one side, linguistical evidence argues several branches of the *Thổ* to be Thai—such as, e.g., the above-mentioned *Thổ-dēn*, and the *Tʿu-Jên* of Kwei-chou and Kwang-hsi—it should be remembered, on the other hand, that *Tʿu* or *Thổ* is not an ethnic, but merely a conventional term applied by the Chinese to 'aborigines' or 'territorials,' or, better to say, to old settlers in Kwei-chou and Kwang-hsi, who included people both of the Mōñ-Annam and Thai races. We have, in fact, *Tʿu* or *Tʿu-Jên*, *Tʿu-Līau*, *Tʿu-Mān*, etc., so that it is ridiculous to conclude, on the mere *primâ facie* evidence of the term *Tʿu* or *Thổ* being collectively applied to these populations, that they are all of the same stock. A more minute investigation of their racial affinities shows them, indeed, to be for the most part either *Yāu* or *Mẽu* (Miau) by descent. This is also, practically, the view taken of the question by both the Lāu and Annamese, who agree on the whole in classing the *Thổ* among the *Khã* tribes. That such considerations could be either neglected or designedly ignored by a writer of the stamp of Mr. Nicolai, whose article betrays throughout an absence of the most elementary knowledge of Indo-Chinese ethnography and history, does not come as a surprise; but the case is different with Mr. Lefèvre Pontalis, who had been not only over part of the ground covered by the *Thổ*, but had the most favourable opportunities of studying the question on the spot. Not content with sweepingly asserting the *Tʿu* or *Thổ's* identity with the *Thai* and *Lu-tai* (六 歹) or *Pai-I*, as well as with the *Lak-thò* (六 土, *Lŭk-thổ?*), this writer does not hesitate to comprise under that denomination and to affiliate to the Thai stock also the 犵 狫 or 仡 狫, *Kê-lau*, *Kih-lau*, or *Hêt-lou* (whom he calls 'Chi-lao,' see *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1896, p. 19,

a population by the name of *T'u* be intended, it would be

extrait), of Central and Western Kwei-chou, who are notoriously of Mōñ-Annam stock (see Lacouperie's "Languages of China before the Chinese," pp. 48–49).* Nor is this all, for the old 西屠夷, *Hsi-t'u I* or *Töi-dô*, are by the same authority (in *T'oung Pao*, Mars, 1896, p. 61) thought to have been also *Thổ*, 土, and therefore (in his opinion) Thai, on the assumption that *Dô* means 'red' in Annamese, a circumstance arguing (according to him) that they may have been the same tribe as the 'Red Thai' still found existing in the Song-Mā valley down to the point where it debouches into the Thañ-hwą district. But this is a mistake, for any tyro in Annamese knows that the word meaning 'red' in that language is represented by the character 赭, pronounced *dổ*, *rising tone*, and *not* by 屠, pronounced *dồ*, *sinking tone*, a fact quite sufficient by itself for anyone acquainted with the mechanism of Sino-Annamese phonology to relegate such a queer theory to the limbo of infantile absurdities. Neither does the suggestion as to the racial identity of the *Hsi-t'u* or *Töi-dô* with the Thai and of the latter with the 土, *T'u* or *Thổ*, appear any more tenable on historical grounds. It should be observed, in fact, that the 土蠻, *T'u-Mān* or *Thổ-Mạn*—that is, the 土, *T'u* or *Thổ*—are referred to in Annamese history since A.D. 858, in which year they are reported to have made raids into Tonkinese territory (see Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 189–190). With them are, immediately afterwards, mentioned the 南詔, *Nan-Chāu*, *Nām-Chịeu*, or Thai of the Yünnanese kingdom of Ta-li. Had those *Thổ* been, like the Nan-Chāu, of Thai stock, they would presumably have been confounded into one with the latter by the historians, and therefore passed over in silence. Neither can it be logically inferred that those *Thổ* or *Thổ-Mạn* were the same people as the *Töi-dô* or *Hsi-t'u*, for the characters 土 and 屠 employed to designate, respectively, these two populations are very dissimilar, while the dates at which the latter appear in history do not differ by more than eight centuries (A.D. 43–858), and far less if it be considered that the *Hsi-t'u I* do not seem to be referred to until the seventh century, that is to say, retrospectively, by the historiographers of the T'ang period (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 97), as being descended from soldiers under Ma-yüan, who had increased, by the time of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–618), to three hundred families, all bearing the name of *Ma* or *Ma-liu* (馬留). Had they been *Thổ*, there would have been neither need nor reason for calling them *Dô* or *Töi-dô* in the seventh century and *Thổ* or *Thổ-Mạn* in the ninth.

As regards *Lũk-thộ* (*Lục-thổ* of French writers), the name of a district (chiefly on the Red River) inhabited by *Mũang* (獞), i.e. Thai, populations, it would seem to occur in Annamese history, if P. Legrand de la Liraye is correct, since A.D. 679 (see Des Michels, op. cit., p. 187, notes), namely, nearly contemporaneously with the *Dô* and *Thổ*. As, however, no native characters

* They are so much Thai that they do not at all understand the *Chung-kia* (狆家), who speak a Thai language (see Devéria, op. cit., p. 104).

far more preferable to identify it with the *T'u-liau* (土 獠), *Shan-tsz*, or *Sön-tü* already alluded to.

In conclusion, Ptolemy's **Indoi** or **Sindoi**, whether connected or not in name with the *Hsi-t'u I*, appear to belong to the same racial stock, C'hīeng or Mōñ-Annam, as the tribes anciently inhabiting the hill-tracts of Tonkin, whose remains are now still to be found scattered thereabouts under the name of *Līau*, *Loi*, or *Dōi*, etc. Almost certainly they correspond to the *Sön-tiñ* of Annamese legend, while probably having connections, racial or otherwise, on the one side with the *Shan-tsz* or *Sön-tü* of South-Eastern Yünnan and South Kwang-hsi, and on the other with the *Indī* and other hill-tribes at present on the Kamboja-Cochin-Chinese watershed.

The **Kudutai** (No. 223).

Ptolemy locates this people south of the **Khalkītis** (the 合 剌 章, *Karajang*, or Black Lolos of Eastern Yünnan), and makes them, together with the **Barrhai**, extend to the Great Gulf (Gulf of Tonkin). In De Donis' map they are marked, under the name of *Codupe*, to the north of **Doana** (Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng) and between the **Doanas** (Më-Khōng) and the **Dōrias** (Nam Tāu, or Red River). Their habitat becomes thus fixed at about half-way betwixt the Më-Khōng

are given, we cannot make any linguistical rapprochement except that, judging from the sound (*Thộ*), the character here employed must be different from either of those used to represent the *Dổ* and *Thổ* tribes.

On the other hand, the *Quan-to* noticed since A.D. 1808 by Leyden ("On the Languages and Literature of Indo-Chinese Nations," in "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. i, p. 160), as being an ancient race inhabiting *Kāu-bàng* (高 平), who "regard themselves as the original inhabitants of Tonkin and Cochin-China," are no doubt 土, *Thổ*; and the correct form of their name must be either 軍 土, *Kwön-Thổ*, meaning '*Thổ*-people'; or 君 土, *Kwỗn-Thổ*; 君 阝, *Kwỗn-Thổ*, meaning '*Thổ* Chiefs,' '*Thổ*-district,' or tribe. I may add, in explanation of the second form here given, that the native chiefs of the Thổ districts bordering upon Lāu territory are, by the Lāu, called *Āt-ñā* (from the Sanskrit *ājñā*) *Thổ*, of which term the Annamese *Kwön-Thổ* or *Kwỗn-Thổ* would seem to be a translation.

at Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng and the head-waters of the Red River at Yüan-chiang, straight away north. Such being the case, I have no hesitation in taking Ptolemy's **Kudutai** to be the same people as the *K'a-to* or *K'a-t'o* (卡 墮), whom Garnier found exactly in the territory of the Yüan-chiang or Yüan-kiang prefecture,[1] whence they seem to extend along the hill-tracts further to the south. According to Lacouperie the *K'a-t'o* speak a language of the Lo-lo family, closely connected with that of the *Ho-ni* (和 泥), whose name is usually applied to them.[2] If so, they would belong to the Tibeto-Burmān group. It remains to be seen, however, whether this is the language they spoke originally, or whether it has been adopted, in the place of their primordial one, from the Lolos. Lacouperie's suggestion that the *K'a-t'o* are "probably the same as the *Kado* of Burmā," must as yet be taken with all reserve. Truly, the two tribal names are strikingly similar, if not actually identical, but the *Kado*, or *Kadu*, are far away on the Maṇipur borders, and though a tribe by the name of *Kadun* is mentioned along with the *Li-su* on the Burmo-Chinese frontier, I am unable to say whether it is in any way connected with the *K'a-t'o* and *Kado*. In view of our knowledge of the ethnography of these regions being as yet quite rudimental, it is impossible for the present to investigate the identity of Ptolemy's **Kudutai** any further. I propose, however, to revert to the subject in the next volume, when dealing with the Ptolemaic geography of Southern Yünnan. Suffice it here to have established their very probable relationship with the *K'a-t'o* of our day, whose name appears to be the corruption of an older term, *Khadu*, *Kadu*, or *Kudu*; perhaps *Kudut* or *Kuduta*, in which case it might prove traceable to some toponymic or tribal name, *Kuluta*, *Kulūta*, etc., introduced somewhere in this region by the early Indū immigrants. From *Kulūta* the derivation **Kudutai** could be easily accounted for, and with

[1] Op. cit., p. 483.

[2] "The Languages of China before the Chinese," p. 93.

it could be eventually connected *Kwo-lo* (猓 玀) or *Kwo-lu*, one of the names borne by the *Lo-lo* or *Lu-lu*;[1] the tribal designations of the *Khā Hūet*, *Khā Hōk*,[2] and *Khā-Ūt*; and

[1] See Devéria, op. cit., p. 141.

[2] The *Khā Hūet* or *Khā Hōk*, I learn from local sources, are so called by the Lāu of the districts on the Upper Nạm Ū (Müang Hun, etc.) in which they are settled, on account of their relish for squirrels as an article of food. *Karōk*, the Thai word for squirrel, becomes, in fact, *Kahōk* (and, by contraction, *Hōk*) in Lāu, in virtue of the law of phonetic change by which Thai *r* is converted into *h* in Lāu pronunciation. But *Karōk* is an Indū-derived word (from Sanskrit *Kālakā*, Pāli *Kāḷakā*), whose more correct form should be *Kalōk* or *Kālok*. Now, it is interesting to observe that the *Lo-lo* are also called *Laka*, and that their name or nickname 玀 玀, *Lo-lo*, is said to mean 'squirrel' (see Lacouperie's "Languages of China before the Chinese," pp. 88 and 106). It will thus be seen that *Laka* is undoubtedly a mere contraction of *Kālakā*, as *Hōk* is of *Kahōk* (*Kārakā*, *Kālakā*), and that therefore it is practically the same word as *Lo-lo*. This term is also, in fact, sometimes written 猓 玀 (*Kwo-lo* = Kā-la[-kā]), 猓 猓 (*Kwo-kwo* = Kā[-la]-kā), etc. The result is that the *Khā Hōk* must be a branch of the *Lo-lo*, or else that the latter were so nicknamed on account of having settled on *Khā Hōk* territory. The *Khā Hōk* are described in the native records above referred to as being dark in complexion, tattooing themselves in long stripes from the ankles to the hips, and wearing the usual scanty loin-cloth. They live at the foot of the mountain slopes and on the banks of rivulets, subsisting partly on fishing or on the birds and squirrels which they kill with their crossbow, and partly on glutinous rice. Their alternative name of *Khā Hūet* seems to be a modification of *Khā Hōk*, and suggests a parallel form *Kalut* or *Kalot* of *Kalōk* or *Kālakā*, which does not much differ from *Kulūta*. It is consequently very probable that we have in the *Khā Hūet* or *Khā Hōk* a tribe closely related to the *K'a-t'o*, and entitled to share with the latter the privilege of identification with Ptolemy's **Kudutai**. These, we have seen, are located to the south of the **Khalkītis**, whose name—although transcribed by Ptolemy in such a way as to etymologically connect it with *καλκός* in view of the many copper-mines (*μέταλλα καλκοῦ*) he says are to be found in their country—is evidently a mere adaptation or travesty of *Kālakā*, and seems to apply in this instance especially to the Lolos. Above I have suggested *Karajang* as its modern equivalent. It will now be seen that *Karajang*, whether it be formed from *Kara* = 'black,' or corruptly derived from *Kālakā* = *Karaka* = 'squirrel,' is in substance the same word as the latter; for *Kālakā* originates in its turn from *Kāla* or *Kālaka*, meaning literally 'black,' and figuratively a 'squirrel,' or any animal or plant of black colour. I am on the whole inclined to think, however, that *Kālakā* was the original tribal name or nickname of the *Lo-lo*, *Karajang* being a modification of it introduced by the Mongols when they conquered Yünnan under the Yüan dynasty. It is from that time, in fact, that the term *Karajang* began to appear in history. In any case it is evident that Ptolemy's **Kudutai** and **Khalkītis** must have been, if not exactly one and the same people, at least related in more than one way, and that the *Khā Hūet*, *K'a-t'o*, and *Lo-lo* must be their modern representatives. It should be remembered, however, that the term *Lo-lo*, as used by the Chinese, is but one of those loose names or indefinite expressions indiscriminately applied to populations of entirely different races, and therefore altogether devoid of ethnological significance. In the case in point it cannot certainly be taken to refer to the tall, oval-faced, Aryan-like race seen by

perhaps also that of the *Hu-t'ou* (虎頭), *Hŏ-dao*, *U-tu-t'au*, or *Khudu-t'au*, the so-called 'Tiger-Heads' of the Black River.[1] These modifications in nomenclature cannot surprise, in view of the fact that in India the tribal name *Kulūta* or *Kulūṭa* appears to have been eventually changed to *Utūla*, and *vice versa*.[2]

As regards the form *Colupe* appearing in De Donis' map, I believe that it is to some extent justifiable, for in the very same Yüan-chiang district, side by side with the *K'a-t'o* or *Kadu*, we have the *No-pi* (糯比),[3] whose name is given under the form *Lo-pe* by Garnier.[4] These people are, like the *K'a-t'o*, mere varieties of the *Ho-ni*; in fact, Devéria

Colborne Baber on the Chien-ch'ang border, but to tribes approaching the type of *Lo-lo* or *Kwo-lo* still occurring in Kwei-chou, described by the Chinese themselves as possessing black faces and other characteristics quite in keeping with those of the *Khā Hŏk* or *Khā Hüet*. In his paper on "The Aborigines of Hainan" (in the *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, new series, No. vii) Mr. Swinhoe speaks of the *Li* of the central part of the island as calling themselves *La* or *La-kia*, a term which Dr. Edkins, in a note appended thereto (p. 39), thinks to be probably the same with *Kwo-lo* or *Lo-lo*. This view is, in my belief, incorrect, for here *La-kia* seems to mean simply *La-chia* or '*La* family'; and these *La* are described by Swinhoe (p. 26) as being "a short, sturdy, light coloured race," thus widely differing from the *Kwo-lo* and *Khā-Khŏ*. As regards the "large, big-boned, dark men" inhabiting the 'Nychow' (Yai-chou) district and calling themselves *K'lai*, referred to on the same page, they are very probably, as shown by their name (*K'lai* = *Glai*), racially identical to the *Ôrang Glai* of Campā (*vide* p. 261 *ante*).

Colborne Baber makes the following statement as regards the independent Lolos occupying the mountainous district of the Liang Shan tracts: "Old people say that the Liang-shin tribes are a branch of the *La-ka* (?) family, and came originally from the west" ("A Journey of Exploration in Western Ssŭ-ch'uan," in Supplementary Papers, R.G.S., vol. i, pt. 1, 1882, p. 71). This would seem to imply that these so-called *Lo-lo* came to be considered as part of the aboriginal *Kālakā* (i.e. *Kwo-lo*, *Khā-Hŏk*, etc.), not necessarily from their being racially connected with the latter, but merely from the fact of their having settled on *Kwo-lo* territory. Their original name was presumably neither *Lo-lo* nor *Kwo-lo*.

[1] See *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 153. For the forms *Udu*, *Wudu*, assumed by the term *Hu* (Tiger) in Southern China, see Lacouperie, op. cit., pp. 20 and 30. In the Ch'u State of yore it was called 烏虒, *U-t'u*.

[2] *Vide* Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 174. We have also a (probably) contracted form of *Utūla* in the name of the *T'u-la* or *T'u-la-Mān*, 禿剌蠻, of the chronicles of the Yüan dynasty, who are undoubtedly Marco Polo's *Toloman* or *Tholoman* (see Devéria, op. cit., p. 115).

[3] Devéria, op. cit., p. 135. See also Lacouperie, op. cit., p. 93, n. 3.

[4] Op. cit., p. 483. Colborne Baber says (op. cit., p. 78) that the *Lo-lo* are called *Na-p'a* (= *No-pi* ?) by the Menia or Minia of Eastern Tibet.

gives *No-pi* as an alternative designation for the latter.[1] The Siāmese and Lāu, in their turn, consider the *Ho-ni* to be the same as the *Khā-Kò* or *Khā-Khō*, and often call them by this name, occurring also in the Chinese variant *Ko-ni* (哥泥) of the term *Ho-ni*.[2] From this evidence it may be inferred that *Kō*, *Khō*, or *Ko* is the generic name or surname of this people, probably prefixed to the designation of the tribes into which it is divided: thus, *Ko-Lo-pe*, *Kolu-pe*, or *Colupe* may be explained as the *Lo-pe*, *Lu-pe*, or *No-pi* tribe of the *Kō* family. On the same lines, the term *Ko-ni* or *Ho-ni* would appear to be, not the collective name for the whole race, but a mere tribal designation denoting the *Ni* variety of the *Kō*; and the term **Kudutai** might be taken to mean the *Duta* or *Luta* tribe of the same people, its correct reading being thus *Ko-Lu-ta*. It should be observed in this connection that a tribe bearing the practically identical name of *Koalut* is actually to be found in Southern Formosa, on the territory around South Cape, where it made itself notorious for its predatory as well as head-hunting proclivities.[3] Again, there was a tribe in Yünnan, apparently about the southern bend of the Yang-tsz River, bearing the very similar name of *Lu-to* or *Luk-to* (鹿茅), and first appearing in history in A.D. 47, to which we had already to call attention in a preceding section.[4] Lacouperie far too easily jumps to the conclusion that these people were the *Lok-tai* (*Lu-tai*, *Liu-tai*) of the Thai family;[5] but this remains yet to be proved. Should

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See "Aborigines of Formosa" in the *China Review*, vol. xiv, p. 123.

[4] *Supra*, p. 157. See also *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 68.

[5] Op. cit., p. 58, note 5. The Chinese spelling is 六歹, sounding *Luk-tai* in the southern dialects. It is said to be the Chinese generic term for the Lāu or Thai race, and was employed as an equivalent of *Pai-I*. (See Devéria, op. cit., p. 102.) Probably it was meant to refer, retrospectively, to the original Six Chàu (六詔, *Lu-Chao*) of the Thai confederation that became afterwards the kingdom of *Nan-Chao*, an observation which has escaped Devéria and others. Devéria remarks, nevertheless (l.l., note), that "*Loc-thay* [*Lok-tai*] pourrait se traduire par 'les six Thay,' mais pourrait être aussi un nom de localité"; and Parker, following him, translates the term as the 'Six Tai' (see *China Review*, vol. xix, pp. 79 and 196). On the other hand,

it turn out to be the case, the *Lu-to* could have nothing in common with the **Kudutai** and *Colupe*, who, so far as the

Dr. F. W. K. Müller—in his "Vocabularien der Pa-yi und Pah-poh Sprachen, aus dem 'Hua-i-yi-yü,'" of which he gives a partial translation in the *T'oung Pao*, vol. iii (March, 1892)—observes (p. 17), *à propos* of the Pai-I pronunciation '*Luk-tai*' of the term 六 歹, made there equivalent to the Chinese 百 夷, Pai-I: "= kinder der Tai's; *lùk* = 'kind,' Schan und Siam.," thus taking the term to mean 'Children of the Thai,' an interpretation which Lefèvre Pontalis, in *T'oung Pao*, 1896, p. 54, sanguinely endorses. I must say, on my part, that this explanation, however ingenious and plausible it may at first sight appear, leaves me rather sceptical. For we have no proof that *luk* here means 'child' or 'children,' any more than *lôk* (the Thai form of the Sanskrit *loka* = 'people'), or *lọk*, which, as we have seen above (p. 139), was the old Thai pronunciation of the numeral 'six.' Further, there is no evidence to hand as to whether *tai* here means *Thai*, or *tài* ('south,' 'below'), or anything else; not to speak of the very queer and unnatural sense of the term *Luk-tai* as an ethnical designation, if interpreted as 'Children of the Thai.' There is no precedent on record as to any Thai tribe ever having borne such an appellation, or even one in any respect similar to it. We have heard of *Thai Nai* and *Thai Nôk* (Inner and Outer Thai); and the Sukhôthai inscription of A.D. 1292 (*vide* p. 107 *ante*) tells us of *Thai Yāi* and *Thai Nọ̀i* ('Great Thai,' i.e. the famous 'Shāns' or Thai of Upper Burmā, and 'Little Thai,' i.e. the Thai of Siām), of *Thai C'hāu Ài* ('Elder Thai,' probably, in my opinion, the same as the *Ài-Lāu* or 哀 牢, *Ai-Lao*) and *Thai C'hāu Khŏng* (i.e., I presume, the Thai of the Mẽ-Khŏng River); but never did we come across a tribal name signifying 'Children of the Thai.' I have, moreover, shown (p. 185) that the term *Thai* is of comparatively modern growth, and that, although already in existence many centuries before the time (fifteenth or sixteenth century) when the Pai-I vocabulary of the Chinese Interpreters' College was compiled, it is merely a title and not an ethnic. Hence I am inclined to ascribe to the words *Lu-tai* or *Luk-tai* a different meaning from either 'Six Thai' or 'Children of the Thai.' The real signification may be *Lôk-tài*, i.e. 'Southerners' or 'Lowlanders.' In any case, the interpretation 'Six Thai' is beyond doubt far more logical and consistent with Thai traditions than the one of 'Children of the Thai.' The organization of the early Thai States appears to have been, from the remotest period known to history, into groups or confederacies of six districts, of which the Twelve *Chuḥ Thai* of the Nạm Mā (Song Mā) and Nạm Nön (Song Kă) and the Twelve *P'han-nā* of C'hīeng Rung are but doubles. The *Lu-Chao*, 六 歹, or, in old Thai, *Lok-Chàu* (meaning the 'Six Chieftains' and, metonymically, the 'Six Principalities,' or, as they are sometimes called in Burmā, *Tsaw-bwa*-ships, from the Thai term *Chàu-Fā* = 'Prince'), were mentioned, in Chinese records, as early as A.D. 70. Later on we hear of another group of Six Chàu in Northern Campā, therefore sometimes called 'the ancient *Lam-ap*,' an identification that completely puzzles Parker, who takes them to be (*China Review*, vol. xx, p. 203) 'Siamese tribute principalities' (!). They must have been, on the contrary, part of the kingdom of *Cūḷanī*, founded, as we

evidence adduced above goes, must have belonged to the *Kŏ* or *Ho-ni* tribes now called *K'a-t'o* and *No-pi*.

The Barrhai (No. 224).

These people close the list of the tribes mentioned by Ptolemy as dwelling on the Tonkinese borders and extending thence to the Great Gulf. In De Donis' map they are marked above **Aganagara** (Hà-nõi) to the east of the *Codupe* and the **Dōrias** River. The location I have assumed for them in the map about P'u-êrh Fu, at the outset of these studies and before I had access to De Donis' work, is, as we shall see directly, not at all unjustified, although too restricted, for I have since acquired the conviction that this tribe must, in agreement with what Ptolemy says, have extended well into Tonkin in his time, it being still found on its western borders at the present day.

have shown above, by the Lāu in what is now the Hà-tĩñ district. We are told, again, of another confederacy on the Upper Red River, called 六猛, *Lu-Mêng* (pron. *Lŭk-Mắñ* in Annamese), a term again puzzling Parker, who translates it (*China Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 54) 'the Six Muangs of Tonquin,' and adds that "in 1806 China said these belonged to Lin-an Fu, and declined to give them to Annam." I doubt, however, that '*Müang*' districts are here implied, as the term *Müang* is transcribed in Annamese under the form 牟, and is in Chinese usually represented by 蒙, *Mêng* (Ann. *Mũang*); although 茫, *Mang* (Ann. *Müang*); 孟, *Mêng* (Ann. *Mãñ*); and 猛, *Mêng* (Ann. *Mắñ*), appear to be at times employed in a similar sense. The districts in question must have been on the Red River in the neighbourhood of Man-hao and Mêng-tsz (蒙自) or Mongtzé; and the term *Lu-Mêng* may have reference to the *Lamang*, a Mõñ-Annam tribe similar to the *Lamet* or *Khã-Met* who are settled in that vicinity. Should the real meaning of the term be 'Six Müangs' (as in 三猛, *San-mêng* = 'Three Müangs,' *vide supra*, p. 139), this would be an additional proof as to the prevalence of the hexamerous political organization among the Thai. The instance just quoted of the three Müangs of C'hĩeng Rụng could scarcely be regarded as forming an exception, for three is a sub-multiple of six, while in the case of the twelve *P'han-nã* we have a multiple of the same numeral. These seemingly abnormal groups may have resulted in the one case from the scission into two of an original aggregate of six districts, and in the other from the coalescence of a couple of the same typical aggregations. It will be seen below (p. 364), in fact, that when the P'u-êrh Fu prefecture was formed, exactly *six P'han-nã* were withdrawn for the purpose from C'hĩeng Rụng territory.

About the identity of the **Barrhai** there can be no possible doubt. They are till now represented by the people called *P'u-êrh* or *P'u-'rh* (普洱) by the Chinese, and *P'hu-Ō̄* or *Khā-Ō̄* by the Lāu. They inhabit the territory to the east and south-east of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, which the Annamese have wantonly styled Trŏn-niñ (鎮寧, in Chinese *Chên-ning*, the Trân-ninh of French writers), although it has ever been known under the name of *Müang P'hūen* applied to it from time immemorial by the Lāu. This term *P'hūen* is, I presume, the ancient local corruption of *P'u-êrh*, the final *r* being either dropped or turned into *n* in Thai pronunciation. *P'u-êrh* being the name of the people whom the Lāu found in occupation of the country when they first reached it under Khún Chet-c'hūang,[1] it is but natural that they should have preserved that denomination under the slightly modified form of *Müang P'hūen*, and become themselves known to the surrounding nations as the *Lāu P'hūen*, i.e. Lāu inhabiting the country of the old *P'hūen* or *P'u-êrh* tribes. According to recent explorers,[2] local tradition points to the two great families of the *P'u-êrh* and *P'u-ch'a* (普岔) as being the original occupiers of the region comprised between the Mē-Khōng at Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, the Black River, and the Tonkinese borders, now improperly termed the country of the *Müang*, because of its having been at a later period organized into districts (*Müang*) by the Lāu conquerors.

As regards the *P'u-ch'a*, they evidently correspond to the people otherwise called *Ch'ā* (舍), *Khmu*, and *Khă Chĕḥ*, to whom reference has often been made in these pages. Chinese writers attach them to the *Chung-jên* (狆人) or *Chung-kia* (狆家) of Kwang-hsi, and through them to the *Miao* stock.[3] This means that they belong to the Mōñ-Annam

[1] See above, p. 294, note.

[2] See *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 196, and *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 33, p. 18.

[3] *Vide* Devéria, op. cit., pp. 133, 161, 162. Lacouperie (op. cit., pp. 61, 62) says that the *Chung-kia* are also called *Chung-Miao* and *I-jên*, their own name being *Pu-i*, and that they speak a Thai dialect, their traditions pointing to Kiang-hsi as their ancestral home. This point requires clearing up; but the fact of their now speaking a Thai dialect is not sufficient of itself to affiliate them with the Thai stock, language being not always a sure criterion of race.

or *C'hīeng* race, as we know, in fact, their kinsmen the Khmu or Khā Chĕḥ do.[1] On the other hand, the *P'u-êrh* seem to have been a far more important branch of that race than the *P'u-ch'a*, for we find traces of their existence all over Indo-China. The *P'u-êrh* district on the south-western Yünnan borders was, no doubt, like Müang *P'hūen*, named after them;[2] and with them were probably connected the dark-complexioned and dwarfish *P'u-na* (滿 那), now called *P'u-la*[3] (撲 喇), met with by Garnier[4] in the Lin-an prefecture of Eastern Yünnan, but known to extend thence southwards to Yüan-chiang territory and eastwards into Kwang-hsi. From the fact of the latter being known likewise by the name of *Ma-la* (馬 喇),[5] it would appear that it was they who gave the Lāu country its first name of *Māla*, classicized afterwards by the Indū settlers into *Mālava-deśa*. My suggestion in this sense made in a preceding

[1] It is possible that the *Chung-jên* are actually represented on the hill-tracts of the Lāu-Tonkinese watershed by the *Chŭang* or *Khā-Chŭang* (the *Thuong* of recent French explorers), who are said to be closely akin to the Khā Chĕḥ. (N.B. that the Chinese character 狆 is pronounced *chüng* and *tüng* in Southern Chinese dialects, and *trung*, *trụng* in Annamese.)

[2] See Devéria, op. cit., p. 116, note, where it is stated that during the Ming dynasty there were *P'u-na* or *P'u-la* on the territory of Ch'ê-li (C'hīeng Rụng), which then still included the six *P'han-nā* out of which the *P'u-êrh Fu* prefecture was formed much later on, viz. in A.D. 1729. While the name of Müang Chĕḥ indicates the presence of *Chĕḥ* or *Khmu* tribes in the southern part of C'hīeng Rụng (*vide supra*, p. 138), the toponymic *P'u-êrh* argues the existence of *P'u-êrh* populations in the northern portion of the same State. To the very probable connection of *Müang P'hūen* or *P'hūer* with Ptolemy's **Bareukora** or **Bareuaóra** I have already called attention above (p. 294, note). It will now be seen that it was most probably, like *P'u-êrh Fu*, a foundation of the **Barrhai**.

It would be of no small ethnological importance to ascertain whether the *P'u-na* are in any way connected with the tribes called *P'hanā*, *Bàn-nān* (*Khā Bàn-nān*), and *P'hamà* presently found in the P'hū-Fāng and Müang Lai (Lāi-chôu) districts. From local sources I gather that the *P'hanā* and *Bàn-nān* are, as a rule, dark-complexioned, but speak different dialects. That of the *P'hanā* is similar to the *Khā-Kong's*, and therefore of Tibeto-Burmān type, while the *Bàn-nān* tongue differs, being thus probably Mōn-Annam. So seems to be the jargon spoken by the *P'hamà*, although the absence, so far, of a vocabulary of this speech prevents one forming a definite opinion.

[3] Devéria, loc. cit.

[4] Op. cit., p. 504.

[5] Devéria, op. cit., p. 117.

section[1] would thus seem to have been well founded. I have, however, also hinted at the possible racial connection of the **Barrhai** with the *Prū* or *P'hyū* of ancient Burmā, and the present *Poru*, *Brāu*, *Bahnar*, etc., of Kamboja.[2] This connection will appear all the more evident now that the **Barrhai's** identity with the *P'u-êrh*, *P'u-'rh*, *P'hūen*, or *P'u-na* has been demonstrated. We may then take it as pretty well certain that the *Pōr*, *Poru*, *Pēar*, or *Bar*, surnamed by the Khmēr *Manuṣ-P'hrai* (cf. **Barrhai**) or 'Jungle-Men,' the *Brāu*, *Pru*, or *P'hraṵ*, the *Bahnar*, the *Bahorar*, and other tribes of the Kambojan-Annamese watershed bearing similar names, and having practically the same customs and language, must be so many offshoots of the original *P'u-êrh*, driven out of their home in Southern Yünnan and on the Lāu-Tonkinese borders by the Thai and other more powerful races advancing from the north. So must be the *P'hyū*, *P'hrū*, or *Brū* of ancient Burmā, who settled, since about 484 B.C., at Old Prome (*Prañ* in Burmese, and *Pran* or *Prōn* in Mōñ), and very likely are the *P'iao*, 驃 (in Cantonese *P'iu*), of the Chinese, scattered remnants of whom were still lingering on the Burmo-Yünnanese borders at Momīen in A.D. 796.[3] Probably this western branch of the *P'hrū* or *Brū* reached as far down as the Malay Peninsula, where, with the *Bhīlū*, *Bhil*, or *Bila*, and other more or less cognate tribes, they contributed to form its early population, for the term *Pahrū* is used up to this day by the Mōñ to designate its inhabitants, the present Malays, in the form *Mniḥ Pahrū* (), i.e. *Pahrū*-Men.[4]

[1] *Supra*, p. 131.
[2] Ibid., pp. 129, 130.
[3] Ibid., pp. 73 and 130.
[4] See the Rev. E. O. Stevens' "English and Peguan Vocabulary," Rangoon, 1896, p. 62, s.v. *Malay*. The Burmese pronunciation of *Pahrū* is *Pashū*. Leyden, however, uses the spelling *Masū* and says this is the name given by the Burmese to the Malays (see "Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations," reprinted in "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. i, p. 87). The term is omitted in Judson's Burmese and English Dictionary,

However, the tribes of this race that became known to Ptolemy and were by him recorded under the name of **Barrhai** merely included, as we have seen, the *P'u-êrh* or *P'u-'rh*, then extending in scattered groups—in consequence of their having been cut off into sections by the stream of the **Doanai** or Thai invaders from Southern Yünnan—all along the hill-tracts intervening between the Më-Khōng at C'hīeng Rūng and the Clear River of Tonkin, if not even further till the head of the Gulf, as Ptolemy would seem to imply. It is probably with the more eastern portion of them that his informants became acquainted, and these, we have shown, are still represented in the highlands of *Müang P'hūen* or Trŏn-niñ to the east and south-east of Lŭang P'hraḥ Bāng,

1883 edition; and the late Dr. Rost, while remarking in a note to Leyden's paper that it also occurs in Karen, ignores its existence in Mōñ under the form *Pahrū*, which is undoubtedly an earlier one. The term is of importance, inasmuch as it appears to be traceable, not only all over Indo-China, but also throughout the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. The names of the *Marūt* tribe of Borneo, and of the *Biaju* or *Beajū* of the same island, of which they regard themselves the aborigines, are probably connected with it. So may be, again, the designation *Mau-sz* or *Mau-ssŭ* (毛思) applied by the Chinese to a piratical tribe of the archipelago, of which Groeneveldt acknowledges his inability "to find out the origin" (see "Essays relating to Indo-China," 2nd series, vol. i, pp. 224 and 257). Chinese writers make the *Mau-ssŭ* native of a country which they term *P'o-lo*, 婆羅, and say it is also known as *Wên-ts'ai*, 文萊. Groeneveldt, I know not on what authority, spells this name 文莱, *Wên-lai*, so as to twist it, with his usual facility, into *Burnai* or *Brunei*, and take it to mean Borneo, thereby concluding that the *Mau-ssŭ* are Borneo pirates. However, according Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 460) and other Chinese authors, *P'o-lo* lay at some days' sailing distance to the south-west of *Ch'ih-t'u* (Siām), and "at the limit of the eastern Ocean, where the western Ocean begins" (see *China Review*, vol. iv, p. 386). This shows that it must have been situated, *not* on Borneo, but either on the Malay Peninsula or on some neighbouring island, and that it may correspond to Ibn Baṭūṭa's mysterious *Barah-nagār*, of which more anon (p. 400, n. 2). In any case the word implied is undoubtedly something like *Bara*, *Bar*, or *Baru*, which, again, brings us back to the *Pahrū*, *P'u-êrh*, *P'hrū* or *Brū*, etc., referred to above. Another country bearing a name similar, and possibly identical, to *P'o-lo*, is 波羅, *Po-lo* (*Pahrū*, *Baru*?), whose memory survives in the *Po-lo* temple at Canton in connection with a legend concerning the image of a black man preserved there, said to have been a high officer from that land, who came in a junk to bear presents to China. (See *China Review*, vol. xii, p. 153, and vol. xiv, p. 173.)

under the old name of *P'u-êrh* or *P'u-'rh* and its Lāu forms *P'hū-Ō̄* and *Khā̆-Ō̄*. Every vestige of those that had settled in Northern Tonkin has probably disappeared long ago; and from no mention being found of them in Annamese history,[1] we must conclude that they have been partly absorbed into the bulk of the people, and partly driven southwards along with other tribes that entered to form the population of Campā.

On the other hand, groups of the *P'hū-Ō̄* or *Khā̆-Ō̄* are still found on the hill-tracts of the Black River, especially in the district of *Müang Lai*, the *Lāi-chôu* or *Lai-châu* (萊州) of the Annamese. From a Siāmese account of them we gather that they, whether males or females, are wont to tattoo the part of the face around the mouth with black streaks and other designs. Now, we have formerly drawn attention to the fact that the custom of face-tattooing was peculiar to the *Li* or *Loi* of Hainan and to the Khyeng of Burmā in so far as women were concerned; and to the *Hua-mien*, or 'Flowered Faces' tribe of the *Līau*,[2] among whom it was presumably adopted by both sexes. Ma Tuan-lin tells us that it was also in favour among a tribe of the *Pu* (濮) somewhere on the Burmā frontier, termed for this reason *Wên-mien-Pu*, i.e. 'Striped-face *Pu*.' These people, he says, tattoo their faces with blue designs.[3] They may

[1] On the Chinese side Ma Tuan-lin makes mention (op. cit., p. 395) of natives —apparently of Hainan—called 苻護, *Fu-hu* (Cant. *Fu-wu*, Ann. *P'hū-hỗ*), who gave some trouble to the Chinese authorities of the island in A.D. 1154–55; but it is difficult to judge, from the scanty information given, as to whether this tribe were in any way related to the *P'u* on the main.

[2] *Supra*, p. 175.

[3] Op. cit., p. 301. It is interesting to notice that face-tattooing is also in favour with several Nāga clans on the Burmo-Asamese frontier, among which is that of the *Abor*, who, strange to say, bear a name strikingly similar to the one of the *P'u-êrh*. Among the Kolarian tribes of India the practice prevails, especially with the Juāng, Khariya, Ho, and Orāon, where, however, it is restricted to women and to the forehead and temples only (see Crooke's "Folk-lore of Northern India," 1896, vol. ii, p. 31). In the Malay Peninsula it is still observable among the Semang and Benua; while in Sumatra it was noticed since the first quarter of the fourteenth century by Friar Odoric at *Sumoltra* or *Smohora* (Sumatra city, near Pasei, or Samara); and in the century next following, by Nicolò Conti among the '*Batech*' (Batta or Battak). In Northern

have been Wah or Pwo-Karens, not necessarily connected with the *P'hū-Ŏ*, although the character, 濮, employed in representing their name, is strikingly similar, both in form and sound, to that (撲) used to denote the *P'u-la*. In the alternative designation of the latter, *P'u-na*, it should be noticed, the initial character takes the form of 蒲, which also occurs in the name of the *P'u-Jên* (蒲人), or *P'u*-Men, said by the Rev. George W. Clarke to be called *Pu-Ren* and *P'u-long*, and to have been termed *Pen-pu* from B.C. 1122–867. Some of them, he adds, live in the neighbourhood of Nan-tien, to the south-west of (modern) Yung-ch'ang.[1] It would be interesting to find out whether these *P'u-long*—or, as he writes their name, *Pulong*—are one and the same people with the *Palong* or *Palaung*

Indo-China it has been remarked of the *Nu-tsz*, *Lu-tsz*, or *Nu-jên* (怒子, etc.), dwelling to the east of the *Nu* or *Lu* River (怒, or 潞, 江 = Salwīn), that they "tattoo their faces with blue lines" (see "Actes du 10ème Congrès International des Orientalistes," Leide, 1897, Section vii, p. 61), without any further particulars as to the part of the face where the disfiguration is applied to, and what form it takes. The tattooing about the corners of the mouth we have described as forming part of the toilet of the *P'hu-Ŏ* was, therefore, probably in favour with all the *P'u* or *Pu* tribes. It is a pity that the lack of more detailed information about these and kindred populations in Chinese literature prevents us from turning the above supposition into a certainty, as the question is one of great importance for ethnological classification. Outside of Indo-China the latter peculiar form of tattooing is found among the *Che-hwan* (*Shêng-fan*) or hillmen of Formosa, and beyond it it reappears among the women of Fiji. Leaving, however, the last-named aside and confining our considerations to Formosa, it cannot fail to strike one as very probable that the presence of an identical custom in the same characteristic form among the *Che-hwan* of that island and the *P'hu-Ŏ* of Northern Indo-China is a very strong argument in favour of racial affinity between the two peoples. The *Che-hwan* style of tattooing is minutely described in the *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, new series, No. ix, 1875, p. 64, and in the *China Review*, vol. xiii, pp. 200–201, to which I refer the reader. It is to be hoped that more attention will henceforth be paid to this subject, especially in connection with Indo-Chinese tribes, and that likenesses of the different patterns in use for the face will be taken, so as to enable ethnologists to institute comparisons, and eventually arrive at some definite result in respect of the racial relations in which those tribes stand to each other.

[1] *Chinese Recorder*, vol. xv, p. 387. Next the writer speaks of the *Ma-la*, whose name he spells 獁喇, instead of 馬喇 as in Devéria (op. cit., p. 117), without being apparently aware that they are the same people as the *P'u-jên* or *P'u-la*.

dwelling to the north-east of Ava (Taungbain district, etc.) and in the northern part of Müang Lëm. These latter Lacouperie[1] terms *Po-lung* (勃 弄, really *P'o-lung* or *P'uh-lung*), and rightly ascribes to the Mŏñ-Annam family. From the evidence adduced above, they must be identical to the *P'u-la* and closely allied to the *P'u-êrh* or *P'hu-Ö*, in whose neighbourhood they originally lived, as exemplified by the fact that *P'o-lung* or *P'uh-lung* (spelled with the same characters) was the name of the department of Peh-ngai of the Nan-Chao kingdom.[2] Ma Tuan-lin, speaking of the south-western barbarians called *Pu-jên* (卜 人), i.e. *Pu*-Men, takes them to be one with the *Pu* (濮) above referred to, and does not hesitate to suggest that all these tribes styled *Pu* must be the same people.[3] From the prevalence among most of the *Pu* or *P'u* of the custom of face-tattooing; from the fact of their being, as a rule, dark-complexioned[4]; from their speaking similar languages, and having practically the same customs, we have no hesitation, in our turn, to still more generalize Ma Tuan-lin's view, and pronounce all the tribes mentioned above, whether *Pu* or *P'u*, closely related to the *P'u-êrh*, and issued from the same racial stock, if not absolutely identical with each other. Another people with a name strikingly alike that of the *P'u-êrh* or *P'hūen* are the *P'hwon* or *Pwon* (their name being so spelled by Ney Elias), mentioned in the Mogaung Annals as one of the eight races dwelling in that kingdom at the time of its foundation, *circâ* 1215 A.D. They were then divided into Great and Little P'hwons, and their descendants are still to be found settled about the third or upper defile

[1] Op. cit., p. 55.

[2] See *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 75.

[3] Op. cit., p. 305.

[4] The 蒲, *P'u*, are described as being dark like the 利 米, *Li-mi* (= *Lamet*?), by Chinese writers (see Devéria, op. cit., p. 169); the *P'u-la*, we have seen, are said by Garnier to be "sauvages petits et noirs" (op. cit., p. 504). The 蒲 may be the same tribe as the *P'hŏ* or *Khā-P'hŏ* (so called by the P'hu-thai) who inhabit, according to the native sources I am quoting from, the high mountains of Müang Lai (Black River), and are very dark in complexion.

of the Irāvatī.[1] According to a tradition surviving among them it would appear that their remote ancestors were already in the country at the time of the expedition from *Sein*, or *Sin*, that stormed and destroyed Tagaung in *circâ* B.C. 550. These primeval P'hwons, the legend runs, were pressed into service by the conquerors to conduct the elephants captured in the city back to *Sein*; but they escaped thence and wandered back to the banks of the Irāvatī, where they and their descendants have remained ever since. Ney Elias writes throughout 'China' instead of *Sin*, or *Sein*, in the above narrative; and, indeed, some of the native versions give *Gandhāra-raṭṭha* (Yünnan) as the land whence the invaders came. I have shown, however, that the country around Bhāmô, forming the ancient State of *Shen* (撣) of Chinese records, is very probably implied.[2] Anyhow, the legend, while no doubt confusing events, points to some dim tradition still lingering amongst the P'hwons, as to their early ancestors having come into the country from Yünnan by way of the Taping Valley, i.e. *viâ* Yung-ch'ang, Momien, and Bhāmô, about the middle of the sixth century B.C., if not much earlier. Such being the case, it is quite possible that they are a branch of the *P'u-êrh*, *P'hūen*, *P'hrū*, or *P'hyū*, left behind in the Taping Valley (where, we have seen, p. 130 *ante*, there have been *P'iao*, or *P'hyū*, at Momien down to A.D. 796), when the said *P'hyū* wandered down towards Southern Burmā along with the *Kanran* and *Sak* (i.e. the *P'u-ch'a* and other tribes of *Chĕḥ* race, such as the *Khmu*, *Khamī* or *Khami*, *Kanrang*, etc.). As the *P'hyū* are said to have reached Old Prome in about 484 B.C., there is nothing improbable as to their having left the country around Bhāmô (Tagaung, etc.) at the time of the *Shen*, or *Sein* invasion (*circâ* B.C. 550), instead of several centuries before as the legendary native records pretend. Otherwise the P'hwons may be regarded as a younger branch of the P'hyū, who followed

[1] See Ney Elias ("History of the Shans," p. 12).
[2] See above, p. 62.

in the footsteps of their elder brothers long after these had permanently settled on Burmese territory, and were arrested, through some cause or other, in the country around Bhāmô, where they have remained ever since. Of the ethnical characteristics of the P'hwons, Ney Elias does not tell us much beyond that "they are closely allied to the Kadus on the borders of Munnipur [*sic* for Maṇipur] both in language and customs, and are probably of one origin with the latter, whether the above tradition be true or not."[1] Dr. Mason enumerates the *Kadô* or *Kadū* among his "eleven Burmese tribes of unquestionably common origin," but as with them he includes the *P'hyū*, *Kanran*, and others whom we have shown to be, almost unquestionably, of Mōñ-Annam origin, his classification can be no more relied upon than the modern title 'Burmese' he assumes for a group of populations who were for the most part in the country many centuries before the Burmāns ever put their foot in it.[2] Forbes more judiciously says of the *Kadū*, *Yō*, *Yabaing*, and others that "they are recognized by the Burmans proper as being the wilder and more primitive branches of their race; but, unfortunately, we have no trustworthy specimens of their dialects from which to form conclusions."[3] Other writers on Burmā and its ethnology make it a point of ignoring both the *Kadū* and *P'hwon*. The fact is, then, that nothing certain is so far known about their language, and much less as regards their racial connections.[4] It is to be hoped that new researches will throw further light on these questions; in the meantime there seems to be more than one probability that both these tribes belong to the

[1] Loc. cit.

[2] The *P'hwon*—whose name he spells *Phwon* or *Mwon*—he classes, along with the *Paloung* or *Paloa*, among the 'Shan' (Thai) tribes.

[3] "Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India," p. 56.

[4] The recently published "Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States," Rangoon, 1900, vaguely says about the *P'hwon*, whose name it variously spells *Hpôn*, *Hpön*, *Hpwon*, etc. (part i, vol. i, pp. 567–8): "It is possible that they are a mere sort of dishclout, like the Yaws and Danus and Kadus, full of traces of all their neighbours. On the other hand, they may prove a valuable link in the chain when the many detached links begin to be joined together. . . . . The Hpôns look perilously like half-breeds, but they may be a back-wash."

Mōŋ-Annam race, and if Lacouperie's suggestion as to the identity of the *Kadū* or *Kadô* with the *K'a-t'o* of Southern Yünnan is in any sense justifiable, it is quite possible that we have in the former and in the *P'hwon* western ramifications of Ptolemy's **Kudutai** and **Barrhai** respectively.

Sēros River (Nos. 113 and 180).

I have identified this stream with the *Hsi-yü* (*Hsi-yü chiang*), noted as *Si-you* River in Dutreuil de Rhins' "Carte de l'Indo-Chine Orientale" (1881) and as *Tiah* (or *Tiak*) *You kiang* in Pavie's map (1894). This watercourse undoubtedly corresponds to the one termed *Yü-chou chiang* (漁洲江) in Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite" (p. 4, and sketch-map on p. 7), apparently so designated after a village of the name of *Yü-chou* ('Fishing Islet'), marked simply as *Yu* in Dutreuil's map above referred to, at a short distance to the east of the river's embouchure and at the head of a bay denoted as *Baie Liyu*. This indentation of the coast lies immediately to the east of Cape *Pak-lung*, and in most modern maps, even down to the latest, it is made the estuary for a doubtful watercourse, to wit, the *Ngan-nan kiang* (Annam River), which seems to exist only in the fertile imagination of our geographers.[1] Another stream further eastwards, the *Lung-mên* River, debouching near *Ch'in-chou* (K'in-chau), is given in the Chinese official descriptions of the country a name similar to the *Hsi-yü*

[1] See Devéria, op. cit., p. ix preface and p. 5 text. Ever since the appearance of the first Jesuit maps of the country—published by D'Anville in 1729—the *Ngan-nan kiang* has persistently occupied a conspicuous position in the cartography of the Tonkin seaboard. The latest Admiralty charts of that region still retain it, while Pavie's map is almost alone among the few recent ones that omit it—or, to be more exact, that, following the example set forth in the rude Chinese sketches of the country published by Devéria, mark in the place of that stream an insignificant rivulet which they leave nameless. The "China Sea Directory," vol. ii, 4th ed., 1899, still speaks (p. 466) of the indentation in the coast referred to above as "a deep bay into which the Ngan-nan-kiang discharges, apparently encumbered by shallow banks." It duly acknowledges, however, that the coast about that point is but little known, a fact which accounts for the incessant repetition, down to this day, of the error as to the existence of that fabulous river.

or *Yü-chou*, to wit, *Yü-hung* (漁 洪);[1] but Ptolemy's rectified position of the mouth of the **Sēros** (long. 107° 36′ E. and lat. 21° 37′ N.) points to a location further to the west, while the term *Si-you* occurring in Dutreuil's map—evidently the local name by which the stream in question has long been known—argues an origin from a designation somewhat like *Hsi-yü*, which is undoubtedly the prototype of Ptolemy's transcript **Sēros**.

Indeed, the term *Hsi-yü* is by no means new on the upper seaboard of the Tonkin Gulf. The Annamese Annals, for one, tell us of an ancient district called *Töi-vũ* (Tây-vu) whose name, though spelled with different characters (i.e. 西 于, meaning 'westward going,' or 'extending towards the west') from those employed to denote the *Hsi-yü* or *Yü* River, is nevertheless identically read *Hsi-yü*. The location that this district occupied is unknown, but it formed part of the Kiāu-chau department (*Jāu-chôu p'hŭ*), it having been constituted by the Han at the time of their conquest of the country in B.C. 111. In A.D. 43 its population had grown up to as much as thirty-three thousand families; hence Ma-yüan, the Chinese victorious genèral, split the district into two divisions, which he named, respectively, *P'hōng-khē* and *Võng-hải*,[2] doing away altogether with the old term *Hsi-yü* or *Töi-vũ*, which thus became obsolete from that date. As *P'hōng-khē* (in Chinese: 封 溪, *Fêng-ch'i* = 'Fief Creek') was the original name—taken from that of a rivulet near by—borne by the territory on which the capital of the Thŭk king, afterwards termed *Kô-lwā*, was built, and as we have seen that the same territory now forms part of the district called Dông-ngàn (東 岸), in the province of Bạk-niñ,[3] we may well infer that the erstwhile *Töi-vũ*, otherwise *Hsi-yü*, district, must have included part of the present Bạk-niñ territory, and may have stretched eastwards as far as Cape Pak-lung and the *Hsi-yü* River, having been possibly named after the latter. This would appear to some extent

[1] Devéria, op. cit., p. 4.
[2] See Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 49, 63, 107, and note 446.
[3] Ibid., pp. 10–11.

from the sense of 'westward going' embodied in the district's name, which could thus be interpreted 'extending to the westward of the *Hsi-yü* River,' the then probably eastern boundary of the *Kiāu-chau* department. The fact of the name of this river being now spelled somewhat differently does not constitute a sufficient plea against the etymological connection here suggested, as many a Chinese place-name is known to have been at various periods represented by characters differing in form, although identical, or nearly so, in sound.

But, without laying too much stress on the homonymy, if any, between the *Hsi-yü* River and the ancient *Hsi-yü* district—which latter, it must in any case be remembered, lasted until A.D. 43, i.e. up to about the period to which Ptolemy's information about the region in question is apparently to be referred, — the presence of a watercourse, on the tract of coast where our eminent geographer makes his **Sēros** discharge, known to this day by such names as *Si-you*, *Tiah-you*, or *Hsi-yü*, is, I should think, sufficient evidence upon which to argue an etymological connection between the names of the two streams, and to conclude as to the latter's topographical identity. Of course, we do not know how far back in antiquity the actual designations *Si-you*, *Tiah-you*, etc., may be traced, in the event of their having nothing in common with the name of the ancient *Hsi-yü* district. But there would still remain the old term *Hsi-Ou* applied to Tonkin in Ts'in times to resort to as an alternative, which no doubt long survived in the country and may have remained attached, albeit in a somewhat modified form, to the name of the river constituting its former eastern boundary, in the same manner that the term *Ngan-nan* became at a much later date identified with a neighbouring—however imaginary—watercourse, supposed to form the eastern limit of Annamese territory.

An apparently very serious objection that could be raised against our identification of the **Sēros** with the *Hsi-yü* is the insignificant size of the latter as compared with so conspicuous a watercourse as the former is represented to be

in Ptolemaic geography. In this system, in fact, the **Sēros** is made to rise in the **Sēmanthinos** range from two sources, of which the more western lies in long. 106° 52′ E., lat. 30° 24′ N., and the more eastern in long. 109° 4′, lat. 29° 13′, their confluence being in long. 107° 15′, lat. 27° 25′; all these being the rectified positions obtained by us as shown in the tables. Such data suggest the idea of a mighty water-course rising about the boundary of Sz-ch'wan and Hu-nan on the east and slightly above the Yang-tsz at Ch'ung-king on the west, uniting in a single main channel near Tsun-yi towards the centre of Kwei-chou, and wending thence its way to the Tonkin Gulf. A geographical monstrosity indeed, but for all that by no means exceeding those perpetrated by cartographers at different periods regarding the same region. We have already pointed out, in fact, how the real hydrography of the tract of country now under consideration has proved a puzzle to geographers up to quite recently, and, may be, is still so for some of them to this very day. By reference to the map in Mandelslo already alluded to[1] it will be seen that the river of Hà-nŏi, and another more to the east as well, are made to issue from the Tung-t'ing lake in Hu-nan, not far from the point where Ptolemy located the eastern source of his **Sēros**. And, by turning to Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite" (p. 6), one will be not a little surprised to see how D'Anville, in the map of the Kwang-tung province he published in A.D. 1729, constructed upon that originally made by the Jesuits, connected—though it be by an oversight—the *Lu-shwei* River (a tributary of the *Lung* or *Tso-kiang*, i e. the 'Left River' of Kwang-hsi, through the *Min-kiang*) with the *Ngan-nan kiang* of mythical fame, thus making—most absurdly—a branch of the Left River to flow down to the Gulf of Tonkin. Nor is this all, for Dutreuil de Rhins' map of A.D. 1881 repeats the same error and makes the Ngan-nan kiang drain the basins of the Tso-kiang, Min-kiang, and Lu-shwei, and so do the Admiralty charts down

[1] *Supra*, p. 243.

to A.D. 1886 and later. In comparison, and due regard being had to the time at which he lived, we may justly say that Ptolemy was far ahead of our modern geographers in his treatment of the hydrography of the region now under consideration.

But I will push on still further in the appreciation of his talents and demonstrate that in making his **Sēros**, that is, our *Hsi-yü*, rise in the **Sēmanthinos** range—or in what he believed to be such, or, at any rate, its prolongation—he was perfectly correct. By looking over the hydrographic description of the *Hsi-yü*—or, as he terms it, the *Yü-chou*—which Devéria compiled from Chinese sources, it will be seen (op. cit., p. 4) that this stream is, like the **Sēros**, formed by the junction of two branches; the one coming from the west taking its source in the mountain range called the *Shih-wan Shan* (十 萬 山) or 'Ten-myriads' Peaks,' a very conspicuous orographic group forming the natural boundary between the K'in-chau district, that of Shang-sz chou in Kwang-hsi, and the Tonkin borderland. Now, the name of this mountain range, *Shih-wan Shan*, is variously pronounced *Shêp-man Shan* in Cantonese and *Thŏp-vān Sön* in Annamese, a circumstance which argues that its old pronunciation must have been not very far different from *Shê-man-shin* or *Shê-man-thin*, in which forms it will not take a great stretch of imagination to recognize Ptolemy's **Sēmanthinos**. Of course, this is not in reality the same mountain chain as the one which our geographer makes to run through Eastern Sz-ch'wan and Hu-nan. This, I propose to demonstrate in the next instalment of the present inquiry, owes its Ptolemaic designation to a closely similar term, the name of the *Hsie-man* (謝 蠻) tribes formerly settled in that region—Ptolemy's **Sēmanthinoi**, — and means 'Mountains of the *Hsie-man* tribes'; in Chinese, *Hsie-man Shan*. But it seems perfectly natural that Ptolemy having heard, as he very probably did, the *Shih-wan Shan* range vaguely mentioned as the source of the *Hsi-yü*, he rashly jumped to the conclusion that this must be the same as the *Hsie-man Shan* of Sz-ch'wan and Hu-nan, and thus he was misled into making his **Sēros** rise in the latter.

The last possible objection to be disposed of in the present retrospective inquiry is of a linguistical character, and concerns the etymological connection I have assumed throughout to exist between the names of the *Hsi-yü* and **Sēros**. On this point I may say that I hope to conclusively demonstrate in the section devoted to **Sērikē** that some term closely akin, if not absolutely identical, with *Hsi-yü*—and not 絲, *Sz*, *Si*='silk,' as it has been generally held hitherto—is the most likely etymological prototype and equivalent of **Sēra**, **Sēres**, *Sēr*, *Sir*, etc. Many circumstances concur in indicating that in the China of the old days *Hsi-yü* and allied toponymics were very probably pronounced somewhat like *Sēr-u* or *Sēr-o*; possibly *Sē-ru*, should one prefer believing that the strayed *r* in that compositum still survives in a latent and softened form, represented by the present *y*.

I may add, before dismissing this subject, that in the case in point the name of the *Hsi-yü* River may be of Sanskrit origin, that is, traceable to some such term as *Saras*, *Śarayū*, *Sarjū*, etc., corrupted locally as time went by into *Hsi-yü* or *Si-you*, but recorded by Ptolemy in the more correct and early form of **Sēros**.

End of the Great Gulf towards the Sinai (No. 112).

This corresponds to the head of the Gulf of Tonkin between K'in-chau (欽州, Ch'in-chou) and Pak-hoi Harbour.[1] Here the Indo-Chinese (India extra-Gangem) seaboard ended, and that of the **Sinai** or people of China south of the Yang-tsz commenced. Ptolemy, in fact, includes the Lei-chou peninsula and the Lien-chou district (ancient *chün* of *Ho-p'u*, 合浦, Ann. *Hĕp-p'hŏ*, whose name he renders as **Aspithra**) in the territory of the **Sinai**. In his time, however, this *chün*, as well as the more eastern one of *Nan-hai* (now province of Kwang-tung or Canton), formed part,

[1] The exact position as rectified in the Tables (long. 108° 42′ E., lat. 21° 37′ N.) coincides with the site occupied by the islet marked *Tui-mui Tiao* in the charts, which lies at the extremity of the headland separating the estuary of the Lung-mên (K'in-chau Bay) from the indentation in the coast terminating eastwards at Kwan-tau Point, within which Pak-hoi Harbour is situated.

administratively, of the *bô* (*pu*) of Kiāu-chī, from which they were not separated—and that but partially, in so far as the *chün* of *Ho-p'u* was concerned — until A.D. 226 temporarily, and A.D. 264 permanently, when the *chou* of Kwang (Kwang-chou) was constituted with its own seat of government at *P'an-yü*[1] (Canton, which on this account became from that date known as *Kwang-chou*, the name it has borne up to the present day). Ptolemy's division is therefore more geographical and ethnological than political; and from that point of view it must be recognized as remarkably correct.

[1] See Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 91, 100, 101.

(10) Islands of Trans-Gangetic India.

A. *The Andāmāns and Nikobārs.*

Bazakata (No. 156).

"In this island some say there is found in abundance the murex shell-fish (κόχλος), and that the inhabitants go naked, and are called **Aginnatai.**"[1] So far Ptolemy's text. A good deal of speculation has gone on among Oriental scholars as regards the identity of this island; but Colonel Yule was certainly the most correct in assuming it to be the Great Andāmān. I think that the whole group of the Main Andāmāns should be included under Ptolemy's designation, as the three islands of which it consists—or rather four, if we are to include among them, as seems reasonable, Bāratān Island, closely sandwiched in between Middle and South Andāmān—have long been believed by navigators to form but one single island, and it was only in February, 1792, for instance, that the passage between the North and Middle Andāmāns (Austin Strait) was discovered.[2] Ptolemy's description suits also very well these islands, both his statements as to the nakedness of the inhabitants and the abundance of murex shell-fish being confirmed by modern travellers.[3] It remains, then, to account for the name he collectively gives them, a task which preceding commentators have preferred not to broach. In order to arrive at an understanding of the term **Bazakata** it must be remembered that the group of the Andāmāns, together with that of the Nikobārs, has always been known as the 'Archipelago of Naked People.' This is not only the denomination applied to those islands by

[1] McCrindle, op. cit., p. 236.

[2] See Symes' "Embassy to Ava" (Edinburgh, 1827), vol. i, p. 153 and footnote.

[3] Ibid., p. 159, speaking of the Minkopi, "they go QUITE NAKED"; and at p. 163, "THE SHORES ABOUND in a variety of beautiful shells, gorgonias, madreporas, MUREX, and cowries, with many other kinds." The sentences here printed in small capitals correspond *literatim* to Ptolemy's words.

Chinese authors,[1] but it is also the common term employed to designate them in India and Further India. *Nikobār*, in fact, is simply a corrupted form of *Nagna-vāra* (in Pāli *Nagga-vāra*) or *Nag-bār*, meaning 'Country of Naked People,' often written by mistake *Nāga-vāra*, in Siāmese *Nāgavārī*.[2] I found the latter name in an old Siāmese map forming part of an illustrated *Traip'hūm*, a famous work on Buddhist cosmology[3]; a short explanation is appended, which means "naked people [are living here]." The *Nagga-dīpa* mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa is probably the same archipelago.[4] In modern times these names were

[1] I-tsing, in Chavannes' "Religieux Éminents," etc., pp. 100, 120, has 裸 國, which is apparently a misprint for 裸 國 (*Lo-kwo*), i.e. the 'Kingdom of the Naked (unclad, or stripped) People.' The description he gives (pp. 120, 121) seems to apply to the Nikobārs and not to the Andāmāns, for he speaks of cocoanuts growing there, which are absent in the Andāmāns. Other Chinese authors have *Lo-hsing-kwo* (裸 形 國), which has the same meaning. See Phillips in *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1895, p. 529, note 3. I have since noticed in Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Religion," translated from I-tsing's work, that this author employs also the spelling *Lo-jên-kwo* (裸 人 國), i.e. 'Naked-Men Kingdom' (Introduction, p. xxxviii).

[2] Compare with this Marco Polo's *Nocueram* or *Negueram*. The Burmese way of spelling the name — နဂဗာဒီ = *Nakabārī*, pronounced *Nagabārī* — is practically identical with the Siāmese; nevertheless, it should be observed that the term ဂါ, the Burmese transcript of *Nāga*, is not represented in it, thus making it probable that *Nagga* is the sense intended.

[3] For a detailed account of this work, see my book "Culākantamaṅgala, or the Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siām" (Bangkok, 1895), pp. 95 et seqq. The illustrated *Trai-P'hūm* volume here referred to is now in the Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, where the curious and valuable map alluded to may be inspected by those taking interest in the geography of the Far East.

[4] Chap. vi, where it is said that Vijaya's children and those of his followers drifted there. In other chapters (xi, xx, xlii, liv, etc.) we have *Nāga-dīpa*, which term appears, from the context, to refer to a district on the north-eastern coast of Ceylon Island. The same may be inferred from a passage in the *Valāhassa-Jātaka* (No. 196), the text of which runs: "... *parato Kalyāṇiṁ orata Nāgadīpaṁ ti evaṁ samuddatīraṁ*," meaning: "... along the sea-shore as far as *Kalyāṇi* on the other side, and *Nāgadīpa* on this side [of Ceylon Island]." As Kalyāṇi must be the district or kingdom of the same name alluded to in the Mahāvaṁsa (ch. i *passim*, ch. lxi, etc.), still represented by the present village of *Kælani*, on the *Kælani Gaṅgā* (Kælani River), on the west side of the island (about six miles north from Colombo), so

restricted, apparently, to the Nikobārs, the term Andāmān being used to denote the islands of the northern part of the

must *Nāgadīpa* have stood on the opposite, i.e. eastern, shore of the island, termed "this side" in the text [in reference to the Yakkha city of *Sirīsavatthu* alluded to therein, which I think identical with the *Sirivattha* of the Mahāvaṁsa (ch. vii) and etymologically connected with the havens of either **Rizala** (*Sirīsāla*?) or **Spatana** (= *Sirīsa-paṭṭana*, *Siri-paṭṭana*?) recorded by Ptolemy on that coast in the neighbourhood of *Trinkôna-malai* (Trinkomalee) Bay]. It is here, in fact, and on the sea-shore, that our eminent geographer places **Nagadiba**, a town, and the **Nagadiboi** tribes. Colonel Yule has located **Nagadiba** on the north-west coast of the island; but this, it will now be seen, is unsatisfactory, as conflicting with both the evidence adduced above from the *Valāhassa-Jātaka* and the position on the east coast of the island assigned by Ptolemy to **Nagadiba** city. I therefore believe Sir J. E. Tennent to have been far more correct in fixing for the latter a site near Trinkôna-malai Bay. The result I have obtained—8° 48′ N. lat.—on the basis of the Ptolemaic latitudes of, respectively, the **North Cape** (Βόρειον ἄκρον) and **Cape Orneōn**, the two extremes of the island, points to an emplacement a little to the north of that bay, that is, between it and Boulder Point; and calculations based upon Ptolemy's equator passing through **Nūbartha** lead to practically the same result, the difference in this case being of barely 4′ less in latitude. The district stretching to the north of Trinkomalee Bay is, therefore, the land of *Nāgadīpa*, where the Mahāvaṁsa tells us (ch. i) Nāga kings reigned over a Nāga population (Ptolemy's **Nagadiboi**), and whither it pretends Buddha to have come to pay a visit.* By perusing the chapter of the Mahāvaṁsa just referred to it will be seen that while Buddha is represented to have been to Ceylon twice only (i.e. in the ninth month and the eighth year, respectively, of his Buddhahood), and once besides to *Nāgadīpa* (fifth year of Buddhahood), the account of these visits concludes with the words: "thus . . . . the all-bountiful luminary visited this most favoured land of the world *thrice*" (Turnour's translation), thus indirectly leading us to conclude that *Nāgadīpa* must have been part of Ceylon, since it is only by adding the visit paid to that district to the two made to, respectively, *Mahiyaṅgaṇa* and *Kalyāṇi* in other parts of the island, that the sum of three can be made up.

It will, however, appear forthwith how, owing to the close similarity in names between the *Nāgadīpa* district (in Ceylon) and the *Nagqadīpa* island or archipelago (Andāmāns and Nikobārs), the two toponymics and their locations became inextricably mixed up in Oriental legend, so that in the course of time the visit paid by Buddha to *Nāgadīpa* came to be regarded as having been actually made to the Andāmān-Nikobār group of islands.

Dr. Rouse, in his translation of vol. ii of the Jātaka tales, took the *Nāgadīpa* referred to in the passage quoted above from the Valāhassa-Jātaka to be an island lying off Ceylon (p. 90, and Index, p. 312), and so did, before him, both Turnour in his version of the first chapter of the Mahāvaṁsa (p. 4), Spence Hardy (loc. cit.), and Childers (Pāli Dict., s.v.). But it will be seen that in either instance no island whatever is meant, albeit the toponymic may be literally interpreted in the sense of 'Nāga Island.' Analogous is the case with the *Nāgadvīpa* of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (bk. ii, ch. 3), which, although signifying literally the same, is distinctly stated to be part of *Bhāratavarṣa*, i.e. to be a division of

* Its seaport appears to have been *Jambūkoḷa*, where the Ceylonese embassy to Aśoka embarked, and whither it landed on its return from India (see Mahāvaṁsa, ch. xi and xx). Spence Hardy says ("Manual of Buddhism," p. 208, note) that Jambūkoḷa is supposed to be Colombogām, in the district of Jaffna; but it remains to be seen whether this surmise is correct. In the affirmative case, it would follow that the *Nāgadīpa* district included the whole territory from Trinkomalee Bay to the northern end of Ceylon Island.

group. But such was by no means the case in the old days, when the designation 'Archipelago of Naked People' seems to have included the whole of this insular region. The connotation 'naked people' was, however, expressed in different ways in the Indian vernaculars. *Nagna*, *Nagga*, *Nangā*, often modified into *Nāga*, were but some of the renderings, the most widely known;[1] **Bazakata** and **Aginnatai**, as occurring

continental India.* As regards the Jātaka, in particular, the context is quite clear, and no allusion is therein made as to going out at sea to any island, but simply as to wandering *on foot* (*anuvicarati*) *along the sea-shore* (of Ceylon) as far as (the) *Nāgadīpa* (district or city). Dr. Rouse's translation "as far as . . . . the island of Nāgadīpa" is, therefore, not only unjustified, but absolutely misleading.

There was, indeed, an island called *Nāgadīpa* somewhere off the coast at that point. This is referred to in Jātaka 360 (*Sussondī-J.*) as lying on the sea-route from *Bhārukaccha* (Bharuch or Bharoach) to *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* (Gulf of Martaban). Merchants from Benares landed there to get firewood and water. In remote times it was known by the name of *Seruma* Island, and was then the abode of *Garuḍas* and the seat of a Garuḍa king. It may well be the Great Nikobār.

Ptolemy also, in his turn, mentions a **Nagadiba** island, which he locates on the same latitude (8° 48′ corrected) of **Nagadiba** city, but six degrees of longitude, according to his reckoning, further to the east, i.e. off the eastern shore of Ceylon. As there exists no island in that position, and as Ptolemy ascribed to Ceylon a width of 12 degrees of longitude against the true 2° 13′, thus making it stretch out both eastward and westward far more than is the case, it is quite possible that the gap separating his island of **Nagadiba** from the east coast of Ceylon was, in reality, much wider than he represented it, and that therefore the said isle was one of the group he terms **Maniolai** and we call Nikobārs. It will be observed, in fact, that the longitude he assigns to this group (140° E. *circā*) is only 5° in excess of the one he ascribes to **Nagadiba** (135°), against 6° of longitudinal distance of the latter from the east coast of Ceylon, whence it follows that, in Ptolemy's opinion, **Nagadiba** Island was nearer to the **Maniolai** (Nikobārs) than to Ceylon itself. On the strength of these arguments, I have no hesitation in taking Ptolemy's **Nagadiba** Island to be one and the same with the *Naggadīpa* of the Mahāvaṁsa, which latter, in its turn, may be identical with the *Nāgadīpa* of Jātaka 360, if we admit the confusion between the last two so closely similar toponymics to have originated from a very early period, as most probably was the case. To the bringing about of such a confusion may have contributed, in no small measure, the quite possible fact of the Andāmāns and Nikobārs being in remote times a dependency of some one of the kingdoms founded by Nāgas, either on the Koromandel coast or on the eastern shore of Ceylon, early before the dawn of the Christian Era (as evidenced by the references in Mahāvaṁsa and Jātaka already adverted to, and by the toponymics *Nāgadīpa*, *Mañjerika-Nāga*, *Nāgāpaṭṭana*, etc., appearing in those parts since the earliest ages).

[1] The reading *Nāga-vāra* for the name of the *Nikobārs*, already noticed in the Siāmese work above referred to, seems to receive confirmation from Ma-Huan's statement in respect of Buddha's footprint in Ceylon, to the effect that "it is the imprint of Śākya-muni's foot, made when he landed at this place coming

* This may have been the land of *Majerika* or *Mañjerika* (termed *Mañjerika-Nāga-bhavanaṁ* in the Mahāvaṁsa, ch. xxxi), i.e. the *Dharaṇikoṭa* or *Maccheri-paṭṭana* (present Masulipaṭṭam) district (see above, p. 108).

in Ptolemy, are possibly synonymous terms which were very likely in use in his time. It will be seen, in fact, that *baza*

from the *Ts'wei-lan* [Nikobār] islands" (Phillips in *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, p. 212). This piece of folklore, evidently picked up by Chinese navigators on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, corroborates the view that we have just advanced, namely, that the Ceylonese district of *Nāgadīpa* became, from a very early period, identified with the Nikobār Islands in Oriental legend. We shall have to revert to this curious tradition directly. Suffice for the present to note the equation *Nāga-dīpa* = *Ts'wei-lan* = Nikobārs. The original spelling was evidently *Nagga-dīpa* or *Nagga-vāra*, 'Archipelago or Country of Naked People,' the alteration into *Nāga* (serpent-people) being introduced in the sequel, presumably by Buddhist writers, as being more in accord with Buddhist ideas and with the character of the aborigines of those islands, who find themselves as well at home on the sea as on land. Or is it possible that, as we have suggested, the reverse was the case, and that these people were in origin called *Nāga* from their connection with the Nāgas of the eastern coast of India and Ceylon, and that the terms *Nagga*, *Nangā*, etc., were applied to them afterwards on account of their nakedness?

As regards the name of the Andāmāns, I am under the impression that it is derived from the same source as that of the Nikobārs; hence it is that I am inclined to include both insular groups in the 'Archipelago of the Naked People.' Marco Polo, it will be seen, refers to the Andāmāns under the names *Angaman* (Latin texts), *Angamanam* (French text), and *Aghama* (Italian text), which all seem to me traceable to *nangā*, the term for 'naked' in Urdū and other Indian vernaculars. *Nangamānava*, *Nangamanuṣya*, *Nangamanuj*, and similar compounds, would explain, in my opinion, not only Marco Polo's *Angaman*, etc., but also Sulaimān's *Lenjebālūs*, or *Lanjebālūs*, which he records as the name of some islands separated from two others beyond by a sea called *Andāmān* (Reinaud, op. cit., p. 8). The description given by Sulaimān of the inhabitants of these islands (p. 16) tallies almost word for word with that left nearly two centuries before (A.D. 672) by I-tsing (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 120). It is clear to me that the terms Nikobār and Andāmān are synonymous; or that, at any rate, they apply collectively to both the Andāmān and Nikobār groups, the one designating the insular region (*Nagga-vāra* or *Nanga-vāra*) of the naked people, and the other (*Andāmān* or *Nangāman*) the inhabitants themselves. It is worth noting in this connection that the Chinese renderings *Lo-kwo*, *Lo-jên-*[*kwo*], and *Lo-hsing-*[*kwo*] very closely resemble in sound the Arab *Lenje* or *Lanje* in *Lenjebālūs* or *Lanjebālūs*, as well as Rashīd-ud-Dīn's *Lāka-vāram*, or *Nākavāram*. It seems, therefore, very probable that—as we have repeatedly insisted is the case with most Chinese renderings of foreign place-names—*Lo-kwo*, *Lo-jên-*[*kwo*], and *Lo-hsing-*[*kwo*] are mere phonetical transcripts of the Arab *Lenje* or *Lanje* (which in Captain Bozorg's "Ajāib" assumes the form *Laja*), contrived with such characters as are apt to convey at the same time the meaning of 'naked' or 'naked people'; and that thus the Chinese must have learnt these toponymics, amongst many others, second-hand from the mouths of the Arab or Persian navigators of the early days. In the Arabic transcript the term *bālūs* must stand either for *manuṣ* or *puruṣ*. *Nangāpurūṣ* is, I think, as closely approaching a form to *Lanjebālūs* as may satisfy the most captious of critics. Another possible explanation which has occurred to me since writing the above is, that the term *bālūs* may represent the Mōn *pahrū* already noticed in the preceding section, or else the Sanskrit *paruṣa* (Pāli *pharusa*), meaning 'savage.' The composite *Lanjebālūs* (or, as Ibn Khurdādbih has it, *Likhbālūs*) would in this case prove traceable to either the Sanskrit-Pāli *Nangāparuṣ*, *Naggapharus*, or to the Mōn *L'ka-pahrū*, meaning 'Islands of Savages.'

The late Sir E. Maxwell, *à propos* of the Malay poem *Śrī-Rāma*, expresses the following opinion in regard to the name of the Andāmān Islands, in the

may stand for the Sanskrit or Pāli *vāsa* = 'clothes,' a term which takes different forms in the vernaculars of Southern India and Indo-China, becoming *bāju* (= 'a coat') in Malay, *patsô* in Burmese, etc. *Kata* may have the sense of 'taking off, removing,' as in *kart*; or else it may stand for *kṛta*, as in the compounds *vivastrīkṛta*, *nagnīkṛta*, etc. = 'stripped of clothes,' 'undressed.' However it be, there seem to be sufficient indications that *kata* or *kota*, as it is variously spelt (**Bazakata, Bazakota**), has in this compound the sense of 'removed, taken off' (cf. *koṭavī* = 'a naked woman'). Hence, **Bazakata** looks like a derivation of *Vāsa-karta* or (*Vi*) - *vāsakṛta*, meaning 'stripped of clothes,' i.e. 'naked people.'

The same construction I am inclined to put upon the term **Aginnatai.** Lassen proposed to read *Apinnatai* (from the Sanskrit *Apinaddha*), which he translates 'unclothed.' McCrindle, however, points out that this interpretation is wrong, the sense being instead 'clothed.' Indeed, I think that Lassen might have more properly suggested *apanīta*. But we need not have recourse to such radical alterations in the spelling of Ptolemy's term, since it can be more easily traced to the Pāli word *acchinna*, Sanskrit form *ācchinna*, making it read *Acchinnatai*, which is much nearer to Ptolemy's rendering. *Acchinna* has the same sense as *apanīta* ('removed, taken off'); it was probably preceded or followed in the original expression by some term meaning

Journal Straits Branch R.A.S., No. 17 (June, 1886), p. 88: "I have little doubt that the Andaman Islands owe their name to the fact that their inhabitants were identified by the Malays with the monkeys of Hanuman. The Malays call the group 'Pulau Handuman,' or the islands of Hanuman, and this we have corrupted into Andaman." This suggestion is worth considering; but in the old Siāmese map elsewhere referred to, I find written *Antōman*, and the Burmese name of the islands is *Andaman* (အန္ဒမ). The homestead of *Hanumān* is, in the map just mentioned, noted down as "Country of *Mè-Mài*, here *Hanumān Svayaṁbhū* resides." I recollect that it is located on the coast of the Malay Peninsula, not far from *Tanāu* (*Tanāva-śrī* or Tenasserim). It may be Ptolemy's **Bērabai** (Mergui), which is the only name I know of on that coast bearing some similarity to the Siāmese *Mè-Mài*. Possibly the Mergui Archipelago is meant. In any case, the position falls just opposite the Andāmāns.

'clothes,' which was dropped in the course of time. It should be noticed, furthermore, that the term *acchinna* (or *ācchinna*) has also the sense of 'stolen,' 'snatched away,' wherefore *Acchinna-vāsa* would mean 'deprived of clothes,' as well as 'stolen (or snatched away) clothes.' This interpretation finds support in the legend according to which Buddha, during his stay in *Nāgadīpa* (here taken to mean the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago) had, whilst bathing, his yellow robes (*kāṣāya* or *kāṣāya-vastra*) snatched away by the wicked natives. This legend first appears, so far as I am aware, in Ma-Huan's relation, the *Ying-yai Shêng-lan*, published in 1416; but it must have been current long before that in and about the Bay of Bengal, where the Chinese traveller just referred to has evidently picked it up. Phillips' translation of the portion of the text relating to it runs as follows:— [1]

"When you leave the south of 'Hat Island' [*Mao-Shan*, 帽 山],[2] and sail in a north-easterly direction for three days with a favourable wind, you sight the *Ts'wei-lan* Islands [*Ts'wei-lan Shan*, 翠 藍 山]. These islands are three or four in number, and one of them, the largest, has the foreign name of *So-tu-man* [*So-tu-mān Shan*, 梭 篤 蠻 山]. Its inhabitants live in the hollows of trees and caves. Both men and women there go about stark naked, like wild beasts, without a stitch of clothing on them. No rice grows there. The people subsist solely on wild yams, jack fruit, and plantains, or upon the fish which they catch. *There is a legend current among them that, if they were to wear the smallest scrap of clothing, their bodies would break out into sores and ulcers, owing to their ancestors having been cursed by Śākyamuni, for having stolen and hidden his clothes while he*

[1] *Journal China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xx, pp. 211–12.

[2] Either Pulo Rondo or Pulo Way, more probably the latter; and *not* Pulo Bras, as both Groeneveldt and Phillips have surmised. I have put between quotation-marks, in this and the following pages, the absolutely useless English renderings of place-names which the translator—out of homage to a mistaken notion prevalent among Sinologists—has thought it necessary to supply; and I have given at the same time within brackets the Chinese originals, since these alone, being as usual, and as I shall always insist upon, mere phonetic transcripts of native toponymics, can lead us to the identification of the latter.

was bathing, at the time when he crossed over [*from Ceylon*][1] *and stopped at these islands.*

"Continuing your voyage, and sailing westward from here for seven days, the 'Hawk's Beak Hill' [*Ying-ko-tswei Shan*, 鸚哥嘴山][2] is sighted, and in another two or three days the 'Buddhist Temple Hill' [*Fo-t'ang Shan*, 佛堂山] is reached, near to which is the anchorage of the port of Ceylon called *Pieh-lo-li* [別羅里].[3]

"On landing, there is to be seen on the shining rock at the base of the cliff an impress of a foot two or more feet in length. The legend attached to it is, that it is the

[1] The two words here bracketed should be deleted, as they do not occur in the Chinese text. This merely says "crossed over the sea," meaning evidently from India, which is in agreement with the legend of Buddha's visit to *Nāgadīpa* as told in Buddhist literature.

[2] Some hill about Trinkomalé, as the first two words *Ying-ko* (= Trinko ?) seem to imply. The literal meaning of the Chinese term is not, by the way, 'Hawk's Beak,' as the translator puts it, but 'Parrot's Beak Hill.' The native name of which it is a transcript has, however, nothing to do with either parrot, hawk, or owl, and is evidently connected with Trinkomalé.

[3] I agree for the nonce with the translator in the identification of this place with *Beligām*, as *li* in the Chinese text means a village, whence *Pieh-lo-li* = '*Pieh-lo* village,' or 'village of the *Bel* [trees].' Beligām is a well-known seaport and fishing village to the south-east of Point-de-Galle.

Professor Schlegel, in the new translation of the same account he has since published in the *T'oung-Pao* (vol. ix, pp. 182–183), adds here the passage: "To the present day the people cannot put on clothes. ['This is the reason that the country is also called "the Land of the Naked" (*Lo-hsing Kwo*), observes the *Ming-wai-shih*' in this connection, ibid., p. 185.] People say that the Egg-showing village is in this country."

The toponymic that Professor Schlegel translates 'Egg-showing village' is 出卵塢, *Ch'u-lan-wu*, in the original, and 赤卵塢, *Ch'ih-lan-wu*, in the text of the *Ying-yai-Shêng-lan-chi* (given therewith in footnote 18). The worthy but somewhat highly imaginative translator takes, *more solito*, these terms to be metaphrases, instead of phonetic transcripts, of native place-names, and thus speculates a good deal upon the double meaning of *lan* as 'egg' and 'testis,' and suggests that it may be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit *aṇḍa* and the name of the Andāmān Islands, concluding thereby that *Aṇḍa-mān* may mean 'oviparous people.' Truly, there would be nothing strange in this derivation of the term, as the inhabitants of the islands, being reputed to be of Nāga race, would be held, in the popular phantasy, as is generally the case in the East, to be oviparous. But the Chinese *Ch'u-lan-wu* or *Ch'ih-lan-wu* can scarcely have anything to do with this, and is most probably the phonetic rendering of the native name of some village or seaport in the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago.

imprint of Śākyamuni's foot, made when he landed at this place, coming from the *Ts'wei-lan* Islands." [1]

The same yarn is repeated, in well-nigh the identical words, by Fei-hsin a few years later (1436), and soon after this it found a place in Chinese historical literature.[2] A no less wonderful story is told in the *Ajāib* [3] concerning a golden shrine enclosing a tomb, to be found in the "Great Andāmān," to which the natives of "both isles" convene in pilgrimage to worship, believing it to be the burial-place of Sulaimān (Solomon), the son of David. Here, however, a confusion seems to have been made between *Samaṇa* or *Śramaṇa*, an epithet of Buddha (*Samaṇa Gotama*); *Sumana-kūṭa* or *Samanta-kūṭa*, both well-known names of Adam's Peak; *So-tu-man* or *Sudhāman* (?) Island (Great Nikobār?); Adam; and Sulaimān (Solomon); for the Buddhist temple at Adam's Peak is evidently the place the author of the narrative had in mind, and there is no likelihood of such a splendid structure as the one he refers to ever having existed on either the Nikobārs or Andāmāns.[4]

[1] It should be observed that the author does not mean here the well-known footprint on Adam's Peak, to which he refers further on in his account, but some other similar vestige to be found at the base of some cliff in the neighbourhood of Beligām. Local inquiry may lead to the identification of the spot actually intended.

[2] In the *Ming-wai-shih* or Outlandish history of the Ming dynasty, published A.D. 1459. (See extract on the subject given in the *T'oung-Pao*, vol. IX, p. 185.)

[3] "Merveilles de l'Inde," by A. van der Lith and Marcel Devic, p. 134.

[4] The same compilation refers (p. 69) to another island under the name of *Armanān*, which the translator thinks may be one of the Andāmāns, although no direct evidence to that effect can be gathered from the vague indications given in the text. These are simply, that in A.H. 309 (= A.D. 921–2) a sailor attached to an Arab ship then on a visit at *Ḳāḳola* left this place in the ship's gig and was blown for a distance of something over 20 *zāms* to an island called *Armanān*, inhabited, apparently, only by fishermen. Thence, having provided himself with fresh water and fruits (bananas, etc.), he set sail at a venture, and, after having made some 70 *zāms*, he chanced to come upon another island named *Bedfārkalah*, from which he was enabled to reach *Kalah* in safety, and thence his native country.

As no bearings are given, and as neither *Ḳāḳola* (Qāqola) nor *Bedfārkalah* have been as yet satisfactorily located, it will be seen that the translator's identification of *Armanān* is mere guesswork of the most vague character. As regards *Ḳāḳola*, which is evidently one with the city and seaport visited in 1345 by Ibn Baṭūṭa, lying at 21 days' sailing from *Samudra* on the north coast of Sumatra, it could not certainly be Angkola or Akkola in the interior of the island, as Mr. van der Lith most absurdly suggests (op. cit., pp. 239–241), nor is it to be looked for on Java as some wiseacres would have it. I am completely in accord with Colonel Yule in making it to be "certainly a city on the Gulf of

This story, nevertheless, did not fail to come, in its turn, to the notice of the Chinese, and to be duly put on record in their extensive repertoires of matters relating to foreign

Siām," and, more precisely, on its west coast. It is thus possible that *Armanān* was situated in that neighbourhood, being, possibly, an island of the Anamba group. *Bedfārkalah* suggests some word like *Bī-Barkala*, *Bī-dvār-kala*, or even *Bel-berhala*, *Bātu-berhala*; and, accordingly, it might refer to the Berhala islets (Pulo Berhala) in Berhala Strait, near the east coast of Sumatra—not apparently to either of their namesakes in Malacca Strait, and in the Gulf of Siām, nor, to be sure, to Perlak (Cape) on the north-east coast of Sumatra, as Van der Lith wildly conjectures (op. cit., p. 264).

The utter absurdity of Van der Lith's identifications is further proved by the fact that the distances given between the places mentioned in the narrative do not in the least correspond to those intervening between the locations he assigns to them. Truly, there is some difficulty in forming a correct estimate as to the distance actually travelled in each case, owing to its being given in *zāms*, a measure about whose value there is still much uncertainty. As a measure of time all authorities are agreed that the *zām* is equivalent to three hours; as a division of the circle Reinaud says ("Géographie d'Aboulféda," t. i, pp. CDXLII–XLIV) that it corresponds to 12° 3″; while as a measure of length it is variously stated to be three and five leagues on Van der Lith's own showing (op. cit., pp. 197–8). But, strange to say, our Arabists have hitherto failed to see that in point of time the *zām* is the same as the Sanskrit *yāma*, and the *yām* or *jām* of Indian and Indo-Chinese vernaculars (rendered as *geme*, *giam*, etc., by European travellers), which denotes a watch of three hours. Reinaud (p. CDXLII) came very near finding this out when he compared the *zām* to the Indū *pahar* or *pahr*; yet he missed its etymological connection with—I should perhaps say derivation from—the term *yāma* or *yām*. Similarly, in point of distance, the same Arabists have failed to discern its probable connection with the Indū *yojana*, a term which becomes *yozan*, *yuzam*, *yozun*, etc., in the dialects of Further India. Nicolas Doronton, cited by Van der Lith (l.c.), values the *gem*, as he calls it, at ten *cosses* (*krośas*); but ten here is probably a mistake for either eight or sixteen, which is the number of *krośas* (usual or smaller) assigned to the *yojana* in Indū classical treatises. Such being the case, we must take the *zām* or *yojana* as equal to a distance of from seven to ten miles. It is also possible that the *zām* denoted the distance travelled or sailed over during a *yām* or watch of three hours; but a calculation of this would lead to about the same result, say ten miles on the average.

By applying this value of the *zām* to the data contained in the itinerary referred to above, we obtain, roughly, 150 to 200 miles for the distance *Kāḳola–Armanān*, and 500 to 700 miles for the next one, *Armanān–Bedfārkalah*. Neither of these results agrees, it will be seen, with the distances Angkola–Andāmāns (over 600 miles) and Andāmāns–Perlak (about 400 miles), while the disproportion between these, as compared with those of the narrative, is too evident to need commenting upon. Against the identification of *Armanān* with the Andāmāns, there is besides the reference to bananas being found in the former, which do not seem to have been produced of yore in the latter-named group of islands. They occur, it is true, in the Nikobārs, which makes no great difference, after all; but it is difficult to see—given the position of *Kāḳola* on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, where it undoubtedly stood—how *Armanān* can be identified with any of the Nikobārs, or even with the island of *Malhan* described by Sulaimān as lying between *Serendīb* (Ceylon) and *Kalah*. Had the author of the *Ajāib* supplied some information as to the distance between *Bedfārkalah* and *Kalah* (**Takōla**) it would have been possible to arrive at a better understanding of the itinerary followed; but as regards *Armanān* I think it is quite plain, even from the little he says, that it cannot be part of the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago.

countries. Chao Ju-kua, who wrote about the first half of the thirteenth century, is perhaps the earliest author who not only makes allusion to it, but who gives of it a far more detailed version than the Arabs, although being silent as to the legend of the stolen robes, which had not then probably reached the seaports of Fuh-kien, where he appears to have held office as *Shih-po*, or inspector of foreign trade and shipping, between A.D. 1234 and 1237. This is what he says on the subject, as translated by Dr. Hirth :— [1]

"When sailing from *Lan-wu-li* [i.e. the *Lambri* or *Rambri* district in the north-west of Sumatra, as we shall show in due course] to *Hsi-lan* [Ceylon], if the wind is not fair, ships may be driven to a place called *Yen-t'o-mān* [晏 陀 蠻 = *An-dā-mān*]. This is a group of two islands in the middle of the sea, one of them being large [the compact cluster of the Main Andāmāns?], the other small [Little Andāmān?]; the last is uninhabited,[2] whereas the large one, measuring seventy *li* in circuit,[3] is. The natives are of a colour resembling black lacquer, and eat men alive, so that sailors dare not anchor on this coast.[4] This island does not contain as much as an inch of iron, for which reason the natives use clam-shells with ground edges in lieu

[1] In the *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxii (1887), pp. 103–4.

[2] Little Andāmān—locally known as *Egu-bolong*, and called *Patang* by the South Andāmānese—is, on the contrary, and seems to have been for a long while, inhabited, it being supposed to be the centre whence the *Jarawa* tribes of the Andāmānese have emanated.

[3] Seventy *li* here is, very probably, a clerical mistake for seven thousand *li*, which is the reading adopted in the abridged version of the same account given in the *San-ts'ai T'u-hwei* (published A.D. 1607), and quoted therefrom in the *Pien-i-tien*, ch. 107, i, fol. 30 (see *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 188).

[4] The *Pien-i-tien* account translated by Professor Schlegel (*T'oung-Pao*, loc. cit.) adds that the natives "are called Mountain-barbarians" (山 蠻, *Shān-mān*). It strikes me that this term *Shān-mān*, *Sang-meing*, or *San-bān*, as it is severally pronounced, may have something to do with the name of the *Shombaeng* or *Shom-ben* tribe inhabiting the Great Nikobār, now relegated to the interior of the island, but formerly in occupation, perhaps, of portions of the littoral. The only objection against this suggested etymological connection would be that the *Shom-ben* are somewhat pure Indonesians by race, whereas the description given of the *Shān-mān* in the text, as being of a colour resembling black lacquer, argues the latter to be Negritos, and would therefore suit best the Andāmānese *Minkopi*. But from the accounts of the ancient travellers it clearly appears that there were Negritos in the Nikobārs as well, and the *Shom-ben* may well be the result of the intermixture between these aborigines and the early Môn colonizers of the islands.

of knives. The island contains as a sacred relic the so-called 'Dead Man received in the Bed of Rolling Gold'; this body has been there for generations without decaying,[1] and there is always a huge snake guarding it, on whose body hair has grown to the length of two Chinese feet; nobody dares to come near it. In the vicinity there is a spring, the water of which will overflow twice a year and flow into the sea; the gravel over which it passes, after it has been covered by this water, turns into gold, and all the natives offer sacrifice to that spring. If copper, lead, iron, or tin

[1] "In their country is a sacred footprint," says the account referred to above (p. 389, n. 4), "and they have made a gilded couch whereupon a dead man lies, who has not decayed through ages." There can be no doubt that the objects of worship here alluded to are, respectively, a Buddhist *Śrī-pāda* and a gilt statue representing Buddha when about to pass away from this world. Both are things characteristic of Buddhist temples and their surroundings, and I hardly think that anything of the sort could ever have existed on either the Andāmāns or Nikobārs. It is to some shrine in Ceylon that the description applies, which has come to be wrongly ascribed to the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago through the original compiler of the account having inadvertently mixed up travellers' narratives concerning the two places. Much later on Ma-Huan speaks of the footprint at the base of the Beligāma cliff and of the temples to be found in that neighbourhood in the following terms (see Phillips, loc. cit.):—"There is a little water in the hollow of the imprint of this foot which never evaporates. People dip their hands in it, and wash their faces, and rub their eyes with it, saying, 'This is Buddha's water, which will make us pure and clean.' Buddhist temples abound there. In one of them there is to be seen a full-length recumbent figure of Śākyamuni, still in a very good state of preservation. The dais on which the figure reposes is inlaid with all kinds of precious stones. It is made of sandalwood and is very handsome. The temple contains a Buddha's tooth and other relics. This must be the place where Śākyamuni entered Nirvāna. Four or five *li* distant from here, in a northerly direction, is the capital of the Kingdom." The capital was at *Jayavaddhana*, not far from Colombo, between A.D. 1351–1541 (see Mahāvaṁsa, ch. xci, 7 et seq.). The five *li* of the text must therefore be an error for *fifty li* or more. The above description of the temples, statues, etc., must not, nevertheless, be taken literally. It is a hodge-podge *à la Chinoise* of Ceylonese topography, in which things extant at Adam's Peak, at Kandy, and elsewhere have all been brought up together higgledy-piggledy and treated of as if they were to be found at a single place. This has always been the line followed by Chinese writers in their accounts of Ceylon's 'lions.' "It is supposed by the Chinese," says Sir J. F. Davis ("The Chinese," 1836), "that at its [Adam's Peak] base is a temple in which the real body of Buddha reposes on its side, and that near it are his teeth and other relics." At all events, Ma-Huan's account is interesting as exhibiting all that was left in his time of the wonderful old story of the 'Body in the Bed of Rolling Gold' and of the stream transmuting everything into the noble metal; for it is evidently to the fabled marvels of Adam's Peak that the origin of both narratives must be traced.

is soaked with this water while in a state of red-heat, it will also be changed into gold . . . . on this island live the 'Strangers of the Golden Bed,'[1] which is silently guarded by a spirit so that man may not come near the place."

The translator here adds by way of comment: "It is very probable that our author, who lived at Chinchew as Superintendent of Foreign Trade, got in the possession of this piece of island-lore through the Arab merchants trading to Zaitun, and that the account, as handed down by him, represents what was then currently reported among the travellers of the Indian Ocean. According to Conti ('India in the Fifteenth Century,' quoted by Yule and Burnell, loc. cit.), the name Andaman means 'the Island of Gold,'[2] and the tale of the 'Body in the Bed of Rolling Gold' . . . . may be connected therewith." Conti's words do, indeed, show that he must have had some inkling of the above story. Although neither he, nor Chao Ju-kua and the author of the "Ajāib" appear to have heard of the legend of the stolen robes, it seems pretty well certain that the latter was current in their age, and had been so for a long while before, judging from its very probable connection with the terms **Bazakata** and **Aginnatai**. There would be, indeed, nothing strange in the fact of its having been in existence since Ptolemy's days, whence it was repeated for centuries, along with many others, by the navigators of the Indian Ocean, until it came to the Chinese notice. Observes Colonel Yule, of the early western travellers in those parts:[3] "Had these ancient worthies, then, a Murray, from whom they pilfered experiences as

[1] It is sincerely to be hoped that Sinologists will some day come to realize the fact that literal translations like this unaccompanied by the original characters are absolutely worthless for the purpose of scientific investigation. Who knows that a tribal name may not be implied here, which translation makes undetectable, whereas transcription of the original characters, or even a transliteration of them, might lead to the discovery of its identity?

[2] The form that the name assumes in Conti's account, as printed in Ramusio's collection (ed. Giunti, 1563, vol. i, f. 339 *verso*), is '*Andramania*,' the reference running: "isola nominata *Andramania*, che vuol dire 'isola dell' oro,' che ha di circuito 800 miglia." "India in the Fifteenth Century" has, part ii, p. 8, *Andamania*.

[3] Quoted in the *Journal R.A.S.* for 1895, p. 524.

modern travellers do? I think they had, but their Murray lay in the traditional yarns of the Arab sailors with whom they voyaged, some of which seem to have been handed down steadily from the time of Ptolemy — peradventure Herodotus—almost to our own day." The same might be said of the Chinese travellers. The wonderful stories they have recorded were not certainly invented by themselves, but gathered, in all likelihood, from the mouths of the Arab merchants with whom they were in constant touch, who in their turn had picked them up from the highly imaginative inhabitants of the various Indian seaports at which they traded.

The original names of the Andāmāns and their inhabitants, although perhaps not absolutely identical with, respectively, **Bazakata** and **Aginnatai**, must have been not very far different from these terms, which look more like adaptations of the former so as to make them harmonize with the sense expressed in the legend, than pure inventions concocted on the base of the legend itself. It may yet be possible, by an inquiry into the names that the natives give to the islands and to their own various tribes, to find some local vestige of the Ptolemaic designations. Of the four Main Andāmāns, only the apparently indigenous name of the smallest one, that is, *Bāratān* Island, is recorded in the charts. Though somewhat similar to **Bazakata**, it does not seem to be connected with it. What the local designations of the three others are, I am unable to find out from the meagre stock of maps and books lying at my disposal; I only meet with the alternative names *Egu-belong* and *Patang* applied to the Little Andāmān. But those interested in the subject and possessing more favourable opportunities for inquiry would do well to ascertain what such local designations are, or what are those employed by the natives of the neighbouring isles to denote the Andāmāns and the tribes that inhabit them.

In the meantime I may observe that the name of the *Bōjingījī* or *Bōjig-ngījīda*, also known as the *Aka-Beada* tribe, living about Port Blair, bears some resemblance to

both **Baza** [*Bōjig*] and **Aginnatai** [*Ngīǰīda*],[1] while the generic term *Minkopi* applied to the Negrito inhabitants may somehow be etymologically connected with *Andāmān* [*Man-kopi*?]. I do not know whether *Minkopi* is an indigenous word or not. Strangely enough, it sounds like the corrupt form of an exotic nickname of which the Arab term *Kāfir* was part, for the Andāmāns are vulgarly known among the Burmese as *Kappalī-gyun* (ကပ္ပလီ ကျွန်း),[2] a designation meaning literally 'Islands [*gyun*] of the Caffres [*Kappalī*],' or 'Negros.' Or, are we to understand that, *vice versâ*, the word *Kappalī* here stands for [*Min-*]*Kopi*, the correct interpretation of the whole compositum thus being 'Islands of the *Minkopi*'?

Should the term Andāmān turn out to be connected with the Sanskrit *aṇḍa*, 'egg,' it must be, as I have already observed, on account of the original inhabitants being reputed to have been Nāgas by race, and therefore, in the popular belief, oviparous. In regard to the Chinese mention (if correct) of an egg-village, I may remark that in Arabic *baizah*, like the Indū *aṇḍa*, means an egg, as well as, owing to the shape, the testis. This may have been the interpretation put by the early Arab navigators, and after them by the Chinese, upon either the name of the *Bōjig*[*-ngīǰīda*] or that of the island, **Bazakata**. The original correct form of the latter may have been, by the way, *Baza-koṭa*, the '*Bōjig* Stronghold,'[3] which some Oriental wag of the good old

[1] The epithet of *Aryawto* or *Aryauto*, 'long-shore men,' applied to the coast-dwellers might also bear some distant relation to the second name **Aginnatai**.

[2] Or ကပ္ပလီ ကျွန်းစု, the 'Kāfir Archipelago.' See Judson's Burmese English Dict., 1883, p. 711.

[3] This recalls to mind the classical *Bhojakaṭa*, a city near the Narmadā river, founded by Rukmin, the brother-in-law of Kṛṣna and king of the Vidarbhas (see Professor Hall's ed. of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāna," vol. ii, p. 159, and vol. v, pp. 71, 84), and suggests, moreover, an etymological connection between the name of the *Bōjigs* and those of the *Bhojas* and *Bhojakas* of Western India. It is possible that the former term is merely a modification, or adaptation, of the last two. Shall we thus, after all, have to read *Bhojakaṭa* for Ptolemy's **Bazakata**? If so,

days perverted into *Baizah-koṭa*, thus making it mean 'Egg Stronghold.' This is, in fact, the literal sense of the Chinese *Ch'ih-lan-wu*, *Ch'ih-lwan-wu*, or *Ch'u-lan-wu*, where 塢, *wu*, does not properly signify a 'village,' but a 'bank,' a 'wall,' and an 'entrenchment.' But it is more probable that the Chinese expression just referred to is merely the phonetic transcript of some local toponymic, such as, e.g., *Sulambu*, *Serombu*,[1] *Suklambu*, etc., in which the character 卵, *lan*, may have been purposely chosen so as to express the idea of 'egg' in its double sense, on the Arab lines of *Baizah* and perhaps also on the Indū lines of *Aṇḍa*.[2] If the term *baizah* be also part of the old Persian, Parthian, or Syrian languages (as it is of modern Urdū), there would then be some probability of its having been employed as a substitute for *aṇḍa* to designate the Andāmāns since Ptolemy's time, and even before that.

An etymological connection with *Andha* or *Andhra*, the name of the populations in early occupation of the head of the Bay of Bengal, seems to be entirely out of the

the legends of the stolen clothes, etc., would be, as seems quite probable, mere accretions representing the efforts of a later age to explain a toponymic whose original derivation had by the time become forgotten. It must in any case be admitted that the similarity between the above toponymics and tribal names is very striking.

[1] I cannot omit calling attention in this case also to the close likeness between *Ch'ih-lwan-wu*, *Serombu*, or *Serumbu*, and *Seruma*, the ancient name of *Nāga-dīpa* or *Nāga* Island according to the Sussondī-Jātaka referred to above. It is possible that this term *Seruma* was still surviving locally down to comparatively recent times in some modified form, like, e.g., *Serumbu*, *Selumbu*, or *Seluma*, *Seluman*, etc. If so, *So-tu-mān* could, perhaps, be referred to it as well, as a variant of *Sudhāman*, *Sulaman* (whence its connection with Sulaimān occurred to the mind of the Arab navigators), etc. I shall revert to this question when dealing with the Ptolemaic nomenclature of the Nikobārs proper.

[2] The Chinese transcripts *Ch'ih-lan-wu* or *Ch'ih-lwan-wu*, 'Red-egg bank' or 'entrenchment,' and *Ch'u-lan-wu* or *Ch'u-lwan-wu*, 'Egg-producing bank,' etc., convey too odd literal meanings to look like genuine versions of native toponymics. *Ch'ih*, it may here be observed, does not only mean 'red,' but also 'bare,' 'naked,' which would not, however, much improve the sense. Evidently the character 卵 was purposely adopted with a view to punning, just as its synonymous (in both its senses) and probably etymologically connected 蛋, *tan* (or *dan*), was hit upon to render the name of the *Tanka* (Tan-Ka, Tan-Chia) people, or boat population of Canton, wherefore they came to be called by some Western wiseacres 'Egg-people,' as their boats became known as 'Egg-boats.' Cf. also the name of the 蛋 蠻, *Tan-Mān*, of Kwei-chou.

question,[1] notwithstanding the fact that the term *Angaman*, recorded for the islands by Marco Polo, seems to argue some relationship with *Anga*, or Northern Bengal, and that the Vāyu Purāṇa[2] mentions an Anga Isle (*Anga-dvīpa*), probably named from that same region, which may be identical with Marco Polo's *Angaman*. For, as I have already pointed out, *Anga* in the term *Angaman* is very likely a mere derivative of either *Nagga*, *Nagna*, or *Nāga*, through the forms *Nanga*, *Nangā*, *Nāṅga*, that these words assume in the various Indian vernaculars.[3] The spelling *Angaman* employed by Marco Polo for *Andāmān* is, no doubt, an argument telling in favour of *Anda* in the latter term, being a mere alternative or corrupted form of the word *Anga* occurring in the former. The solution of this intricate philological puzzle had, however, perhaps better be left to future research, and I gladly give the above conjectures for what they may be worth, merely adding, by way of conclusion, that for me the traditions as to the stolen robes, as to the Nāga descent of the natives or of the early settlers, and their proverbial nakedness, weigh decidedly in favour of the view I have adopted, namely, that all the early names borne by the islands in question have invariably been based on either of these traditions or modified so as to suit them, and that therefore they are all more or less correlated in meaning when not actually etymologically connected.

[1] If a kinship exists between the tribal names of the natives of the Andāmāns and those of the Indian peninsula, it should be rather with the *Andhakas*, who, it is known, were racially and otherwise related to the *Bhojas* (see Professor Hall's ed. of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 159, note). It would seem not very improbable that adventurers from both these tribes could have founded settlements in the Andāmāns, since there is evidence, as we shall see in the next section, of their presence at an early period in Sumatra, where they apparently gave their name to the *Bhoja* and *Andalās*, or *Andhala* districts, the territory that became afterwards known as Palembang. The *Biaju* or *Beaju* tribes of Borneo may also have received their name from them.

[2] See Professor Hall's ed. of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 129, note.

[3] Anent the conversion of *Nāga* into *Nāṅga*, and *Nagara* into *Naṅgara*, *vide* Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 255, s.v. *Nagaraṁ*. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the name *Angami*, borne by one of the *Nāga* tribes on the hill-tracts of Upper Āsām, has originated in a similar manner from either *Nāṅga* or *Naṅgā*.

To the bringing about of such homogenetic nomenclature must have, no doubt, contributed the fact, which clearly issues from an examination of the Chinese and Arab accounts quoted above, that the Andāmāns and Nikobārs have ever been considered by ancient navigators as one collective archipelago, and not as two distinct insular groups, so that any name they found current in one particular cluster or island was apt to be taken by them as a generic designation for the whole archipelago, or at all events to be employed in that sense amongst them. It is thus that we find in the records of most of those navigators either of the popular names above referred to used collectively for both the Andāmāns and Nikobārs. Instances in which the native name of a particular island was made to do duty for the whole archipelago are not, however, wanting, and in such cases the designations recorded have, naturally, nothing in common with those based upon the traditions referred to.

Thus, e.g., the term *Ts'ui-lan Shan* occurring in Ma Huan's account—meaning, literally, 'Kingfisher-blue (or Turquoise-blue) Islands'—is not to be taken, as the fashion goes among Sinologists, as a genuine Chinese designation or as a metaphrase of some local name for the archipelago,[1] but as the phonetic transcript of the name of *Tilan-chong* Island, the north-easternmost of the Nikobārs. The Chinese having probably become familiar with that island from its forming a landmark in the navigation of the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, and learnt its name, they used the latter to denbte the entire archipelago, which thus passed into history under the appellation of *Ts'ui-lan Shan*, i.e. the 'Tilan-chong Islands.'[2]

[1] Phillips (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, p. 211, note †) avows his inability to explain it. Professor Schlegel translates it (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 182) as 'the Green Islands' (!), thereby making of that archipelago an Oriental Erin.

[2] The largest and highest of these (such being the middle island, according to the *Ming-wai-shih*) bears, they state, the native name of *So-tu-mān*, to which we have already adverted above. By this the group of the Main Andāmāns may be meant, and the name seems to be a Sanskrit-derived term, traceable to *Sudhāman* (a mountain name, "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," ii, 142), *Sudharman*, *Saddhamma* (in reference to the Buddhist legend), etc. It can hardly be etymologically connected with the term *Andāmān*, even if made to read *Sundaman*, as done

The alternative Chinese designations *Lo-kwo*, *Lo-jên*[-Kwo], and *Lo-hsing*[-Kwo] for the same insular region, I have already shown to be, in their turn, mere travesties of either the Indū terms *Nagna*, *Nāga*, *Naṅga*, etc., or of their derivatives *Laja*, *Lenje*, *Lanje*, *Laka*, *Liankia*, etc., of the Arab geographers and travellers. Although acquainted with the term *Andāmān* as the name of a sea, the Arab navigators of the ninth century and their predecessors undoubtedly included both the Andāmāns and Nikobārs under the names *Laja-bālūs*, *Lanje-bālūs*, etc., and the Chinese followed suit with their own transcripts *Lo-kwo*, *Lo-hsing*, etc., of the latter or their Indū prototypes. Analogous appears to have been the case with Friar Odoric, who variously calls the archipelago *Hicunera*, *Bacumeran*,

by Professor Schlegel, because the Chinese were well acquainted with such an appellation from the time of Chao Ju-kua, who had put it on record since the first half of the thirteenth century. Phillips (loc. cit., and *Journal R.A.S. of Gr. Britain*, July, 1895, p. 529) inclined to regard *So-tu-mān* as a misprint for *So-ma-luan* (梭馬鑾), which may be read also *Sa-beh-luan*. This, he observes, might represent *Sambelong*, which, according to Milburne ("Oriental Commerce," vol. ii, p. 294), is the name given to the largest of the Nikobārs. How far Milburne's authority is to be relied upon, I am unable to say. Professor Schlegel (loc. cit., p. 187) takes both him and Phillips to task, denying that any misprint has been perpetrated, and observes that *Sambelong* is a mistake for the Malay *sĕmbilan* = 'nine,' and applies to *Pulo Sĕmbilan*, the 'Nine Islands' in Malacca Strait, and not to the Great Nikobār. I similarly find in Balfour's too often unreliable "Cyclopædia of India," the term '*Sambalang*' explained as 'Nine Islands' and ascribed to the Nikobārs, which explanation is undoubtedly wrong, its fallacy being due to *Sambelong* having been mistaken for a Malay-derived word. I am, on the contrary, of opinion that it is part of the native language of the Andāmān-Nikobār Archipelago, for the second portion of the term, *belong*, is found recurring in *Egu-belong*, the local name of Little Andāmān. Apart from this fact, it should be noticed that the name of the *Shombaeng* or *Shom-ben* tribe inhabiting the interior of Great Nikobār may be connected with the term *Sambelong* applied to that island or to the whole insular group. The designation *Deoban* (*Deva-vana*, *Devaman*) borne by the highest mountain in Little Nikobār justifies the conjecture that some similarly named peak, such as, e.g., *So-tu-mān*, *So-tu-bān*, or *Sudhāman*, may have existed on the greater island, from which the latter came to be known as *So-tu-mān* Island. We shall revert to this question when dealing with the etymology of **Agathodaimonos**.

I may finally remark that several tribal names of the Andāmān-Nikobār Archipelago are surprisingly similar to those of South-Eastern Indo-China. Compare, for instance, *Jarawa* and *Shom-ben* with *Charau*, *Jarāi*, and *Chom-puen* (often spelt *Tampuon*).

Since writing the above, I have noticed that in the "Bengal Pilot" (3rd edition, 1901, p. 292) the term '*Sambelong*' is given within parentheses tacked on to that of 'Great Nikobār.' It would be interesting to find out what its real meaning and origin are.

Nichomeran, etc. Marco Polo is almost unique among the early Western travellers in distinguishing between *Nocueran*, *Necaran*, or *Necuveram*, and *Angaman*, etc. But, as we have shown, no such distinction appears to have been made by Oriental navigators, both sets of names being indifferently applied to each of the two groups of islands.

Nicolò Conti's *Andramania* seems to have been likewise meant for the entire archipelago, and the explanation he gives of the term 'Island of Gold' sounds like a distant echo of the Sino-Arabic legend as to the gold-transmuting river. To the same tradition are probably traceable Pedro Teixeira's mysterious 'Ilhas do Ouro,' the 'Gold Islands,' vaguely located by him in the Indian Ocean, somewhere off the west coast of Sumatra.[1] In A.D. 1586 Balbi refers[2]

[1] See De l'Isle's map at the end of vol. i of Sonnerat's "Voyage aux Indes Orientales," 1782. I have since found further proofs of the inferences drawn above as to the continuity of the cycle of traditions concerning the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago in the following passages from Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 30 and note 4.

"Faria-y-Sousa relates ("The Portuguese Asia," 1695, vol. ii, p. 29) that when Don Stefano da Gama, son of Vasco da Gama, was governor of Goa [A.D. 1540–42], a fleet of three Portuguese ships, manned by eighty men, went in search of an island of gold supposed to exist on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, a fable which, so far as European nations were concerned, may have arisen from Nicolò di Conti's statement that *Andamania* (the Andaman Islands) meant the Island of Gold. This myth expired very slowly, and existed down to the end of the seventeenth century. Dr. Careri's ("Giro del Mondo," t. iii, p. 290) notice of it is among the last, but he gives the English the credit of having originated it, but when, he does not say. The story related by him was that an English ship having been driven to take shelter from a storm, not in the Andamans, but in the Nicobars, to the south of them, a native, who had taken some fresh water on board the ship, spilt some on the anchor, the iron of which was turned into gold wherever the water had touched it. The crew, after they had learned from the native that the water came from a well in the island, killed him! This report of the gold-producing quality of the water, Gemelli Careri says he had been told on high authority, had led the Dutch to appropriate the Nicobars towards the end of the seventeenth century." So said as early as the first half of the thirteenth century Chao Ju-kua (see loc. cit.) of the king of *Nan-p'i* (Malabar), adding that the fleet sent by this potentate for the purpose of gaining possession of the insular El Dorado above referred to, met with a severe whirlstorm and was wrecked on the island, all the men being eaten up by the islanders. The story is therefore, it will now be seen, pretty old. It is also interesting to notice that Gemelli Careri locates the famous gold-transmuting spring in what appears to be the Great Nikobār, whereas both Chao Ju-kua and the Arab navigators designate the Andāmāns and 'Great Andāmān' respectively as the homestead of the precious metal. This discrepancy, is, however, of little account since, as we have observed, the Nikobārs were most likely also included under the generic denomination of Andāmān Islands.

[1] "Viaggio delle Indie Orientali" (Venetia, 1590), p. 133 *verso* and 134 *recto*.

to the island of *Carnalcubar* (evidently Kar-Nikobār), under which designation he seems to include also the neighbouring isles.

It will thus be seen that the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago has, in many an instance, been named after one of its islands, the particular local designation borne by such being extended to the whole group. On the other hand, *Nāga-dīpa*, *Nagga-dīpa*; and *Nagga-vāra*, *Nāṅga-vāra*, or *Naṅga-vāra* (whence *Laṅga-vāra*, etc.)—severally meaning 'Islands (or Country) of the Naked (or Nāgas),'—were, as we have pointed out, generic designations which evidently still survive in the terms *Nikobār* for the southern group, *Kar-Nikobār* for the north-westernmost isle of the latter; and perhaps also in *Chauri*, *Nankauri*, and even *Narkondam*, the straggling volcanic islet off the east coast of the North Andāmān.[1] The *Insula Nudorum* of the Catalan Atlas of 1375 was probably intended to represent the same archipelago, in which case the term would prove to be but a reflection of the old traditional nickname 'Islands of the Naked.' To the same insular region may, perhaps, have to be referred the island of *Nāḷikera* (Skt. *Nārikera*, *Nāḍikeḷa*, *Nārikela*), or *Nāḷikera-dīpa*, the 'Island of Cocoanut Trees,' mentioned in both the commentary to the Jātaka and Hwên-tsang's travels. Its origin is, in Buddhist tradition, ascribed to a cataclysm, as a result of which a country, spoken of as the *Bharu* kingdom in the *Bharu-Jātaka* (No. 213), was invaded by the sea and became detached from the continent, forming a thousand islands which, according to the scholiast, "are yet to be seen to-day about the island of Nāḷikera." The reason for my connecting these islands with the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago is, that this—or, at any rate, its southern division formed by the Nikobārs—is called *Oung-gyun* (အုန်း ကျွန်း),[2] i.e. 'Cocoanut Islands,' by

[1] The transition from *Nāga* or *Nagga* to *Nega*, *Niga*, etc., is easily explained by reference to *Negapaṭṭam*, the common designation of *Nāga-paṭṭana*. Hence, *Necaran*, *Negueram*, *Necuveran*, *Nichomeran*, etc.

[2] Judson's Burmese-English Dict., 1883, p. 709, column to the right. The cocoanuts are exported chiefly from Kār-Nikobār.

the Burmese, on account of cocoanuts being there procured by them. Although this commodity appears to be lacking entirely in the Andāmāns,[1] it is *per contra* superabundant in the group of isles known as Cocos Islands, which lie but a short way off to the north of them. Hence, it is very probable that the whole of that insular region is included by the Burmese under the denomination referred to.[2]

[1] See Symes, loc. cit.

[2] The Suppāraka-Jātaka (No. 463) mentions the seaport town called Bharukaccha, or the 'Marsh of Bharu,' as being situated in the Bharu kingdom, thus leading one to infer that the latter corresponded to the territory about Bharuch or Bharoach on the north side of the Narmadā River in Western India. But this kingdom does not seem to be the same as the one alluded to in the Bharu-Jātaka (No. 213), wherein no reference at all is made to Bharukaccha, but to a city of Bharu, *Bharu-nagara*, which was evidently the capital of the realm, and not apparently a seaport, although it may have stood not very far inland. It is thus possible that the Bharu kingdom of the Bharu-Jātaka was a Further Indian State, the counterpart of the Western Indian Bharu realm. If so, it should be looked for on the Pegu-Arakanese coast to the north of Cape Negrais, which occupies, on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, a symmetrical position to the one held by the Bharuch district on the Indian continent. That a kingdom of that name, whether topographically identical or not to the one of the Bharu-Jātaka, once existed in the region just pointed out, seems undoubted from the evidence we are going to adduce, apart from the vague indications furnished by the commentary to that Buddhist story. To begin, however, with the tradition (or legend) referred to in the latter as to the origin of the Nāḷikera islands. It is plain that if the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago be really the insular region here implied, the legend in question would prove to be the dim reminiscence of a purely historical event, relating to the period when the strip of land out of which the islands originated became severed from the Peguan mainland at Cape Negrais. In such a case the name *Bharu* for the dismembered territory might turn out identical to that of the *Pʻhyū*, *Pʻhrū*, *Pʻharū*, or *Pahrū* tribe; and with it might be connected the term *bālūs* or *bārūs* occurring in the Arab designation of the archipelago, *Lanje-bālūs*, as well as the appellation borne by *Bāratān* (*Bharu-thān* ?) Island. It cannot fail to strike one that the name of Cape Negrais (*Nāgareś*, *Nāgareśvara*, or *Nāgarāśi*) is suggestive of a connection with *Nāga-dvīpa* and the Nikobārs. It is likewise possible that the region of Ptolemy's **Barakūra Emporion**, the present-day Arakan, represents whatever is left, on the mainland, of the ancient realm of *Bharu*. To this latter may also be etymologically related Ptolemy's **Bērabonna**, as well as the present name of *Barago*, *Baragu*, or *Baragua* Point in the Gulf of Martaban.

But the most weighty evidence on the question is to be found in the section of Ibn Baṭūṭa's travels regarding the country he terms *Barahnagār* (see "Voyages d'Ibn-Batoutah," tr. par Defrémery et Sanguinetti, Paris, 1858, t. iv, pp. 224–228), which has remained, in so far as I am aware, unidentified. From one standpoint the country so named appears to correspond to the region just referred to, and from another to the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago; it seems, however, certain that it could not have occupied a position different to either of the two here suggested. In the year 1345 (as I make it out) Ibn Baṭūṭa sailed out from Sonargāon, the well-known riverine port of Bengal, bound for Java (Sumatra), situated, as he says, at a distance of forty days. At the end of fifteen days' navigation he put in at the port of *Barahnagār*. This country he describes as inhabited by a savage population, without any religion, whether Indū or other, living in bamboo huts thatched with grass, and situated by the seaboard. Amongst them were a certain number of Musalmāns, originally from Bengal and

Another island which may be connected with the same archipelago is *Malhan*, described by Sulaimān as being situated between Ceylon and *Kalah*, in the eastern part

Java (Sumatra), who inhabited a separate quarter. "Les hommes de ce pays"—he proceeds to say—"nous ressemblent au physique, si ce n'est que leurs bouches sont pareilles à des gueules de chien. Mais il n'en est pas de même de leurs femmes, qui sont d'une exquise beauté. Les hommes sont nus et ne revêtent pas d'habit; seulement, quelques-uns placent leur membre viril et leurs testicules dans un étui de roseau peint [in red?] et suspendu à leur ventre. Les femmes se couvrent de feuilles d'arbres." This description, it will be seen, agrees very closely with those of the natives of the Nikobārs left us by other travellers, especially by Friar Odoric and Marco Polo. The former depicts the inhabitants of *Bacumeran* or *Nichomeran* as naked, with canine faces, while the latter ascribes these characteristics to the people of *Angaman*, whom, he remarks, have heads, eyes, and teeth similar to those of dogs. Again, the statement as to the men's primitive toilet, with an "étui de roseau peint et suspendu à leur ventre," would seem to confirm, given that the colour of the paint was red, the Chinese expression *Ch'ih-lan-wu*, or 'Red Egg Stronghold,' commented upon above, although not too much stress should, perhaps, be laid on such an apparent coincidence, even if *ch'ih* be taken in its other sense of 'bare,' 'naked,' or 'exposed,' and assumed to allude to those among the natives who found it convenient to dispense even with the primitive *étui*.

There are, however, several points which seem to tell heavily against the identification of *Barahnagār* with the islands in question. The first is that Ibn Baṭūṭa says nothing about *Barahnagār* being an island or archipelago, but merely calls it a country. Another is that he is silent as to the natives being cannibals and dark-complexioned, as other travellers have, almost without exception, stated of the inhabitants of the Andāmān-Nikobār isles. The third, and this is by far the most serious objection, is that Ibn Baṭūṭa speaks of elephants being plentiful in the country. The natives, he tells us, "ne trafiquent avec les étrangers que sur le rivage, et leur portent de l'eau à l'aide des éléphants, vu qu'elle est éloignée de la côte . . . . Les éléphants sont nombreux chez eux, mais personne, si ce n'est leur sultan, ne peut en disposer." Now, it may be quite possible that elephants were to be found of yore, and down to Ibn Baṭūṭa's time, in the Andāmān-Nikobār Archipelago, having since disappeared, as they did in other islands known to have been once connected with the Indo-Chinese mainland. If proofs of the presence at one time of these pachyderms in the archipelago in question be extant, we should then have no hesitation in concluding that it is at some seaport of this insular region that Ibn Baṭūṭa called, finding it designated by the term *Barahnagār*. It would, then, be interesting to compare this name with that of *Bāratān* Island, with Ptolemy's **Bazakata**, and with other *disjecta membra*, scattered about mid-ocean, of the *Bharu* kingdom of Jātaka fame. (The buffalo, it may be noticed, exists in Kamorta, and a species of deer in the Great Nikobār, while the wild boar roams over most of the islands of the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago.) A fourth, though not very weighty, argument telling against our proposed identification is that of the sailing distance recorded by Ibn Baṭūṭa of fifteen days from Soṇargāon to *Barahnagār*, as compared with the forty days occupied in the entire journey from Soṇargāon to the northern coast of Sumatra, on the basis of which the position of *Barahnagār* would become fixed on the east shore of the Bay of Bengal slightly above Cape Negrais, just about half-way between that headland and Gwa, the approximate site of Ptolemy's **Bērabonna**. By placing blind reliance on the above sailing data we might identify Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Barahnagār* with either **Bērabonna** or Cape Negrais (*Vara-Nāgarāśi*?), extending, if necessary, the range of location even as far as Barago Point in the Gulf of Martaban, and, in fact, to all that we conjecture to have remained of the ancient kingdom of *Bharu*, *P'hrū*, or

of the Indian Ocean, and inhabited by a black, naked, and anthropophagous population, living chiefly on fish, plantains, and cocoanuts. This may correspond to either *Batti Malv*,

P'iau. As to **Barakura**, it would seem to lie too far away from Ibn Baṭūṭa's seaport, although it was no doubt, at some remote period, part and parcel of the same realm.

But it seems impossible that Ibn Baṭūṭa could have spoken of the people of that coast as being so savage and living in such a primitive Adamitic fashion as set forth in the extract quoted above. This could not evidently be, even in his time. The most logical course is, therefore, to assume that his memory betrayed him on the subject of the sailing distance, causing him to assign fifteen days to the section Soṇargāon-*Barahnagār*, and twenty-five days to the passage from the latter place to the north coast of Sumatra, whereas the actual case was the reverse of this; that is to say, he should have ascribed twenty-five days to the first part of the voyage, and fifteen to the second. The mention of elephants in connection with *Barahnagār* is perhaps due also to a *lapsus memoriae*; it was very likely to Sumatra that the statement was meant to apply. If so, the site of *Barahnagār* would become fixed at twenty-five days' distance from Soṇargāon and fifteen from the north coast of Sumatra, falling thus slightly above the 12th degree of latitude, namely, abreast of Middle Strait between the Andāmāns; hence, either the South Andāmān, or Bāratān Island itself, on the north side of that passage, would become eligible for identification with Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Barahnagār*. From a broader point of view, however, any port on the east coast of the Andāmāns would suit the case well enough, it being now pretty well certain that the Andāmāns were, down to quite recent times, believed to be one single island, so that any designation applied to a part of the group was understood to cover the whole.

Whether the above deductions be correct or not, they will have, at any rate, made it evident that a connection in nomenclature existed of old, and still does to some extent exist even at the present day, between the islands of the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago and the Pegu-Arakanese coast stretching away on both sides of Cape Negrais, thus warranting the conjecture that both the insular and continental regions here alluded to formed at one time part of a kingdom of *P'hyū*, *P'iao*, *Bhrū*, or *Bharū*, which corresponded very probably to the *Bharu* kingdom of Buddhist tradition; for this kinship in toponymics presupposes, if it does not exactly argue, a bond of a more intimate nature. Geological characters point, in fact, quite distinctly to a former terrestrial connection of Pegu with Sumatra through the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago, the islands of which now form, as it were, the scattered links of the severed chain. The Arakan-Yoma range, now rapidly falling in the direction of Cape Negrais, constituted at one time the backbone of the system, the continuation of which can, however, still be traced for brief tracts in mid-ocean by way of the Preparis and Cocos Islands, the Andāmāns, Nikobārs, and the islets lying off the northern end of Sumatra. Ethnographically, I have already pointed out to a probable former kinship between the Negrito aborigines of the Pegu-Arakanese coast and those of the Andāmāns, going so far as to throw in a suggestion anent a possible relationship even in names between the **Airrhadoi** located by Ptolemy on that coast and the *Aryawtos*, or *Aryauto*, or Andāmānese coast-dwellers of the present day (see pp. 29, 38, and 72 *ante*).

I may add here, by way of conclusion, that the old term *Nālikera* may still survive, though in a somewhat corrupt form, in the name of *Nankauri*, one of the central islands of the Nikobār group, unless this name be derived, as suggested above, from *Naṅga-vāra* or *Naṅga-vāri*. The appellation borne by *Narkondam*, where cocoanut-trees also grow, would seem likewise traceable to *Narekadam*, the Telugu word for cocoanut. It is, however, unsafe to make such rapprochements until the day—which it is to be hoped is not far away—when

south of Kār-Nikobār; *Meroe* (presumably the corruption of some native term); *Pulo Milū* (i.e. *Milū* Island), just

the extensive nomenclature of the Andāmān-Nikobār islands shall have been fully investigated on the spot by some competent Oriental scholar.

Postscriptum.—I have, since writing the above, procured a copy of the *Journal Asiatique* of February, 1847 (t. ix, No. 41), where M. Dulaurier gives the text from Ibn Baṭūṭa relative to the Asiatic Archipelago, accompanied by a translation and notes. Therein I was glad to find (note 1, pp. 114–115) that the painstaking inquirer arrives as regards the position of *Barah-nagār* to a conclusion similar to the one independently reached by myself above; that is to say, he locates the place in question in the Andāmāns, with the difference, however, that he designates in particular the Little Andāmān as the most eligible site and as the port at which the Arab ships resorted to on their way from the Koromandel coast to the eastern archipelago—an opinion to which I cannot see my way to agree. He goes on, moreover, to suggest that the word بارح *barah*, may be practically one with the Malay بارت *bārat*, meaning 'west,' 'western,' so that *Barah-nagār* might signify 'western country,' which would be topographically correct enough of the Andāmāns in regard to Malaya. I must, observe, however, that the sense here alluded to would be expressed in Malay as *Negri-bārat*, but never in the form *Barah-nagār* or *Bārat-nagār*, which is decidedly, especially the former, Sanskrit or Indū. On Dulaurier's lines we might just as well take the term to be an improved transcript of نكري بهارو, *Negri-Bhārū*, that is, 'New City (or State).' *Bārat* is, moreover, the mere Malay corruption of the original Mōñ ပလိတ်, *palāt* or *palait*, which survives as *prilet* in Lamet and *ilait* in Khmēr, and must have been therefore in ages past pronounced rather differently from *barah*. We have, indeed, something very similar to *bārat* in *Barata Bay* on Narkondam, but as this landing-place lies on the *eastern* side of the island, the word cannot possibly be connected with the Malay *bārat*, meaning 'west.' This is a fact telling heavily against the sense Dulaurier was inclined to ascribe to *Barah*. There remains, therefore, the only alternative we have adopted, of connecting the toponymic in question with an original denomination *Bharu* belonging to the whole Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago, traces of which may apparently be still detected in the name of *Bāratān* Island (*Bāra-ṭhāna*, *Bāra-sthān*?), if not, perchance, in *Barata* Bay, and in the various place-names on the Pegu-Arakanese coast referred to in the first part of this note. Whether situated on the coast just mentioned or in the insular region that was undoubtedly, at one time, part of the Peguan mainland, Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Barah-nagār* must have been, if not one and the same topographically, at least closely related etymologically with the no less puzzling 波羅 *Po-lo* or 婆羅 *Pʻo-lo*, of mediaeval Chinese history and tradition, to which we have had occasion to advert in the preceding section (see p. 366, note). Mas'ūdī's ابرامان, *Abrāmān* or *'Barāmān*, if applying, as Reinaud says (op. cit., t. ii, p. 11), to the Andāmāns, may be a clerical mistake for براتان, *Berātān*, *Baratān*, being thus somehow connected with *Bara* or *Bharu* and the name of Bāratān Island.

off the north-west coast of Little Nikobār; *Menchal*, close by the north-east coast of the same; or the Isle of Man (Laouk) just below Tilan-chong; forming at the same time part of the group called by Ptolemy the **Maniolai**.

By way of conclusion to this retrospective sketch, I shall give in the following synoptical tables, arranged in chronological order, the names recorded by the principal travellers and geographers of old for the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago, so as to show at a glance the probable birth-date of each denomination, as far as it can be now ascertained. No doubt the list might be considerably added to by those having access to the full literature relating to those islands; but, considering the scanty information supplied in modern geographical works about them, the following tables may, even in their present skeleton form, prove of some interest:—

CHRONOLOGICAL NOMENCLATURE OF THE ANDĀMĀN-NIKOBĀR ARCHIPELAGO.

I. Terms more particularly traceable to the Name or Group of the Andāmāns proper.

Date.	
A.D. 100–150.	**Bazakata** (= *Bhojakaṭa* ?); **Aginnatai**, its people (Ptolemy).
c. ,, 650.	? *Anga-dvīpa* (Vāyu-Purāṇa). (Prof. Hall's ed. of Wilson's Viṣṇu-P., vol. ii, p. 129, note.)
,, 851.	*Andāmān* Sea (Sulaimān). (Abū-zaid's "Salsilatu-t-Tawārīkh"; Reinaud, op. cit., t. i, p. 8.)
c. ,, 955.	? *Armanān* (Captain Bozorg's "Ajāib"). (Van der Lith and M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 69, 210, 264.)
c. ,, ,,	? 'Great *Andamān*,' probably Ceylon (ibid.). (Ibid., pp. 134, 209.)
c. ,, 943.	*Abrāmān*, *Andāmān* (Mas'ūdī). (Reinaud, op. cit., t. ii, p. 11; "Les Prairies d'Or," trad. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861, t. i, p. 339.)
c. ,, 1240.	*Yen-t'o-mān* = An-t'o-mān, An-da-mān (Chao Ju-kua). (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxii, p. 103.)
,, 1292.	*Angamanam*, *Angaman*, *Agaman*, *Aghama*, *Ghama*, etc. (Marco Polo).
c. ,, 1300.	*Andamiān* Islands, 700 in number (Dimashḳī). (Mehren's "Manuel de la Cosmographie," etc., Copenhagen, 1874, p. 214.)
c. ,, 1400.	*An-tê-mān Shan* (Chinese map published by Phillips). (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, p. 222.)

Date.	
c. A.D. 1400.	*Chin Hsü* (*Kam-sövü*), i.e. 'Gold Island' = Kamorta? (ibid.). (Ibid.)
,, 1416.	? *So-tu-mān* = Sudhāman?, the largest of the Ts'wei-lan Islands (Ma-Huan's "Ying-yai Shêng-lan"). (Phillips, loc. cit., p. 211.)
,, 1436.	? *So-tu-mān* = Sudhāman? (ibid.). (Fei-hsin's "Hsing-ch'a Shêng-lan"; *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 185.)
,, 1444.	*Andramania* or *Andamania*, the 'Gold Island' (Nicolò Conti). (Ramusio, op. cit., vol. i, f. 339 *verso*; and "India in the Fifteenth Century," part ii, p. 8.)
,, 1566.	*Andeman* (Cesare dei Federici). (Zurla, "Viaggiatori Veneziani," Venezia, 1818, vol. ii, p. 254.)
,, 1610.	? *Ilhas do Ouro*, the 'Gold Islands' (Pedro Teixeira). (Sonnerat, op. cit., vol. i, map.)

II. Terms more particularly traceable to the Name or Group of the Nikobārs.

Date.	
B.C. 400–300?	? *Nāga-dīpa* (Sussondī and Akitta Jātakas); formerly known as *Seruma* Island.
,, ,,	*Kāra-dīpa*; formerly named *Ahi-dīpa* = Kār[-Nikobār] (Akitta-Jātaka).
A.D. 100–150.	? **Nagadiba** = Nagga-dīpa? (Ptolemy).
,, ,,	**Khalinē** = Kari-ne[ga], *Kāra-dīpa*, Kār-Nikobār?; or, **Salinē** = *Seruma*, Seluma? = *Ts'wei-lan*, Tilan[-chong] (Ptolemy).
,, ,,	? **Maniolai** = *Malhan*? = Armanān? (Ptolemy).
,, 400?	? *Nāḷikera-dīpa* (commentary to the Bharu-Jātaka).
,, 459–477.	*Nagga-dīpa* (Mahāvaṁsa, chs. vi, xi, xx). The events in connection with which this island is mentioned are referred back to about B.C. 544–3.
,, 645.	? *Nāḷikera-dīpa* (Hwên-tsang or Yuan-chwang).
,, 695.	*Lo-kwo* = Nagga (I-tsing). (Chavannes' "Religieux Éminents," pp. 100 and 120.)
,, ,,	*Lo-jên Kwo* = Lanja-bār, Nanga-bār, etc. (ibid.). (Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Religion," pp. xxxviii and 68.)
,, 851.	*Lenjebālūs*, *Lanjebālūs* (Sulaimān). (Reinaud, op. cit., t. i, pp. 8 and 16.)
,, ,,	? *Malhan* Is. lying between Ceylon and *Kalah* = *Armanān*? = [Batti-] Malv, Meroe, [Pulo] Milū, Menchal, [Isle of] Man (Laouk)? (ibid.). (Ibid., p. 20.[1])
,, 864.	*Līkhbālūs* = Nikobār[-us], or *Līkh-yālūs* (Ibn Khurdādbih). (*Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p. 288.)

[1] The inhabitants are said to have no king. The same states Marco Polo of *Nocueran*. Friar Odoric tells us instead of *Nichomeran* that there is a king, the natives go stark-naked, have faces like dogs', and worship the bull (cow?). Marco Polo makes a similar description of the people of *Angaman*, saying there are savage men, with canine heads, eyes, and teeth. Ibn Baṭūta relates the same things about the inhabitants of *Barahnagār*, whom he depicts as dog-mouthed and naked.

Date.	
A.D. 955.	*Lajabālūs* (Captain Bozorg's "Ajāib").[1] (Van der Lith and M. Devic, op. cit., pp. 127, 222.)
,, ?	? *Halhan* = Malhan ("Mukhtaṣar-al-Ajāib"). (Ibid., p. 259.)
,, 943.	*Alenjemālūs*, *Alanjmālus* (Mas'ūdī). (Reinaud, op. cit., t. ii, p. 11; "Prairies d'Or," t. i, p. 338, text.)
,, 1186.	*Liankialius*, or *Lenkh-yālūs* = Nanga[bā]lus (Edrīsī). (Van der Lith and M. Devic, p. 256; Reinaud, t. ii, p. 10.)
,, 1292.	*Nocueran*, *Negueram*, *Necuveran*, *Necaran*, *Necuram*, etc. (Marco Polo).
,, 1300.	*Lenjebālūs*, *Lankāwūs* (Dimashḳī). (Mehren, op. cit., pp. 15, 207–8.)
,, 1310.	*Nākvāram*, or *Lākavāram* (Rashīdu-d-Dīn). (Yule's "Cathay," p. 96.)
,, 1329.	*Hicuncra*, *Bacumeran*, *Nichomeran*, *Nicouerra* = Nagga- [or Nāga-]vāram (Friar Odoric). (De Backer's "L'Extrême Orient au Moyen-Âge," p. 109; Ramusio, op. cit., vol. ii, ff. 248, 254.)
,, 1345.	? *Barahnagār* = Nagār-barah, Nagga-vāra, Nagga-bālūs? (Ibn Baṭūṭa). ("Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah," transl. by Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris, 1858, t. iv, p. 224.)
,, 1375.	? *Insula Nudorum* (Catalan Atlas).[2] (Cordier's "L'Extrême Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan," pp. 10–11, and pl. i.)
,, 1416.	*Ts'wei-lan Shan* = Tilan-chong (Ma-Huan). (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, pp. 211, 222; and *Journal R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 529.)
,, 1436.	*Ts'wei-lan Hsü* = do. (Fei-hsin). (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 184, Chinese text in note.)
,, 1459.	*Lo-hsing Kwo* = Laggaṁ, Naggaṁ[-bār]? ("Ming-wai-shih"). (*Journal R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 529, n. 3; and *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 186, Chinese text in note.)
,, 1519.	*Nauacar* [by metathesis from *Nacavar*] (Barbosa). (Ramusio, op. cit., vol. i, f. 318 *verso*.)
,, 1566.	*Nicubar* (Cesare dei Federici). (Zurla, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 254.)
,, 1586.	*Carnalcubar* = Kār-Nikobār (Balbi). ("Viaggio delle Indie Orientali," Venetia, 1590, pp. 133 *verso* and 134 *recto*.)
,, 1599.	*Niccubar* (Carletti). ("Ragionamenti," etc., Firenze, 1701, t. ii, p. 230.)

Khalinē or Salinē (No. 157).

Yule, having adopted the alternative reading **Salinē**, identifies this island with *C'halāng* or *Thalāng*, the Siāmese names for Junkceylon (Ūjong-Salāng). Our experience of

[1] Ajāib No. 127 states *Lajabālūs* to be a numerous insular group extending over a length of eighty parasangs, say about 300 miles.

[2] The explanatory inscription on the island on the map says: "Insula nudorum, in qua homines et mulieres portant unum folium ante et retro alium."

Ptolemaic geography teaches us, however, that islands lying close to the mainland are generally taken to form part of the latter or neglected, unless they be of conspicuous size and well known to the navigators of that period. *C'halāng* is, besides, rather more of a peninsula than of an island, as the strait (Pāk P'hraḥ) that separates it from the mainland is but half a mile across, and fordable by elephants at low tide in at least one place (presumably the bar at its western entrance). It seems, therefore, natural to look for the island in question farther off from the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, in view especially of the fact that Ptolemy assigns to it (see Table VI) a longitude of 3° less than **Bazakata**. Bearing this in mind, and taking furthermore into account that its latitude is likewise made slightly less (10′) than that of the last-named insular group, its position becoming thus fixed approximately to the W.S.W. of **Bazakata**, we are constrained to identify the island with either Little Andāmān (Egu-belong) or Kār-Nikobār. As regards the former alternative, which I have at the outset adopted in the map, I am now, after a longer study of the subject, inclined to dismiss it, holding that Little Andāmān has either been ignored by Ptolemy or, as is more probable, regarded by him as forming one with **Bazakata**, owing to its but slight distance from the latter. Having thus been led to favour the second alternative, I cannot better justify the correctness of this course than by referring myself to the very marked similarity between **Khalinē** and Kār-Nikobār, which becomes still more accentuated if we reflect that the latter toponymic may be a contraction of *Kāra-* (or *Kāri-*, *Kāli-*)*Nagga-* (or *Nāga-*)*vāra*, which, according to the fashion prevailing among several populations of Southern India, would have been pronounced *Kāri-negga-* (or *nega-*)*vāra* and, in shortened form, *Kāri-neg* or *Kāli-neg*.[1] I would not be so bold as to suggest that **Khalinē** or *Kālinē* is an anagrammatic form

[1] There is a tribe of Nāgas in the Āsām hill-tracts called the *Khari-Nāga* (see Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India," 3rd ed., vol. ii, p. 47). Cf. also Balbi's *Carnaleubar* in Table II above; and Marco Polo's *Negueram*, *Necuveran*, etc., whence *Kāra-Ne*[*-cuveran*], *Kāri-Ne*[*-gueram*], and so forth for Kār-Nikobār.

of *Nāḷikēr* or *Nāḷikēra*, although it may not be altogether impossible. In connection, however, with the name of Kār-Nikobār, I have no doubt that its ancient form must have been *Kāra-Nāga* or, simply, *Kāra*, since I think that this island must be the same as the one alluded to under the name of *Kāra-dīpa* in the Akitta-Jātaka (No. 480), and therein said to have been at a still remoter period called *Ahi-dīpa*, the 'Isle of Snakes.' *Ahi*, it will be seen, is a mere synonym of *Nāga*; and either from a desire to retain its old name under this form bound up with the new one, or to mark the fact that the island was, as the Jātaka says, "over against the island of *Nāga* (*Nāga-dīpa*)," its name passed into tradition under the complex form *Kāra-Nāga*, being corrupted into *Kāri-Nēga*, *Kār-neg*, or *Kār-nig*, as exemplified in the form we have it at present of *Kar-Nīkobār*. There can be no difference of opinion, I venture to hope, on the identity I have suggested of Kār-Nikobār with the *Kāra-dīpa* of the Jātaka, for it is made evident enough by the location ascribed to the island over against *Nāga-dīpa*, or the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago, as well as from the context informing us that from *Kāvīrapaṭṭana*, in the kingdom of *Damiḷa* (= Kāverīpaṭṭam, a little to the north of Tranquebar), the hero of the story passing through the air descended at the island of *Kāra*, so named apparently from a conspicuous *Kārā*-tree (= *Canthium parviflorum*) under whose hospitable shade he took up his abode. The recent translator of that Jātaka, Dr. Rouse,[1] at once jumps, *more solito*, to the conclusion that part of Ceylon, or some islet near it, is the place intended; but we have already pointed out in the preceding article that the term *Nāga-dīpa*, when designating an island, almost certainly applies to one of the Nikobārs, if not to the whole group itself of those islands.

There still remains, however, the variant reading Salinē,

[1] See the "Jātaka," translated from the Pāli by various hands under the editorship of Professor Cowell, vol. iv, p. 150, n. 2. The "Malabar coast" suggested as the location for the kingdom of Damiḷa in n. 1 is likewise wrong; it should be the Koromandel coast.

occurring in several editions of Ptolemy's text,[1] to be dealt with. The task is easy enough, albeit at first sight this reading bids fair to upset the identification just suggested. It requires, in fact, but little discrimination to see that the Salinē of Ptolemy's days is nothing else but the very toponymic which, after the lapse of thirteen centuries, was found still surviving in a more or less modified form by the Chinese travellers, when it was fixed down by them as *Ts'wei-lan*. Sinologists of note, blinded in the endeavour to discover in this term the meaning of 'Kingfisher-blue Islands,' 'Green Islands,' and the like, have, as we have seen, egregiously failed to perceive that it is a mere transcript, and not a metaphrase, of a local place-name still occurring, under the corrupt form *Ti-lan*, in *Ti-lan-chong* Island, the present-day representative of the Chinese *Ts'wei-lan-Shan*.[2] It must be remembered, in fact, that the characters employed in the transcription 翠 藍 山 sound as *Ts'öü-lam-Shān*, *Ts'ui-lam-Shān*, *Ch'oui-lang-Sang* in various Southern Chinese dialects and *Thwī-lām-Sön* in Annamese; while those occurring in the alternative rendering 翠 藍 嶼, *Ts'wei-lan-Hsü*, are pronounced *Ts'ui-lām-i* in Hakka, a form remarkably well approaching to the Ptolemaic Salinē (*Salan-ī*, *Sa-lin-ī*, *Salanji*). There seems to be no doubt that all these designations are traceable to an original term *Seluma*, *Seluman*, or *Sulaman*, which, under the form *Seruma*, occurs, as we have seen, in the Sussondī-Jātaka, as the whilom name borne by Nāga-dīpa Island. Although it is possible that at so remote a period this term was

[1] See the Index Criticum at the end of Nobbe's edition, t. iii, p. 207, right-hand column.

[2] A similar—and, no doubt, practically identical—name, *Telanjang*, is borne by the southernmost of the large islands fronting the west coast of Sumatra, better known to us under the Hispano-Portuguese designation of *Engaño* or *Engano*. It is a significant fact that in Malay *Telanjang* means 'stripped,' 'naked.' This would appear to further strengthen, from a different point of view, the connection of Tilan-chong with the 'Archipelago of the Naked.' The reason of this term being applied also to Engano lies in the fact that the natives of this island were, as testified by Houtman (A.D. 1596) and other navigators of his period, stark-naked. Houtman gives the local name of Engano as *Pugniatoa*, and says that the inhabitants were also known by that designation.

employed to designate solely the Great Nikobār or, at best, the pair formed by it with the minor sister island now known as Little Nikobār, it is evident that, like its later-day successors *Nāga-dīpa*, *Nāga-vāra* (Nikobār), etc., it must have been extended in the course of time to the whole group of the islands, and indeed to the entire Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago, as exemplified by the fact, already noticed in the preceding article, that the Chinese included all that insular region under the denomination of *Ts'ui-lan* Islands. Such being the case, there seems nothing extraordinary in the assumption that the term *Seruma* or *Seluma* came to be coupled with the name of the island of *Kāra*, in the same manner that later on it occurred with its substitute *Nāga* or *Nāga-vāra*, so that by the period at which Ptolemy collected his information the island in question was already known both as *Kāra-Seluma* and *Kāra-Nāga* Island, whence the probability of his having noted it down either as **Salinē** or **Khalinē**. It goes without saying that it would be of great importance for historical geography to find out which of these two readings was the one adopted in the original Ptolemaic MS. But this is now impossible, as that work has, no doubt, become either lost or destroyed long ago. At all events, I hope that I have conclusively shown how both readings may be justified as applying to Kār-Nikobār; and from the position assigned to **Khalinē** or **Salinē** by our geographer in respect of his **Bazakata**, there seems to be no doubt that Kār-Nikobār was the island he had in mind. Could it be possible, on the other hand, to ascertain that **Salinē** is the spelling he really used, we should then have probably, in spite of the reasons militating in favour of Kār-Nikobār, to give the preference to Tilan-chong, as being the only island of the group that looks like having preserved as part of its name, down to this day, the over twenty-centuries-old term *Seruma* in one of its many modified forms. I need not further dilate upon this subject, I should think, in order to prove the practical identity of these two, apparently, so widely dissimilar toponymics. Suffice it to call attention merely to the fact that not only

initial but also medial *s* is, as we have seen during the course of the present inquiry, lisped in many an instance in Further Indian dialects; wherefore *Tilan*—or, perhaps more correctly, *Thilan* or *Thsilan*—may well be but the modern pronunciation of *Silan*. But even this is not probably the old correct form, which both the Chinese and Ptolemaic readings argue to have been something like *Suilan*, *Su-lam*, *Sa-lan*, or *Salin*, none of which is very far different from *Seruma*, *Saluma*, *Sulama*, etc. What the most probable original form of this toponymic was we shall try to find out in the next article.

Agathodaimonos (No. 159).

Ptolemy places this island on his equator; hence its real position becomes fixed in the middle of the Bay of Bengal between 5° 38′ and 6° 30′ N. lat. In De Donis' map it is represented almost equal in size to **Bazakata** and **Iabadiũ**, being thus made to rank as third in conspicuousness amongst the islands of the Indian Archipelago. This circumstance argues that an island of very considerable size is implied under that denomination. I have often thought that the northern part of Sumatra might be the island in question; but I have, after further consideration, rejected that view, reverting to the opinion I had formed from the outset that it, as shown in the map I have since delineated, can be no other than the Great Nikobār. The configuration assigned to it in De Donis' map very closely resembles, it will be observed, that of the Great Nikobār turned with its eastern side down towards the south. There are, however, far more substantial reasons in support of the identification we have suggested. Foremost amongst them comes that of identity in nomenclature. In dealing with this question we must, however, dismiss at the very outset the idea that the term *Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος νῆσος* as applied to the isle in question signifies, as it has hitherto literally been taken to mean, *Insula Bonae Fortunae*, or 'Good

Fortune Island.' It is this mistaken notion that has always misled previous commentators into locating the island in the most impossible places. The late Sir Henry Yule, although having proved by far the most sensible of them, was nevertheless inclined to take it to be the Little Andāmān, a position, it will now be seen, entirely incompatible with the latitude assigned to the island in the Ptolemaic text.[1] Our experience of Ptolemaic geography, as gained in the course of the present inquiry, has long before this taught us that to hold any of the names he has recorded for places in Further India to be translations of native toponymics is simply absurd. From the many cases we have come across in the preceding sections we are justified in inferring that the course followed by Ptolemy, or by those from whom he drew his information, in taking down place-names, was not on the whole different from that adopted by the Chinese and Arab navigators; that is to say, he merely transcribed the native toponymics as accurately as he heard them pronounced or found them spelt in the records of his predecessors and contemporaries, not neglecting at the same time to slightly modify them so as to elicit a meaning out of them in his own language, whenever they presented him a suitable opportunity for so doing without their having to suffer too radical a disfiguration. In most cases he must have, of course, found that the Greek navigators to the Far East had already done this for their own satisfaction, and perhaps also with a view to easier retention of place-names belonging to the most strange tongues. There can be but little doubt that terms like **Argyra**, **Lēstai**, **Khrysoana** River, **Satyrōn** Islands, etc., originated in such a manner, **Agathodaimonos** being likewise of the number, while **Khrysē** is perhaps the only one capable of laying some claim to exception, which nevertheless, as we shall see in due course, cannot be as yet entirely proved.

[1] I have since noticed that Mannert had before that identified the island, though in a purely conjectural manner, with the Nikobār group ("Geographie der Griechen und Römer," vol. v, p. 259).

This principle having been laid down as a preliminary, we may now proceed with our inquiry. We have already shown in the preceding pages how the Chinese travellers of the first quarter of the fifteenth century are agreed in stating that the largest, highest, and most central withal of the *Ts'wei-lan-Shan* or Tilan-chong Islands was then known by the native name of *So-tu-man*. We have likewise pointed out how this island, although sometimes mistaken for the 'Great Andāmān,' was instead more likely the Great Nikobār; and that, at all events, the term *So-tu-man* or *Sudhāman* did not seem to be at all etymologically connected with the name of the Andāmāns. Of course, owing to the fact that these islands, together with the Nikobārs, were considered to form an integral part of one archipelago, any term used for either of the two groups was liable, as we have seen, to be applied to the whole insular region; so that the designations *Ts'wei-lan* or *Tilan*, *So-tu-man*, *Nāga-dīpa*, etc., belonging more properly to the Nikobārs, were made to include also the Andāmāns, and *vice versâ* the term *Andāmān* may have been extended to the Nikobār group. Hence the confusion that was made in the accounts of travellers between the two clusters of islands and the legendary lore concerning either. I hope that I have, this notwithstanding, succeeded in accumulating sufficient evidence to demonstrate that the terms *Ts'wei-lan* or *Tilan*, *So-tu-man*, and *Nāga-dīpa* or *Nagga-dīpa* most likely originated in the Nikobār group, to which they were at first confined, and more precisely in the Great Nikobār itself, which thus seems to have been the original *Nāga-dīpa*, prior to that called *Seruma*, or something to that effect. Although, as we have pointed out, the term *Nāga-dīpa* appears to have spread in the form of *Ahi-dīpa*, as far at least as Kār-Nikobār, by the time the Jātaka stories were compiled, it follows nevertheless, from the passage in the Akitta-Jātaka describing the position of the isle of *Kāra* (the present-day Kār-Nikobār) as being over against *Nāga-dīpa*, that this toponymic was then still applied in particular to a single island, which must have been the Great Nikobār itself, the *Nāga-dīpa par excellence*.

If so, it follows as a consequence that the same island must have been withal the original *Seruma*. For the very reasons stated above, the fact of this term surviving most probably to the present day, disguised in the name of Tilan-chong Island, cannot in any way prejudice the conclusion we have just enunciated. This is so less likely to be the case since there is sufficient evidence as to the term *Seruma* having not only originated in the Great Nikobār, but having been embodied down to comparatively recent times in the names by which that island itself has been designated at various periods. We have, in fact, already pointed out the very probable connection between the term *Seruma* in the various forms *Seluma, Selama, Sulama, Sudama,* etc., it has no doubt assumed at different periods and in different tongues, and the names *Ts'ui-lan, Sui-lam, Sulam, Salan, Salin,* or **Salinē** that we have found recorded for islands of the Nikobār group, suggesting at the same time a further relationship of all of them with the designation *So-tu-man, Sudhāman,* or *Sulaman* applied in particular to the largest island of that cluster, the Great Nikobār. We did not omit, moreover, to notice the apparent analogy existing between the name of *Deoban* (Deva-vana, Devaman) borne by the highest mountain in Little Nikobār, and *So-tu-man* or *So-tu-ban.* This latter term may well be referred to, on the strength of that analogy, to some such original form as *Su-deo-man* or *Su-deo-ban* (Sudeva-vana, Sudevaman; and, perhaps, *Vasudevaman, Vasudāman,* etc.). There may exist some mountain once having borne either of such denominations in the Great Nikobār, after which that island came to be styled the *So-tu-man* or *Sudhāman* Island. I prefer the second form, *Sudhāman,* because it occurs as a mountain-name in the Purāṇas, and because it is not far different from either *So-tu-man, Su-da-man, Sulaman,* etc., or *Su-deo-man, Su-deo-ban,* etc. If no mountain in the Great Nikobār can be proved to ever have rejoiced in any of these appellations, we would simply have to trace their origin to other causes, such as, e.g., the existence on the island of some settlement or tribe bearing the name of *Serombu, Serumbu, Seruma, Seluman,*

etc.,[1]—perhaps the equivalent of the Chinese *Ch'i-lan-wu* or *Ch'u-lwan-wu*, and, if not, of the *Shan-man*, *Shan-ban*, or *Shom-ben*,—from which or whom the island acquired that designation. But in no case would we find ourselves under the necessity of having to give up the connection we have established between those names and the Great Nikobār, for it rests upon the quasi-historical identity *Seruma* = *Nāga-dīpa*, and it would be necessary in order to upset it to demonstrate that the Great Nikobār cannot lay claim towards having possessed either of these two denominations. This, it will now be seen, is no easy task, since both terms *Seruma* and *Nāga-dīpa* appear to have been down to this day incessantly bound up, in some more or less modified form, with either the name of the island itself or those of its population and their settlements.

Having disposed of so intricate a question of terminology, it remains to draw attention once more to the very probable fact of the names *Seruma*, *Nāga-dīpa*, and their derivatives or modifications, having soon spread to the other islands of the group to which they were indiscriminately applied by navigators and foreign traders, so that it became in the course of time necessary to use some supplementary appellations in order to distinguish one island from the other. It is thus, presumably, that originated the complex terms *Kār-Nikobār*, *Tilan-chong*, etc., for two of those islands; and perhaps also that the name of 'Chief,' 'Principal,' or 'Highest' Nikobār had to be given to the largest and at the same time loftiest of them, in a similar manner to what occurred in modern times, when the designations Great Nikobār and Little Nikobār had to be applied, for the sake of clearness, to the greater island and the one next to it in size respectively. A brief consideration of this not altogether unessential detail will enable us to grapple with the true origin and import of the Ptolemaic term **Agathodaimonos**,

[1] In the Malay Archipelago we have *Selima*, *Serimbun*, and *Seluman* Islands, *Seleman* Rock, *Selumar* Hill, *Serombu* Bay, etc. *Chirume*, an almost exact counterpart of *Seruma*, occurs as the name for the southernmost of the Table Islands, two islets lying to the north of the Cocos and Andāmāns.

and show us the reason why it was applied to the Great Nikobār.

It will now have, I venture to think, become perfectly clear that this term is nothing else but an ingenious travesty, in the *himation* of Hellenic classicism, of the local toponymic *So-tu-man*, *Sudhāman*, etc., prefixed with the word **Aga**, which may stand, as noticed before in connection with **Aganagara**, for either *Nāga*, *Nagga*, or *Agra*, *Agga* (= 'chief,' 'principal,' and also 'high,' 'highest'). Hence, **Aga-Thodaimonos**, or **Aga-Thūdaimōn**, would mean simply *Agga-Sudhāman*, that is, the 'Chief' ('Principal' or 'Highest') of the '*Sudhāman*' (or '*So-tu-man*') Islands. It may be objected that it would have been perhaps more correct and conformable to well-established usage to call it instead the *Mahā-Sudhāman*; but I would point out that the interpretation I have here put upon the prefix **Aga** is merely the one suggested by the considerations made above as regards the island being the largest, and the highest withal, of the *So-tu-man* or Nikobār group. It might perhaps be more correct to adopt the other alternative set forth above, and view it as a contraction of *Nāga* or *Nagga*; but the settlement of this question is relatively a matter of secondary importance. The essential point is, that **Aga** is a mere connotative prefix, playing in the Ptolemaic designation of the island a similar rôle to those (*Nāga*, *Nagga*, *Nanga*, *Nega*, *Anga*, *Lāka*, *Likh*, *Laja*, etc.) occurring in the names recorded by the early Western travellers for the island, or group of islands, in question; and that therefore its presence at the head of the composite under discussion is perfectly justifiable. The second part, **Thodaimonos** or **Thūdaimōn**, of the compositum is what constitutes the real name of the island, and as such its correspondence to *So-tu-man* or *Sudhāman* is so perfect and striking as to readily dispose of any further doubt respecting the identity of the two sets of terms. The only disparity observable consists in the slightly different initial letters; but this, as we now well know, is only apparent, it being quite possible that the initial *s* in the local name was lisped by the natives, so as

to cause the Greek navigators and travellers to represent it by a θ; or else this trifling modification was more likely introduced by them on purpose, so as to make the whole term convey the meaning of 'Good Fortune Island,' as suggested at the outset. There cannot accordingly, I should think, be any further doubt left as to the real purport and application of the Ptolemaic toponymic, especially when it is remembered that the Arab travellers were misled into connecting the island with *Sulaimān*, which shows that its name must have been at the period pronounced locally, or by the foreign navigators, something like **Thūdaimōn**, *Sudaimon*, or *Sulaimon*: all forms evidently derived from *Seruma*, *Sulama*, *Sudhāman*, or *Sulaman*. To hold that in the case in point **Agathodaimonos** means 'Good Fortune' would be, therefore, no less a piece of absurdity than believing with the credulous old Arab navigators that *Sudhāman*, *Sulaman*, and similar terms were etymologically connected with the name of Solomon of Biblical memory.

While on this subject, it may be of some interest to recall the suggestion made by the late Colonel Yule to the effect that the name *Andāmān* might have been adopted from a transcript in Greek of the term **Agathodaimonos** in the contracted form *Ἀγ. δαίμον.*[1] It will now be sufficiently clear that, however ingenious it may seem, such a conjecture cannot be endorsed; for, although the name *Andāmān* has been at times, as we have noticed, applied also to the Nikobārs, it can hardly have anything to do with the traditional designation of the latter, which was, instead, *Sudhāman*, *Sudeoman*, *Sūdaimōn*, or something of that sort. And while it is true that, by further contracting the puzzling Greek compositum and restoring its first part to its probably correct original form *Agga*, we would obtain the reading *Ἀγγα-μων*, practically identical with Marco Polo's *Angaman*—whereas by a simpler process we might elicit the variant *Agaman* of the latter from *Ἀγα-μων*, and by bolder methods trace the Arab forms *Lajabālus*, *Lanjebālus*, *Likhbālus* (*Nāga-manus*, *Nagga-manus*, *Nanga-manus*), etc.,

[1] *Proceedings Royal Geographical Society*, vol. iv, 1882, p. 654; quoted in McCrindle, op. cit., p. 238.

to problematic Greek transcripts *Λαγά-μονος*, *Ναγά-μονος*, *Λαγγα-μονος*, *Ναγγα-μονος*,—there still remains the stern fact confronting us that in all known Ptolemaic texts we have the full, or practically full, forms *Ἀγαθοῦδαίμονος*, *Ἀγαθοδαίμονος*, and no sigh whatever as to any curtailing such as conjectured above having taken place. Moreover, the significant particular that both the Arab and Chinese navigators of the old days have put on record each of the two toponymics *Andāmān* and *Sudhāman* or *Sudeoman* (the island of *Sulaimān* or Solomon's tomb according to the former), proves that both names were known to them as distinct designations for the islands, which could never have occurred had the term *Sudhāman*—or *Aggasudhāman*, *Nāgasudhāman*, etc., as represented in Agathūdaimonos—disappeared in naval tradition by effect of the latter's collapse into *Andāmān*. Both toponymics can be traced back in the relations of Arab travellers to at least the ninth century; and if *Andāmān* is not an Indū-imported term, nor originated locally, but was invented by the old western navigators, it must be the corruption, or adaptation, of some native name for the islands, such as, e.g., *Nāga*, *Nagga*, *Nanga*, *Anga*, *Aṇḍa*, *Andha*, *Andhaka*, *Ānanda*, *Ananta*, *Nanda*, etc., then found current in the Bay of Bengal; but not evidently of *Sudhāman*, *Sulaman*, and kindred terms. Should the paternity of it have to be ascribed to the Arabs, it would not be difficult to conceive how, from the fact of their having heard the islands designated by some one of the above names, and noticed at the same time that the natives were living, as the Catalan Atlas puts it, with "*unum folium ante et retro alium*," suggesting the idea of Adamitic apparel, they would be led to modify the name of the islands into *Andāmān* or *Adāmān*, so as to make it practically mean the country of the Adamites. A similar course, we have seen, was adopted by the Chinese, who transformed *Nagga* into *Lo-kwo*, so that it might convey the sense of *Regio nudorum*, which again occurs in the *Insula nudorum* of our mediæval geographers. It is possible, on the other hand, that the etymological connection, if any, with the name of

Adam was suggested to the Arabs through Adam's peak and relative temple and footprint in Ceylon, with which island either the Great Nikobār or the Andāmān group was, as we have noticed, sometimes confused in the relations of the Arab travellers.

I have also thought for some time, as already stated, that the term **Agathodaimonos**, if taken in its literal sense of 'Good Fortune,' might be the equivalent of some Sanskrit word like, e.g., *Subhadra*, easily transformable into *Sumadra* in the Oriental vernaculars, in which case it could have meant the northern part of Sumatra, where the city of *Samudra* or *Samadra* and the homonymous district were situated, which, owing to imperfect knowledge of its geography, could have been supposed to form a separate island by the ancient navigators. The fact of the identical meaning 'Good Fortune' occurring in connection with a rather conspicuous island off the west coast of Sumatra, namely, Si-biru or Si-berut, the largest of the Mentawi group, termed *Eyland Goede Fortuyn* by the Dutch,[1] seemed

[1] Now, more generally, 'Great Fortune,' in order to distinguish it from 'Little Fortune' Island, further down towards the entrance to Sunda Strait. I ignore the causes that led to such names being applied to the islands in question: probably they are to be traced to some bit of luck met with by some navigator when sighting them, but certainly do not appear to have been translations of local toponymics. This accounts for such designations being pretty well common in Far Eastern seas: another 'Fortune Island' is to be found lying off the south-west coast of Luzon in the Philippines. It has been observed (see *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 178, note 6) that **Agathodaimonos Nēsos** may be taken also in the sense of 'Island of the good Demons,' the allusion here being to the natives, who "are very good devils." On the same lines one might suggest that *Andāmān* may be a corrupted form, not of *Handuman*, as Sir E. Maxwell put it, but of *Hantu-mānis* or *Antu-mānis*,* which in Malay would mean 'good' or 'mild-tempered demon' or spirit, and could thus pass muster for an equivalent of *Agathodaemon*. In connection with the final syllable, *man*, of the term *Andāmān*, I may here observe that it occurs at the end of many a name of islands in the Malay Archipelago, such as, e.g., Tio-man, Pria-man, Mango-man, Rinja-man, Re-man, Su-man, Le-man, etc. It is not, however, absent in other place-names, as Charak-man (Creek), Kate-man (River), Sele-man (Rock), Pasa-man (Bay), Kema-man (District), etc. In some of these names *man* seems to be part of the base-stem, while in others it seems to play the rôle of a suffix, and in such cases it would be interesting to inquire into its purport or meaning.

* N.B. that *Antu*, and not *Hantu*, seems to be the older and more correct form, obtaining in Borneo, Kedah, Penang, and elsewhere, and becoming *Anito* in the Philippines (see De Morga's "Philippine Islands," etc., translated by Stanley and published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1868, p. 305, note). No doubt it is the same word as *Manitó* or *Manitū* occurring among certain of the American Indians with the identical signification.

to lend colour to that conjecture. But I have since come to the conclusion that no connection can ever have existed between such names, or the islands they designate, and the Ptolemaic **Agathodaimonos**, the real origin of which, I am now perfectly convinced, must be traced to the causes explained above. Further, as regards the name of Sumatra, I hope to demonstrate in a subsequent section that it owes its existence to other circumstances.

Maniolai, ten islands (No. 158).

This insular group is but vaguely referred to by Ptolemy in the following terms:—"There are said to be also ten other islands forming a continuous group called **Maniolai**, from which ships fastened with iron nails are said to be unable to move away (perhaps on account of the magnetic iron in the islands), and hence they are built with wooden bolts. The inhabitants are called **Maniolai**, and are reputed to be cannibals."[1] Here we have the well-known legend of magnetic mountains attracting ships built with iron bolts, repeated by so many authors, both Western and Eastern, not excluding even the Chinese,[2] from the days of Aristotle to the very end of the Middle Ages. On De Donis' map these islands are located immediately to the south-west of **Agathodaimonos** between the Ptolemaic equator and 5° South latitude, which corresponds to a site between 6° and 1° 30′ *circâ* true North latitude. Ptolemy, however, does not assign to them any definite position, and merely mentions their existence on the strength of a vague *ipse dixit*. In my map I have doubtfully located them—prior to having had access to De Donis' work—abreast of the Nikobārs, and identified them with the latter, thinking that the legend as to the attraction of ships fastened with iron nails might have originated from the fact of the well-known eagerness of the inhabitants of these islands to obtain pieces of iron,

[1] McCrindle, op. cit., p. 239.

[2] According to Klaproth. On this legend see Santarem's "Histoire de la Cosmographie," etc., tome i, pp. 81, 82, 90, 91, 367; also McCrindle, op. cit., pp. 242–243.

testified to by both Sulaimān's and I-tsing's accounts.[1] Since having, however, come to the conclusion that Ptolemy's **Khalinē** is most probably Kār-Nikobār, his **Salinē** either the same island or Tilan-chong, and **Agathodaimonos** the Great (with, may be, the Little) Nikobār, I am inclined to think that the **Maniolai** may more likely correspond to the smaller islands of that region, especially those of the Kamorta and Teressa groups, namely: (1) Kamorta, (2) Nankauri, (3) Trinkut (=Trikūṭa?), (4) Kachāl (with *Mohēan* village on it); and (5) Teressa, (6) Bompoka, (7) Chauri, (8) Batti-Malv, to which might be added (9) Meroe, and (10) either Milū or Menchāl, on the southern side of Sombrero Channel near the Little Nikobār.

The islets located by Ptolemy to the east of Ceylon, i.e., **Gūmara** (=Kumāra, Kumārita, Kamorta?), **Zaba** (Jaba, Java), **Zibala** (Jīvala, Śevāla, Śivāla), **Nagadiba** (Nāga-, or Nagga-, dīpa), **Sūsūara** (Śiśumāra, Sumsumāra?), probably belong also, as we have observed, to the same archipelago, and may thus have at the same time formed part of the legendary **Maniolai**.

I have thought also, from the very uncertain position assigned to the **Maniolai** in Ptolemaic and post-Ptolemaic geography, that they might on the other hand correspond to some of the northernmost isles facing the west coast of Sumatra,[2] especially those of the Si-Malur and Bānyak groups. The names of *Si-Malur* and of its deep bay,

[1] Chavannes, op. cit., p. 120, and Reinaud, id., pp. 8–16.

[2] "On the terrestrial globe of Martin Behem, Nuremberg, A.D. 1492"—says McCrindle, op. cit., p. 243—"they are called *Manillas*, and are placed immediately to the north of Java Major." If by Java Major, Borneo, as seems very probable, is here understood, it would follow that the *Maniolae* or *Manillas* were by the cartographer taken to be the Philippines, owing presumably to a resemblance in names between them and *Manila*, the well-known native designation of a town and bay on the island of Luzon, so called, it is said (see De Morga, op. cit., p. 288, note), from a plant termed *mani* by the islanders. But it is hardly possible that such a toponymic could have at so early a date reached European geographers. It is nevertheless a fact that after the name *Manilla* had been applied to Luzon, and the whole archipelago of the Philippines had been included under the generic designation of *Manillas* by the Portuguese, many travellers and writers, among whom Dampier and Gemelli-Careri, began to suggest that *Manillas* was doubtless the original name of the islands, known to Ptolemy and recorded by him as **Maniolai** or *Maniolae* (see Prévost's "Histoire Générale des Voyages," t. x, Paris, 1752, pp. 376–377).

Si-Malandan, are not very dissimilar—provided it is borne in mind that *Si* is a mere prefix—to *Maniol*, *Maliul*, *Maliur*, or *Malur*. The same may be said of the names of the *Bānyak* (*Māniak*, *Mānia*) Islands, and of their inhabitants, the *Maruwi*. The Catalan Atlas of A.D. 1375 informs us that the island of Taprobana (here meaning Sumatra) is called *Magno-Caulij*,[1] a term which, if not a corruption of *Menang-kabau* or *Menang-kerbau*, is capable of being referred to both Bānyak or *Mānyak*, and Maniolai, *Mānya-*[*ka-*]*lai*.[2]

Sulaimān, in Abū-zaid's relation, mentions an island called *Malhan*, lying between *Serendīb* (Ceylon) and *Kalah*, in the Sea of India (Bay of Bengal), on the eastern side. Its inhabitants, he adds, are black and naked, with cannibal habits, although they normally live upon fish, plantains, cocoanuts, and sugar-cane; they dwell in thickets and have no king.[3] A very similar picture, we have remarked, has been drawn by Marco Polo of the natives of *Nocueran*. From both this circumstance and the location assigned to *Malhan* by Sulaimān, it seems very probable that this island belonged to the Nikobār group. I have accordingly suggested its possible identity with the *Armanān* of the Ajāib, and with either Batti-Malv, Milū, Meroe, Menchāl, etc., asking myself at the same time whether its name was at all to be connected with that of the Maniolai.[4] Be it

[1] See Cordier (op. cit., pp. 17 and 42), who merely contents himself with transcribing Tastu's doubtful explanation as "*Magna-Cavillatio*: lieu où vous êtes trompés, où sont de grands trompeurs, *Magni-Cavilli*?" There was an *Île Trompeuse* or *Îles des trompeurs* in those parts, namely, Engano, so marked in several French charts of the eighteenth century; but evidently this designation can hardly have anything to do with *Magno-Caulij*, which, in my opinion, is almost certainly a clumsy transcript of *Menang-kabau*. It will be observed, in fact, that this toponymic generally appears in the relations of travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as *Menancabo* (Barbosa), *Manimcabo* (Beaulieu), *Maningcabo* (Valentijn), etc., forms not very different from *Magno-Caulij*.

[2] There is also an islet bearing the name of *Maneh* (Pulo Maneh), north-west of Pulo Raya, in Raya Bay, west coast of Sumatra.

[3] See Reinaud, op. cit., p. 20. The island is termed *Halhan* in the Mukhtaṣar-al-Ajāib (*vide* Van der Lith & M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 259).

[4] *Malhan* looks rather like a Malay-derived word of the original form *Malan*, *Malihan*, etc. *Malan* or *Malang* is the Malay term for a rock a little above high-water, and would thus well suit the loadstone rocks, or else the coral reefs fringing most of the Nikobārs. A great resemblance does, of course, exist between *Malhan* and the names of Si-*Malur* and its bay, Si-*Malandan*; but the identification would be geographically untenable, as the position assigned to *Malhan* in the Arab account on the line Ceylon-*Kalah* (**Takōla**) argues it to be one of the

as it may, there can be but little doubt, from Ptolemy's statement as to the inhabitants' reputation for cannibalism, that these legendary islands must correspond to either the central group of the Nikobārs or the northernmost isles facing the west coast of Sumatra. And as regards the term **Maniolai**, there is some likelihood as to its having been derived from some Sanskrit name of the loadstone, *Ayaskāṁta-maṇi*, *Ayomaṇi*, or simply *Maṇi*, which served as a base for some compound like *Maṇiyāli*, *Maṇiyāla*, or *Maṇiyālaya*.[1] Or else the same term may be traceable to a compositum built upon the Mōñ word , *mniḥ*, meaning a 'man,' corrupted into *Mniha*, *Maniha*, or *Mania*, which we find, e.g., in the contracted form *Nia* or *Niah* in Pulo *Nias*, to which it gave its name. Originally it must have been followed by some other word (perhaps *Āla* or *Hāla*?) meaning negro, pygmy, savage, cannibal, or something of that sort, conjointly with which it formed some compound (such as, e.g., *Mniḥ-Āla*) suggestive of the transcript **Maniolai**, adopted by Ptolemy to designate the inhabitants of the islands as well as the isles themselves. From the resemblance of such a compound

central Nikobārs situated on either side of Sombrero Channel. *Malhan*, with due modifications (*Malihan*, *Manihal*, *Manial*), can be made to resemble the terms *Maṇial*, *Maṇiyal*, and **Maniolai**.

[1] A fabulous island by the name of *Maṇi-dvīpa* is mentioned in Sanskrit literature as existing in the ocean of nectar; but its name is more likely to mean 'Isle of Jewels' than 'Loadstone Island.' A similar term, *Ratna-dvīpa*, was used, chiefly by Far Eastern Buddhists, to designate Ceylon. McCrindle (op. cit., p. 242, note) points out that Wilford (in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv, pp. 429–30) gives the Indū legend regarding the magnetic rocks fabled to exist in the Indian Ocean, from the *Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi*, and identifies them "with those near *Pūrindra* [?] or the Lion's place [?!] in the Lion's mouth or Straits of Siṅgapur [?!!]." Colonel Wilford's vagaries in connection with Indū classical geography are too well known to make it necessary to demonstrate that *Pārindra* or *Pārimdra*, as well as the 'Lion's place' and 'mouth,' never existed, in so far as the Straits are concerned, except in the fertile imagination of that Orientalist; and that they are, accordingly, far more mythical than the rocks with which he pretended to identify them. It may be noticed, furthermore, that *Simha-pura* or Singapore, the 'Lion City,' so named from a tradition that a lion was seen on the site where it rises, was not founded until a date which I fix approximately at A.D. 1340, but which, even in native legend, is not carried further back than the twelfth century. The tradition as to the loadstone reefs is far more ancient, and had McCrindle quoted from Wilford or from the source the latter mentions—to either of which I have no access—the name by which the rocks are known in Indū folklore, instead of giving the above twaddle, it might have been perhaps of some help in fixing the position of them.

to *Maṇi*, *Maṇiyāla*, etc., coupled with the probable fondness for iron common to the natives of the Nikobārs and neighbouring islands, the legend of the loadstone rocks could easily originate, and grow supported by the fact that all the boats built in Southern India, Indo-China, the Malay Archipelago, and China up to quite recent times, have always been constructed exclusively of wood and kept together with wooden bolts and cords, without a single piece of iron in them.

Before closing these notes on the islands of the Bay of Bengal, I wish to draw attention to the fact that the Nikobārs and Andāmāns have generally been located by early geographers and navigators much further north from their true position; so much, in fact, that they came to occupy a site in close proximity to Cape Negrais and the Arakanese coast. In the relation of Abū-zaid it is stated that after the island of *Ramnī* or *Rāmī* (North Sumatra) there are the *Lenjebālūs* islands[1]; after these there come two other isles (Andāmāns) separated from the former by a sea called *Andāmān*; beyond there are mountains out of the sailing route, containing silver-mines (the Arakan coast, i.e. Ptolemy's **Argyra**).[2] It is apparent from this description that the Andāmāns and Nikobārs were believed to be nearer to the Arakanese seaboard than is really the case. Such

[1] The *Lenjebālūs*, or *Lanjabālūs*, of Sulaimān and Abū-zaid are most likely the Nikobārs. Besides comparing, as already suggested, the Arab account with I-tsing, it is useful to refer to the description of the Nikobārs left by Dampier, who visited them in 1688. The Arab relation mentions cocoanut-trees, ambergris, and palm-wine among the productions of the islands, and so does Dampier. I-tsing says that the beach is very steep and craggy towards the east, and Dampier repeats the same statement as regards the southern shore of the island he visited. The *Lenjebālūs* of the Arabs and the *Lo-kwo* of I-tsing can scarcely be the Andāmāns, as, according to Symes (loc. cit.), there are absolutely no cocoanut-trees growing there.

[2] They were out of the route of the Arab ships, because this ran from Quilon, or Kollam, to the Nikobārs, and thence to *Kalah-bār*, or Takūa-pā (Takōpa). The landmark of the Arab navigators to reach the land of silver-mines (from the Andāmāns) was, according to Sulaimān (in Reinaud, op. cit., p. 9), a mountain called *Khushnāmī* (*Jibal Khushnāmī*, lit. the 'Auspicious Mountain'), the name of which, Colonel Yule suggested, might be but a translation of the Ptolemaic Ἀγαθοῦδαίμονος νῆσος. This, it will now be seen, is impossible; and the greatest probability is that *Khushnāmī* was but an embellished transcript of *Kusumi*, the name of Bassein, the landmark thus being the mountain of Bassein, i.e. Cape Negrais.

a mistaken notion was by no means peculiar to Western navigators; for we find that the Chinese, in their halcyon days of interoceanic navigation, held the same view. No better proof could be given of the position that the Chinese ascribed to the Andāmāns and Nikobārs than by referring to the Chinese chart of the sea-route from *Su-mên-ta-la* (Sumatra) to Ceylon, published by Phillips in the *Journal of the China Branch R.A.S.* (vol. xx, Nos. 5–6, 1885). The chart, in the opinion of Phillips, is older than the commencement of the fifteenth century. I have made a new study of it, at least for the portion concerning the Bay of Bengal, and I was thereby able to add some new names left untranscribed by him to his list, to supply a few more identifications, and to rectify several of the identifications he suggests. I must briefly refer to these points, as on them depends the position of the Andāmāns and Nikobārs in respect of the coast of Arakan. Phillips' principal mistake arose from his reading the 落 坑 of the chart as *Lo-k'ang* and identifying it with Rangūn, unaware perhaps that Rangūn was so named, or rather renamed, as late as A.D. 1763 by Alōng-Bhura, previous to that date being known as *Dagūn* or *Takum* (*Takông* in Talaing). From this mistake the identifications suggested by Phillips of some places noted in the map between *Lo-k'ang*, as he reads it, and Chittagōng, as well as of several others below *Lo-k'ang*, become wrong, and there still remain a few places impossible to identify, no matter how the names given in the chart are twisted. I could not account for this fact until I found out that *Lo-k'ang*, or rather *Lo-khêng*, as it is pronounced in at least one-half of the Chinese vernaculars, including Mandarin, really represents *Rakkhêng* or *Rakkhaing*, i.e. Arakan. Once this point settled, most of the neighbouring places in the map become easy of identification, as will appear from the following list, in which the names of places correctly identified by Phillips are printed in ordinary type, and those either added or newly identified by me are italicized; all being arranged in the same order as they occur in the chart.

Places opposite the East Coast of the Bay of Bengal.		Places on the East Coast of the Bay of Bengal.	
Chinese Name.	Identification.	Chinese Name.	Identification.
		Ch'ê-ti-chiang .	Chittagōng River.
		Mu-ko / Bok-ko -chiang .	*Baghkhali or Māskhal River behind Māskhal Island, marked Boagringekir or Boagringetur in the old maps.*
		Ch'ih-t'u-shan .	*Tsit-twe hills, i.e., hills behind Akyab, whose Burmese name is Tsit-twe (so pronounced, but written Tsat-twe = Chak-tu, Chit-tva).*
		Kwei-t'ou-shan .	*Akyat-taw pagoda hill,[1] which gave its name to the present Akyab.*
		Lo-k'êng . . .	*Rakkhaing or Arakan city.*
Lo-k'êng-shan .	*Lit., Rakkhëng Islands = Borongo Island and Savage Island, at the mouth of the Arakan River.*	*Hsiao-mo-shan* .	*Roma or Yoma Range?*
An-tê-man-shan .	Andāmāns.	*T'ai-mo-shan* . .	*Some hill about Combermere Bay. The old maps mark in this neighbourhood a place by the name of Domassa or Dobazi.*
Pei-p'ing-t'ou-shan	*Bompoka Island (Nikobārs), marked Pemboe in old maps.*	*Ma-wang-shan* . .	*Aeng or An hills. The port at the mouth of the Aeng River is noted in the old maps as Mugaeni. Perhaps the Maee River or Mān-aung (Chedāba) are meant.*
Chin-hsü / *Kam-söü* . . .	*Kamorta (Nikobārs).*		
Ts'ui-lan-hsü . .	*Tilan-chong (Nikobārs).*		
Ma-ch'uan-ch'iau / *Ma-shün-ch'iau*	*Diamond Island; literally Bassein Reefs (Alguada, etc.).*	*K'o-tie-mi* . . .	*Cosmí, i.e. Kusumi, or Bassein as called by mediaeval travellers.*
Chu-p'ai-ch'iau .	*Saiboo Island, near Amherst.*	Pa-tou-ma . . .	Martaban (*Muḥ-tămôḥ in the vernacular*).
Ta-wai-shan . .	Tavoy Island (*Malilay-gyun*).	Ta-wai	Tavoy, *written Dawāi (Davāi) in Siāmese, but pronounced Thawāi.*
Ta-wai-hsü . . .	*King's Island or Padwotau.*		
Ta-na-ssŭ-li. . .	*Tenasserim Island.*	*Pei-Hsüan (Siem)* .	*Northern Siām.*
		Ta-na-ssŭ-li . .	Tenasserim, *the Ternassari of early Western travellers, written Tanāva-śrī in Siāmese.*

[1] It was probably, as stated in the "British Burma Gazetteer" (vol. ii, p. 4), "a good landmark for ships in former times."

It will appear from the above list that, in the opinion of Chinese navigators, the Nikobārs and Andāmāns lay abreast of the Arakanese coast; and precisely, between Cape Negrais and Borongo Island at the mouth of the Arakan River. A glance at the map referred to will further convince one of this; and were it not for the fact that there are no islands of importance between Cape Negrais and Chedūba, one might be tempted to identify the *Ts'wei-lan*, *Chin-hsü*, *Pei-p'ing-t'ou*, and *An-tê-man* Islands of that map, with islets and reefs off the Arakanese coast, or with the insular groups of Chedūba and Borongo lying further northwards. This is what actually occurred with Wilford, who took Ptolemy's **Bazakata** Island to be Chedūba; and the mistake might be repeated by many in the case of the islands marked in the Chinese map in question, but for the name *An-tê-man*, which very clearly warns us that such isles belong to the Andāmān-Nikobār archipelago. In the face of these facts I think there should be no more hesitation in recognizing **Bazakata**, **Khalinē**, etc., as parts of the archipelago just mentioned.

B. *Islands off the West Coast of Sumatra.*

Barusai, five islands (No. 160).

I identify these with the islands facing the western Sumatran coast at Bārūs (بارُوس)—the *Fanṣūr* or *Pansūr* of the Arabs and Marco Polo, and the *Pin-su* or *Pan-sok* of Chinese writers.[1] Prominent among them is Pulo Nias, which probably corresponds to the *al-Neyān* island of Sulaimān and Abū-zaid.[2] Ptolemy does not supply us with any other

[1] See Hirth in the *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1896, p. 499, note.

[2] Reinaud, op. cit., p. 7. Captain Bozorg (Van der Lith & M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 126 and 245–7) locates the island of *al-Neyān* at 100 parasangs (300 nautical miles!) from *Fanṣūr*, whereas the distance of Nias

information anent these islands except that their inhabitants were cannibals. This is quite correct, as up to this day they form a favourite haunt for the rude *Batta* or *Battak*, undoubted anthropophagi of the so-called Indonesian descent, though semi-civilized. From the district of Bārūs these islands were evidently named **Barusai**. It is also very likely from this district that the famous *Fanṣūr* (or *Pansūr*) camphor so praised by the Arabs was exported.[1]

As a good deal of misapprehension has always existed among Western writers dabbling in Far Eastern geography anent the names applied by Oriental travellers to both this district and the camphor therein produced; and as in scarcely any instance have they been properly identified, and in none adequately explained, it should prove of some interest to go here into their history and show how far back into antiquity they can be traced, especially as this forms a point of first importance for the ancient geography of Sumatra to be dealt with under the next section.

Firstly, as to the district of Bārūs and the islands facing it. These seem to have been frequently confounded with one another, as probably was also the case with Ptolemy; for in both Chinese and Arab accounts we find the Bārūs district described at times as part of the coast of Sumatra, and at others as an island, and it is not until the thirteenth century that it becomes definitely recognized as part and parcel of Sumatran territory. This incongruity is, no doubt, due to the imperfect knowledge possessed by navigators, until a comparatively modern period, of Sumatra, which was believed to consist of several islands.

Proceeding in chronological order, we find I-tsing (A.D. 671–695) making mention of the island of *P'o-lu-shih*

from Bārūs is only about 80 miles—say 30 parasangs. This notwithstanding, there seems to be no doubt that *Neyān* is meant for *Nias*, whose correct name is said to be *Niha*, meaning 'man.' If so, *niha* is evidently a corruption of the Môn , *mnih*, and proves a former connection of its inhabitants with the Môn race.

[1] Compare "Camphor-Baros" in Groeneveldt, loc. cit., pp. 260, 261.

(婆魯師洲, *P'o-lu-shih Chou*), which he locates to the west of *Shih-li-fo-shih* (尸利佛逝國), i.e. the State of *Śrī-Bhoja*, now Palembang.[1] Shortly afterwards the History of the T'ang Dynasty (ch. 222, c) refers to a district called 郎婆露斯, *Lang-p'o-lu-sz*, which, it states, was the western part of *Shih-li-fo-shih*. Chavannes,[2] with the facility peculiar to Sinologists, does not hesitate to identify both *P'o-lu-shih* and *Lang-p'o-lu-sz* with Marco Polo's *Ferlec*, that is, *Perlaḳ*, فرلق, on the north coast of Sumatra, a view which Takakusu readily endorses, quite overlooking the fact that *P'o-lu-shih* does not sound like either *Ferlec* or *Perlaḳ*,[3] but rather like *Bārūs* or *Ba-ru-sz*, it being besides pronounced *Boa-lu-sai* in the Fu-chou dialect, a surprising approach to the Ptolemaic **Barusai** or *Barusae*.

The late Professor S. Beal took no widely different view when he explained[4] that "*Po-lu-sse* island . . . . is on the western coast of North Sumatra; in some Chinese geographical works this part of Sumatra is called *Po-ssŭ*[5]; so called because, as Dr. Bretschneider ('Knowledge of the Chinese and Arabs,' p. 16) has observed, 'the Persians carried on a great trade with Sumatra, and probably had colonies there.' I assume that this is the same as the *Basma* of Marco Polo (Yule's 'Marco Polo,' ii, p. 231), the *Pasei* of the Malays, and the *Pacem* of the Portuguese."

But it would be sheer madness to expect correct geographical identifications from our Sinologists. It will have

[1] Chavannes' "Religieux Éminents," pp. 36–37 and note; Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Religion," pp. xxxix–xl and 10.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] That such is the case is evidenced by the fact that in the Chinese map of about A.D. 1400, published by Phillips (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxi), Perlaḳ is transcribed in the form 巴祿, *Pa-lu* (in Cant. *Pa-luk*), in the term *Pa-lu T'ou* (= Perlaḳ Head).

[4] Van der Lith & M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 251–2.

[5] 波斯, *Po-ssŭ* or *Po-sz*. It really requires a brain stuffed with thousands of Chinese characters, let alone tones and similar niceties, to connect this with *P'o-lu-shih* and *Basma*. Had there been any connection, I-tsing, who travelled from China to Sumatra on a Persian ship (see Takakusu, op. cit., pp. xxviii, xl), would not have failed to let it be understood.

by this time become apparent that *P'o-lu-shih*, situated to the west of *Śrī-Bhoja* (Palembang), can be no other place than Bārūs and Ptolemy's **Barusai** Islands; and that *Lang-P'o-lu-sz* may be practically the same term but prefixed with the word *Lam*, meaning a 'village' in the dialect of North Sumatra, the whole reading thus, *Lam-Bārūs*, and meaning simply the 'village (or settlement) of Bārūs.'[1]

With *P'o-lu-shih* and the **Barusai** we may connect the *Nālūsh* (نالوش) or *Bālūs* Island of the Mukhtaṣar-al-Ajāib, said to lie *to the right* of *Kalah* (west coast of Malay Peninsula), and to produce bananas, camphor, cocoanuts, rice, and sugar-cane. Ibn Khurdādbih (*circâ* A.D. 864) also refers to an island of *Bālūs* with the same productions, but he locates it *to the left*, and at two days [sailing?] distance from Kalah Island (Malay Peninsula), and adds that it is inhabited by cannibals.[2] Professor van der Lith suggests it may be the same place as the *Nālūsh* of the Mukhtaṣar, but I would point out that, while it is possible that Ibn Khurdādbih wrote by mistake 'left' for 'right,' it is equally possible that the island he names is quite a different one—say, e.g., the *Bhīlū* Isle (Bhīlū-gyūn) opposite Martaban, which would well suit the position and distance assigned to it in respect of *Kalah* (**Takōla**). The mention, by Ibn Khurdādbih, of "excellent camphor" being produced there would not in the least prejudice our identification, as we shall see directly that camphor similar in quality to that of Bārūs and China was and still is produced all over that region, especially in the Tenasserim district.

Shortly after the time of Ibn Khurdādbih, i.e. from the middle of the tenth century downwards, we find the Bārūs district designated, in both Chinese and Arab records, by

[1] Like, e.g., *Lam-bāru* = 'New village,' the name of a hamlet on Pulo Bras; and many place-names in the Achēh district beginning with the same prefix *lam*.

[2] "Le livre des routes et des provinces par Ibn Khordadbeh," trad. Barbier de Meynard, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p. 288; and "Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 256–263 and 279. Dimashkī (see trans. in Mehren's "Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen-âge," Copenhagen, 1874, p. 208) evidently confuses the island of *Bālūs* with his *Lankāvūs* or *Lanjbālūs* (Nikobārs), since he includes camphor among the productions of the latter.

the name of the camphor therein produced, which name, we hope to demonstrate, was properly *Pāṁsu* or *Pāṁsum*, but was corrupted by the authors of those accounts into *Pansur*, *Fanṣūr*, and the like.

The first traveller to mention the name was in reality Sulaimān, in *circâ* A.D. 851, but he merely speaks of plantations called *Fanṣūr* (فنصور), producing camphor of first quality, in the island of *al-Ramnī* (northern part of Sumatra), and not of a district bearing that denomination.[1] On the contrary, Mas'ūdī (A.D. 943) and the authors that followed him apply the term to the district of Bārūs, which they describe sometimes as an island. Captain Bozorg (955) is one of those who take either course. He tells us of the island of *Fanṣūr*,[2] and at the same time of a march along the coast from *Fanṣūr* to Lāmerī (Ramnī, Rambrī, Lambri), passing by the bay of *Lūlū-bīlenk*.[3] Dimashḳī

[1] Reinaud, op. cit., t. i, pp. 6–7. See also p. 93, where Abū-zaid mentions, on the testimony of Ibn Vahab (*circâ* A.D. 880), camphor being produced in the island of *al-Rāmī* (Rām-brī, Lambri). Marco Polo also refers to camphor in Lambri.

[2] *Ajāib*, in "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 30.

[3] Op. cit., p. 125. Van der Lith is at a loss to identify *Lūlū-bīlenk* (لولو بيلنك) Bay, and doubtfully suggests (p. 245) Singkel and Tapanūli bays. To me, however, *Lūlū-bīlenk* represents either *Telok-belang* (pron. *Telo-* or *Telu-belang*) or its contraction, *Lok-belang*, *Lu-belang*. *Telok* or *Lok* means 'bay,' 'creek,' 'cove' in the tongue of that part of Sumatra; while *belang*, there being no *g* in Arabic, naturally becomes *belank* or *bilenk* in that language. *Lok-belang*, also known as *Lok-belang Raya*, is nowadays more generally called *Rīau Bay*, and is situated on the north-west coast of Sumatra not far below Achēh Head. It is interesting to notice that the bay in question is, in the Ajāib, loc. cit., said to be inhabited by tailed anthropophagous tribes, and infested with *zarāfa* (*śarabha*?), which also abound in the *Lāmerī* (Achēh) district. Anent the *zarāfa*, Van der Lith is of opinion (p. 236) that either elephants or Sumatran bicornute rhinoceroses are meant. From the fact, however, of the Catalan Atlas of 1375 placing on the point of the coast of the *Illa Trapobana* (*Taprobana*, here Sumatra) corresponding to the spot in question, a city with the legend "*Aquesta ciutat es deserta per serpētes*" ("This city is desert on account of snakes"), I should think that the Arabic reference would be rather to *sarpas*, i.e. serpents of fabulous size. At the same time, as *sapi* is the Malay name for a peculiar breed of wild cattle, apparently derived from *śarabha*, it is not altogether impossible that these are the brutes meant. The *śarabha* of Indū folklore must have been, in my opinion, some sort of *Sivatherium*, an extinct genus of four-horned gnus or antelopes, remains of which were found in the Siwālik Hills of the Himālaya.

(about A.D. 1300) speaks both of an island of *Fanṣūr*, producing camphor of superior quality, and of a city of *Fanṣūr* situated on the island of Kalah (west coast of Malay Peninsula).[1] Abū-l-Fedā, on the other hand, confines himself (A.D. 1321) to a cursory mention of "the city of *Fanṣūr*, whence the *Fanṣūrī* camphor takes its name," which, however, he places in the southern part of the island of *Jāwah*,[2] here meaning no doubt Sumatra. So also do Ibn Baṭūṭa (A.D. 1345) and Marco Polo, the latter of whom (1292) locates his *Fansur*, *Fanfur*, or *Fransur* kingdom in the last-named island, termed by him Java Minor or Little Java.

On the Chinese side, although Chao Ju-kua speaks (about A.D. 1240) of the camphor of *Pin-su*,[3] we do not find the *Fanṣūr* or *Pansur* district referred to until about 1399–1400, in the Chinese map published by Phillips,[4] under the name of 班 卒, *Pan-tsu*, which seems to be a transcript of *Pānsu*

[1] Mehren's translation under the title of "Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen-âge," Copenhagen, 1874, pp. 15, 127, and 208. The city of *Fanṣūr* here mentioned has apparently no connection whatever with the 'island' (Bārūs district), and very likely corresponds to either of the two villages bearing the name of *Panchur* (= an 'imp'), situated on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, one on the homonymous headland (Tanjong Panchur), about eleven miles north-west of Malacca, and the other on the eastern bank of the Muār River (lat. 2° 6' N., long. 102° 45' E.), about fourteen miles from the entrance of the river. We shall come across other instances in which *Fanṣūr*, *Pansur*, and similar toponymics occurring in the relations of mediæval travellers seem to apply more likely to *Panchur* than to Bārūs.

[2] Guyard's "Géographie d'Aboulféda," t. ii (Paris, 1883), p. 127. The passage is partly extracted from Ibn Sa'īd, who wrote about A.D. 1274. This geographer, however, according to Van der Lith (op. cit., p. 258), refers to the city of *Fanṣūr* as lying on a bay in the island of *Kalah*, along with the towns of *Lāmerī* (Lambri), *Jāwa*, *Kalah*, and *Malāiūr*. Nowairī (loc. cit.) describes the sea of *Lārewī* as formed by the seas of *Kalah*, *Jāwah*, and *Fanṣūr*, and mentions the cities of *Fanṣūr*, *Malāiūr*, *Lārewī*, and *Kalah* as being situated in the 'country of *Kalah*.' Here, again, unless the country of *Kalah* (West coast of the Malay Peninsula) has been made by mistake to include also the West coast of Sumatra, it is probable that *Fanṣūr* city refers to some village on the Malay Peninsula bearing the name of *Panchur*, rather than to the Bārūs district. Another of the villages going by this denomination lies on the eastern bank of the Johor River, at one to two miles above Johor Lāma (Old Johor). As that part of the Malay Peninsula appears to have been known also by the name of *Java*, and is very likely the country which Ibn Baṭūṭa calls *Mūla Jāwah*, being noted besides for the production of camphor derived, like that of Bārūs, from the *Dryobalanops* tree, Abū-l-Fedā's statement, placing *Fanṣūr* city in the south of *Jāwah*, would prove no less consistent with topographical truth so long as *Fanṣūr* is taken to be either of the three *Panchurs* referred to above.

[3] See *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for 1896, p. 499, note.

[4] In the *Journal China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi (1887); see also p. 38 ibid.

rather than of *Pansur*, although there would be no very serious objection against the latter interpretation on account of the final *t* (often equivalent to *r* in transcripts of foreign toponymics) occurring in the Cantonese pronunciation, *Pan-tsut*, of the term. There is further mentioned in the history of the Ming dynasty, under the date 1415 *circâ*, a country of 班卒兒, *Pan-tsu-êrh* or *Pan-tsu-'rh*, which Groeneveldt[1] has taken to be probably Marco Polo's *Fansur* (i.e. Bārūs) on the west coast of Sumatra, although it appears from both the form of the name and the context of the narrative that some place called *Panchur* in the Straits is more likely intended.[2] Finally, the same Ming history contains a brief allusion to a country 古里班卒, *Ku-li-Pan-tsu*, hitherto unidentified, which seems likewise to have nothing to do with Bārūs.[3]

[1] "Essays relating to Indo-China," ser. II, vol. i, p. 164.

[2] The passage bearing on the point at issue reads as follows in Groeneveldt's translation: "About that time some followers of the imperial envoys [to Java] had been driven by a storm to the country *Pantsur*, and a Javanese, hearing this, paid a ransom for them, and brought them to the place where the king lived." As it will readily be seen, the context makes it extremely improbable that *Bārūs* on the west coast of Sumatra is the place where the junk carrying the envoys bound to Java from China was driven to. I cannot, therefore, agree with Groeneveldt's surmise, turned later on into a positive assertion by Parker (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, pp. 138–139), that the *Pan-tsu-êrh* here alluded to is Marco Polo's *Fansur*. I feel almost certain that it is, on the contrary, the island of *Panchur* (Pulo Panchur), otherwise known as Medang and Ransang, lying off the east coast of Sumatra; and, if not, some place lower down the same coast, or on the western shore of Borneo, bearing the name of *Panchur*, *Banjar*, or something similar. It is one of these terms that is meant to be represented by *Pan-tsu-êrh*, while *Pan-tsu* or *Pan-tsut* seems invariably to refer to Bārūs in Chinese geographical literature.

[3] See *China Review*, vol. iv, p. 389, where all the information given from the Ming histories is that "there are heavy rains in summer in this country." In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1900, p. 139, Parker wrote: "A state called *Kuli-Pantsu* (the word *Kuli* elsewhere meaning 'Calicut') is stated to have sent tribute between 1403 and 1424, but there is nothing further said by which this state can be identified"; and further on: "I notice on a modern English map a large island called Panchor off the east coast [of Sumatra], opposite Malacca and Singapore; but whether the Chinese Calicut-Fansur [*sic*] and plain Fansur of the records are, both or either of them, the same place with Panchor, or with the Fansur marked on the Chinese map [published by Phillips], I cannot say." Professor Schlegel, in his turn, confidently asserted in the *T'oung-Pao* (vol. x, 1899, p. 290, note) that the Arabic *Fansur* is the transcript of *Panchur*, and is therefore to be identified with *Pulo Panchur* off the east coast of Sumatra. This, from what we have said above, seems unlikely to be the case. As regards *Kuli-Pantsu*, however, I am of opinion that it is almost certainly the rendering of *Kuli-panchur*, *Kwāla-Panchur*, *Koli-banjar* (cf. *Banjar-kulam* = 'Little Banjar,' the name given to Sūlū), or some similar term. A village called *Kwāla-Panchur* is to be found at the junction of a small affluent with the Malacca River, Central Malacca district (see Dennys' "Descriptive Dictionary of

In Malay literature Bārūs is referred to in the Chronicle of Pāsai[1] some time before the foundation of Sumatra city (say about A.D. 1270, or slightly earlier), while it appears under the form *Faṣūrī* (فصورى), a modification of *Fanṣūr*, in the account, evidently compiled from records originally written in Arabic, of the introduction of Islāmism into Sumatra (in about 1280–90) given in the "Sejarah Malāyu."[2] That *Faṣūrī* here means the Bārūs district is evidenced by the route described as having been followed by the ship carrying the Muslimic mission from Southern India to *Faṣūrī* (Bārūs); *Lambrī*, *Lamerī*, or *Puloḳ-Lamīrī* (ڤولق لميرى); and *Āru* or *Hāru*, هارو (east coast of Sumatra).

Turning now to the origin and history of the term *Fansur* or *Pansur* as a designation for camphor, and especially for that of the quality produced at Bārūs, I have no doubt that this term has originated from the Sanskrit पांसुः or पांशुः (*Pāṁsuḥ*, *Pāṁśuḥ*), denoting a kind of camphor, which word, brought over to Indo-China by the stream of Indū emigration and trans-oceanic trade, underwent several curious transformations which it will be of interest to study. I do not know how far back into Sanskrit literature that word may be traced, but it must be very ancient, and it is not unlikely that we have it in *Pāṁśurāṣṭra*, the name of a people—and obviously also of a country—referred to

British Malaya," p. 188, s.v.); but I am little inclined to credit it with being the place the Chinese annalists had in view. There exists, furthermore, a village *Kalapanzin* (whose name actually spells ကုလားပန်းသင်း = *Kula-pane'han*) on the homonymous river, a tributary from the right of the Mayu River, in the Akyab district, Arakan; now giving its name to the circle of Kalapanzin (see *Koolapanzeng* in the "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 272), which may perhaps lay a better claim to identification with the Chinese *Kuli-Pantsu*.

[1] See Marre's "Histoire des rois de Pasey," Paris, 1874, p. 27.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 110–111; and Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 67, where the term is spelt *Paṣūrī*, after a reading ڤصورى occurring in the Singapore edition of that chronicle (ch. vii, p. 82).

in the Mahābhārata,[1] probably lying in the south of India. As the word in question means also 'dust,' 'dirt,' and 'crumbling soil,' it must have originally designated either crude or powdered camphor. How it came to be applied to the best quality of, and to refined, camphor is a mystery to me. In Pegu we find the term first under the form *P'hummasâin* (ဖုံမစိန် = *Bhummasin*), denoting, according to Stevens,[2] *crude* camphor. But in reality, it is to the camphor extracted from the *Blumea balsamifera* — a large half-shrubby weed, common in waste grounds and abandoned hill gardens in Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, and several parts of Siām and Malaya—that it specifically applies. From the Mōñ or Talaing language the term drifted into Burmese under the form *P'hong-matheing* or *P'hummathien* (written ဖွမ်သဳ = *P'hummasim*, *P'hummasein*), where it designates the *Blumea* and also, according to Judson, *purified* camphor.[3] From the Mōñ as well, it is probable that the word was adopted into Siāmese, in which it appears as *P'himsēn* and *P'humsēn* (*Bimsēn*, *Bumsēn*). It is here, however, applied to the *Betonica officinalis*, and to refined camphor, especially Borneo or Bārūs camphor; common and Chinese camphor being called *Kārabūn* (from the Sanskrit *karpūra*), and the *Blumea balsamifera* being known instead as *Nāt* (*Tòn-Nāt*),

[1] See Professor Hall's ed. of Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii, p. 164.

[2] English and Peguan Vocabulary, Rangoon, 1896, p. 16, s.v.

[3] Burmese and English Dictionary, Rangoon, 1883, p. 419, s.v. Judson is completely mistaken in saying that it means "the camphor tree, *Laurus camphora*," as Mason was also wrong, and with him Balfour (see his "Cyclopædia of India," 3rd ed., vol. i, p. 390), in taking it to designate the *Blumea grandis*. The plant implied is, as I have endeavoured to personally ascertain, the *Blumea balsamifera*. This is termed *Châpa* or *Chapu* by the Malays in the Peninsula, and *Sum-bun* or *Sumbung* in Java (see Forbes Watson's "Index to the Names of Indian Plants," London, 1868, p. 532), where it also grows. The Tavoyers make an impure camphor from it by a very simple process; and so do the Siāmese and other populations of Indo-China. The product, in its refined form, appears identical in all its properties with Chinese camphor. In China the camphor known as *Ngai* is said to be derived also from the *Blumea*.

and utilized in some parts of the country for the extraction of camphor.[1]

Now, it is most surprising that, while in Malay the camphor obtained from the *Dryobalanops* is designated *kāpūr*, and that produced by the same kind of tree in Bārūs is termed *Kāpūr Bārūs* (كافور باروس), a name wrongly applied also to Borneo camphor, it came to be alluded to as *Fansur* or *Pansur* (*Pāṁśura*) by the early foreign traders.[2] This fact cannot be accounted for otherwise than by admitting that the latter term must have been originally imported into the Bārūs district by the pioneer Indū merchants, and that it was subsequently adopted there for the camphor-trees of the place (*Dryobalanops aromatica*, Gaertn., *Dipterocarpeæ*). It is scarcely as yet understood, even to this day, that this lofty tree grows only in North Borneo, Lābuan, North-West Sumatra, and in the Indau district of Johor, although there is evidence of its being formerly spread nearly all over the southern part of the Malay Peninsula.[3] It yields two

[1] It is often planted in the neighbourhood or in front of houses, and twigs of it are stuck about gates and doorways, on account of their being reputed very efficient spirit-scarers. Powdered, the wood and bark are used in inhalations for the cure of various complaints.

[2] The name is often spelt قنصور (*Kanṣūr*) instead of فنصور (*Fanṣūr*) in the relations of the Arab travellers, owing to the very close similarity between the letters ف (*f*) and ق (*k*), so apt to induce copyists of MSS. into perpetrating many a *lapsus calami*. Other variants frequently met with on account of the imperfections of the Arabic alphabet are فيصور (*Faiṣūr*) and, thencefrom, قيصور (*Kaiṣūr*). See Mas'ūdī in Barbier de Meynard's "Prairies d'Or," vol. i, p. 338; Reinaud, op. cit., t. ii. p. 10; Guyard's "Géographie d'Aboulféda," t. ii, p. 127; Dimashkī in Mehren, op. cit., p. 16, note, for the reading *Fanfūr*; etc. To the spellings *Faṣūrī* and *Paṣūrī*—evidently derived from the Arabic *Faiṣūr*—occurring in several Malay chronicles, we have already alluded. Garcia, in his "Historia Aromatum" (1593), refers to the form *Pansar* as being used by Serapion, a Syrian physician of the ninth or tenth century A.D., but I doubt the correctness of his reading. He slovenly suggests that *Pansar* is '*Pacen*' (*Pacem*, i.e. *Pāsai*), which, he says, also produces camphor. I have since noticed that in the amended passage from Serapion printed by Dulaurier in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1846, p. 220, no other reading but *Faiṣūr* occurs.

[3] In the Malay Peninsula it is said to occur at present only at the headwaters of the Madek and Kahang Rivers, two tributaries of the Indau, where it is collected by the Jakūn tribes of that district and the produce sold to the Chinese at Kwāla Indau (see *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 26, pp. 23, 35, 38). The bend of the Indau River at about eleven miles from its mouth is, I notice, called *Teluk Kāpūr*, meaning 'Camphor Cove.' This was, no doubt, the old camphor mart in this part of the Peninsula. Another must have existed at or

distinct products, viz., (1) Bārūs camphor, (2) camphor-oil (*Mīnyak kāpūr*). The *Blumea balsamifera* is, on the

near the mouth of the Johor River, whither a good deal of the camphor collected in the Indau district was presumably conveyed overland across the watershed. Dennys, in his "Dictionary of British Malaya," p. 181, reports that camphor is produced in the Kemāman district (between Pahang and Tringānu); and at p. 295 has the following passage: "The camphor-tree is also said still to grow in some parts of Pêrak. *Formerly it was abundant*, but it has been almost exterminated by the collectors in the more accessible parts of the country." On p. 67 he alludes to its existence in the basin of the Bernam River, further down the western side of the peninsula, where, however, he says, it is not collected by the local tribes. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that at no very remote date camphor-trees identical with those at Bārūs were plentiful all over the hill tracts of the southern part of the Peninsula, from at least the 4th or 5th parallels of Northern latitude downwards, and that at the time of the Arab traders (ninth to fourteenth century) the collection of the drug must have been in full swing, not only in the south, but also in the north, where it was obtained from the *Blumea* shrubs. The subsequent decline of the trade and present scantiness of *Dryobalanops* trees have been brought about by the extermination of the trees themselves for the extraction of the valuable product.

Analogous must have been the case with Sumatra. Here, we have seen in the preceding note, Garcia mentions camphor as being produced in Pāsai in his time (1593); Marco Polo records its existence in *Lambri*; Dimashkī (*circâ* 1300), in *Arshīr* (probably Achēḥ, i.e. Achīn) and *Ribāḥ* (perhaps Krung Raba Bay); all these being places in the extreme north of the island, where it does not appear that any camphor-trees are left at present. Further, Dimashkī states that some of the best camphor comes from *Serīrah* (Mehren, op. cit., pp. 199 and 204), which, we shall demonstrate in due course, is the *Sarawi* country in Palembang, East Sumatra, whence no such product is now heard of. In more recent times Beaulieu (1621) speaks of camphor being found, besides at Bārūs, at Sinkel (north-west of Bārūs), and at *Batahan* (Batang district, south-east of Bārūs and below Tapanūli), which is not, however, surprising, as the range of its present production still extends as far south as Natal, only a little above the equator. The native name of the *Dryobalanops* tree in Sumatra is, according to Filet, *Simar-bantaiyan*, and, according to others, *Simara-bantayan*, *Mara-bantayan*, etc. (see "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. i, p. 41 note, and F. Watson's "Index," p. 524).

I have deemed it necessary to bring forward the above evidence as to the fact, as yet very little known and understood by most of those interested in ancient Oriental geography, of the former wide distribution of the camphor-trees all over the southern part of the Malay Peninsula and the northern half of Sumatra, in order to show how careless were those modern writers who, from the mere fact of a particular spot or district being mentioned in the relations of ancient travellers as camphor-producing, at once endeavoured to find for it a place either at Bārūs or Borneo, in spite of evidence to the contrary being in some cases overwhelming. The Malay Peninsula will henceforth have to be reckoned with as well in similar instances, and it will then be found at times that some of the most puzzling questions of historical geography connected with the Malay Archipelago and the Indo-Chinese mainland will become easier to solve.

Serapion, it should be observed, remarks (loc. cit.) that camphor was in his time exported, amongst other places, from the countries of *Kalāh*, كلاه; *Zābej*; and *Herenj* or *Haranj*, هرنج, all (except perhaps *Zābej*) situated on the Malay Peninsula and adjoining mainland. "But," he proceeds to say, "the best comes from *Herenj*, which is Little China." Dulaurier's attempted identification of this country with Borneo is, to say the least of it, absurd. The capital of Little China was, according to Serapion's contemporary, Captain Bozorg (see "Merveilles de

contrary, far more widely distributed, its area including, besides Āsām, Arakan, Pegu, the Malay Peninsula, Western Siām, the north-eastern part of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, and Western Tonkin, also Java, the Moluccas, and part of Southern India, especially Konkaṇ.[1] From the significant

l'Inde," p. 92), Khānfu = *Kan-p'u*, Marco Polo's *Ganfu*; hence there seems to be no doubt that Chinese camphor from the south China coast is meant, and *Haranj* may stand for *Kraunc*, *Kraunca*, or some similar word (see above, p. 244, *Kraunca-dvīpa*), unless it be a corrupt transcript of *Kedrenj*, *Kerdenj*, or *Kadranj* (v. supra, pp. 198 et seq.).

[1] For easily comparable evidence as regards its presence in the north-east of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng I may refer to the following passage from the "Voyage au Laos" (Paris, 1898, p. 196, n.) by Dr. Lefèvre, who has, however, omitted to botanically identify the plant:—"Les environs de Muong-Hett [Müang Het, about fifty miles north-east of Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng as the crow flies, and near the Tonkin frontier] sont couverts de brousse parmi laquelle on remarque de nombreux petits arbustes couverts de feuilles lancéolées, velues et blanchâtres. C'est la plante connue sous le nom de 'camphrée.' Les feuilles broyées entre les doigts exhalent une forte odeur de camphre. Les Chinois en retirent, par l'ébullition et la condensation de la vapeur, un produit cristallin analogue au camphre de Bornéo, et qu'ils vendent très-cher."

Next, as to the existence of the same shrub in the adjoining highlands of Tonkin, it will suffice to give the following extract from Dumoutier's paper on "The Black River" (printed in the *China Review*, vol. ix, see p. 145), where, it will be seen, the author has likewise failed to identify the plant:—"Camphor is obtained in certain districts from a sort of plant having many points analogous to the *Camphorosma Monspeliaca*, L. This plant grows, with a vigour quite exceptional, just as well on mountain lands as in the plain; it is biennial, and reproduces itself without extraneous aid; it is not indigenous to the country, but is said to have been introduced by the Chinese [? very probably a mistake], who cultivated it for a long period. Since their departure this industry has been almost abandoned. The natives call the plant *Daï-bi*, and the article of commerce, which is called *Bang-phien*, is obtained in a most rudimentary way," etc. I have since found out from several Annamese here that this plant is the same as the Siāmese *Nāt*, i.e. the *Blumea balsamifera*; that it grows also in Annam, although it is there very little used, except for medicinal purposes; and that its name is spelt 核大悲, *Kŏi-Dāi-bī* (in Chinese *Ta-pei* or *Tai-pei*). I do not find any mention of this plant in Bretschneider's "Botanicon Sinicum." The term *Bang-p'hien* (冰片, Chin. *Ping-pien*, lit. 'icicles' or 'ice-flakes'), applied by the Chinese to Bārūs camphor (see Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 260), and hitherto etymologically untraced, is, in some parts of Annam, pronounced *Bing-thien*, and appears to me to be most certainly a derivative of the Burmese *P'hummathien*, Siāmese *P'himsēn*, Arab *Fanṣūr*, and Sanskrit *Pāṁśuḥ*. My Annamese informants consider it, in fact, to be the same word as *P'himsēn*. There can, therefore, be no doubt that it is a foreign imported term, and not an indigenous Chinese word. Moreover, Nicolò Conti enumerates camphor among the products of Campā (Ramusio, vol. i, p. 341 *recto*).

Again, as regards Siām, camphor is mentioned as one of the productions of the country, on the one hand, as early as A.D. 607, in the Chinese account of the embassy to *Ch'ih-t'u* (Sukhothai) at that date (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 474); and on the other as late as the seventeenth century in the Spanish account translated in John Bowring's "Siām," vol. ii, p. 106. The "Ta Tsing Hwei Tien," published 1820, enumerates camphor and camphor-oil among the articles sent by Siām as 'tribute' to China (see *China Review*, vol. xii, p. 99);

fact of the plant in question being indigenous to the Indian Peninsula,[1] it is but legitimate to infer that the term

but these, I have ascertained, were derived at that period from the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Borneo. At the earlier dates referred to above, however, there is ample reason to suppose that the camphor spoken of as being produced in Siām was, for the most part, obtained locally from the *Blumea balsamifera*.

[1] That camphor was at one time produced in India, no doubt from the *Blumea*, appears indisputable from the following evidence I have collected from reliable sources:—(1) Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 524) speaks of it having been sent as tribute to China between A.D. 627 and 649, by the kingdom of 烏 篤, *U-tu*, *U-tuk*, or 烏 仗 邦, *U-chang-pang*, "in the south of Central India"—evidently either *Oḍḍa*, *Oḍra*, *Urdū*, *Utkala* (Orissa), or *Audumba* (Kacch); mayhap *Ucchaṅgī* in Gujarāṭ; but not, I should think, *Hiḍamba* or *Hiṛamba* = Kachār.

(2) The state of 秣 羅 矩 叱, *Mo-lo-chü-ta* (= *Mālākuṭa*, *Malāya*, or Malabār), says the "P'ei-wên Yün-fu" (see *China Review*, vol. xiii, p. 384), is the southernmost of the 膽, *Shan*, tribe on the sea-coast. It produces the 龍 腦 香, *Lung-nao Hsiang* (lit. 'Nāga-brain perfume,' or camphor, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Karpūra*, according to Eitel's "Handbook of Chinese Buddhism," 2nd ed., p. 72, s.v.; and of Camphor-Baros according to Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 260).

(3) Camphor, according to Mas'ūdī (see Barbier de Meynard's "Prairies d'Or," t. iii, p. 49), was collected in the province of *Manṣūrah* (Middle Sindh) and other parts of India. In t. i, pp. 378-9, the same author says that the name of that province is derived from *Manṣūr*, who had been one of its governors (about the middle of the eighth century). General Cunningham ("Ancient Geography of India," p. 271) accepts his version, which may be quite correct. I must point out, however, that the place-name in question is so strikingly similar to *Pāṁsuḥ* or *Pāṁsūra*, as to suggest the suspicion that it may somehow be connected with that Indū term for camphor, especially since that drug was one of its productions; or else that it may be a survival or a restoration of the old toponymic *Pāṁsurāṣṭra* already alluded to above. At all events it seems pretty well certain, from the foregoing extracts, that camphor was long centuries ago produced in considerable quantities in India—a fact which I have never seen brought forward as yet in any publication—and that it was, almost beyond doubt, collected from the *Blumea* shrub. Perhaps those who have at their disposal a larger stock of works of reference than I possess will be able to add other evidence to that here set forth.* In the meantime, in view of the undeniable fact of the existence of camphor as a product of ancient India, and especially of its West coast, it seems passing strange that that drug not only did escape mention in Western classical literature, but remained, apparently, altogether unknown to the Greeks and Romans, despite the frequent intercourse they had with the part of India just referred to. This can be accounted for in no other way than by assuming that to the Indūs themselves the drug, and the method of extracting it from the *Blumea*, did not become known until about the dawn of the mediæval period. In fact, as far as I am aware, it does not seem to be referred to until somewhat later in either Sanskrit or Pāli literature. The earliest mention of camphor hitherto discovered is said to occur in Arabic, in the poems of Imrū-l-Kais, an Arabian prince who lived in Ḥaḍramaut, by the Gulf of Aden, in the sixth century. The name he uses for it, كافور, *Kāfūr*—evidently derived, like our 'camphor,' from the

* Serapion, op. cit., says that camphor comes even from Sofāla. How far this is correct I am unable to judge.

Pāṁsuḥ was imported therefrom, and that the same early Indū traders who applied it to the *Dryobalanops* trees of Bārūs must have given it as well to the *Blumea* shrubs of the Malay Peninsula and contiguous regions.

Another no less surprising inconsistency in the Further-Indian terminology of camphor is, that while the camphor produced by the *Dryobalanops*, and coming from either Bārūs, Borneo, or the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, is in Burmā named after Bārūs — it being known in Mōñ as ပြတ်, *Prut*, and in Burmese as ပရုတ်, *Parūt* (pron. Parouk),—in China, on the other hand, the term *Bārūs* is employed only for camphor-oil in the forms 婆律香, *P'o-lü Hsiang* (*Bā-lut* Perfume), and 婆律膏, *P'o-lü Kau* (*Bā-lut* Balm). Groeneveldt (op. cit., p. 261) rightly reports that "the name of *Polut* [*P'o-lut*, *Bā-lut*] is said to be derived from the country where it is found (Baros)." [1] Camphor-Bārūs is, according to the same

Sanskrit *Karpūra*, Pāli *Kappūra*—shows that by that time the drug had become known to the Indūs. Whether the term *Karpūra* was applied to it long before *Pāṁsuḥ*, or *vice versa*, I am unable to say, but it would be interesting to ascertain. In any case it is probable that the introduction of the latter into the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra took place at about the same period. The term *Karpūra* occurs, I notice, in the "Kathā Sarit Sāgara" (in the story of Princess *Karpūrikā*, the camphor-maiden, whose father is represented as giving lumps of the drug as a marriage present), the first redaction of which is put down at about A.D. 500. Among the other numerous Sanskrit names applied to camphor, I desire to call attention to two especially as probably bearing on the subject of the present inquiry, viz., *Candrabhasman* (lit. 'Moon-ashes') and *Sumaḥ*. Of the first we may have a mutilated representative in Marco Polo's *Basman*, the Portuguese *Pacem*, otherwise known as Pāsei (Pāsai), a district, we have seen, noted for camphor, and therefore probably named originally, or nick-named as time went by, from that drug. In the second we have, as likely as not, a foreshadowing of the term *Sumatra*, applied to the district immediately adjoining ere it became the generic designation for the whole island. From *Sumah*, the Javanese word *sumbun* for the *Blumea* referred to in a preceding note is probably also derived.

[1] In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1900, p. 139, Parker makes the following remarks:—"Colonel Yule seems a trifle over-zealous in twisting *bárús* (camphor) round to be the same word as *pansur* (camphor). The word now pronounced *p'olüh* (having retrospectively and provably the etymological power *barut*) is as old as the first Chinese knowledge of the Archipelago, and is used in reference to the best 'dragon-brain' camphor [?! this seems to be an error, and we should probably read camphor-oil, see above] brought by traders from Java, Sumatra, and other Archipelagan states. It is true two Chinese authorities say the said camphor comes from *polüh* state (almost the same word). . . . . But Pantsu is a stray word [?!], 1,000 years younger than Barut [this may be true only in so far as Chinese literature is concerned], with which it cannot

authority, generally called in the Chinese 龍腦香, *Lung-nao Hsiang* ('Dragon's-brain Perfume'), or 水片, *Ping-pien* ('Icicles'). The former name, he goes on to state, "has probably been invented by the first dealers in the article, who wanted to impress their countrymen with a great idea of its value and rarity." [1]

possibly have any etymological connection [an opinion which I endorse on the basis of the evidence I bring forward in the present section]." I-tsing, in Takakusu's translation ("Record of the Buddhist Religion," etc.), is made to mention "Baroos camphor" twice (pp. 48 and 129); but as no Chinese characters are given, we are unable to guess whether the term used in the original is *P'o-lü* or a different one. I should think it is different, from the fact that, as we have seen, I-tsing records the name of the Bārūs district, or opposite islands, in the form *P'o-lu-shih*.

[1] The Chinese name for the indigenous camphor-laurel is 樟, *Chang*; and that of its product 樟腦, *Chang-nao*, in the south, but 潮腦, *Ch'au-nao*, in the north. The former term is said to be derived from 豫章, *Yü-chang*, the ancient name of Kiang-si, because the tree grew there (see Giles' Chinese Dict., s.v., 398). It would be interesting to know how far back these terms for local, and those above for foreign, camphor can be traced in Chinese literature. Another term, already noticed as occurring in Chinese, is 羯婆羅 *Chie-p'o-lo* (*K'et-p'o-lo*), according to Giles (s.v., 9412), and 羯布羅, *Chie-pu-lo* (*K'et-pu-lo*), according to Eitel ("Handbook," p. 72), evidently derived from the Sanskrit *Karpūra*—or, more likely still, from the Pāli *Kappūro*—rather than, as Giles asserts, s.v., 9412, "from the Malay *kāpur*," which is a non-Malay word derived likewise from either Pāli or Sanskrit. As regards the transcription of the Indo-Chinese *p'himsēn* and correlated terms in such a manner as to convey the meaning of 'icicles' or 'ice-flakes' (*Ping-pien*), I am of opinion that it must have been suggested by the idea of coolness attached first by the Indūs, and afterwards by the Arabs, to that substance. In Sanskrit camphor is, in fact, called *Himavākulā*, and named *Candra*, *Soma*, etc., after the moon, whose influence is regarded as cool. Among the Arab authors Avicenna says that camphor is of a cold nature, an opinion endorsed several centuries afterwards by Garcia in his "Historia Aromatum," and Ibn Baṭūṭa tells us that the kind of camphor called *Hardālah*, having attained the highest degree of cold, is capable of killing a man by congealing his breath (Defrémery's transl., t. iv, p. 241). However, Serapion states in Dulaurier's translation (*Journal Asiatique*, t. viii, 1846, p. 219): "Ces diverses espèces de camphre sont clarifiées par la sublimation et donnent *un camphre blanc, en lames, qui ressemblent, pour la forme, aux lames de verre* dans lesquelles il subit cette opération. On l'appelle alors *camphre préparé*." Hence, I think, the Chinese idea of calling the product *Ping-pien*, comparing it to ice-flakes, as transparent glass does not seem to have become known in China until the seventh or eighth centuries.

The term *Mi-nao*, 米腦, 'rice-camphor,' applied by the Chinese to the second quality of that substance; and spelt *Mei-nao* by Hwang Hsing-ts'êng (A.D. 1520?, has, perhaps, it has been suggested, "a connection with the sound of the native name of the tree, *Mailangan* [?] (cf. Porter Smith's 'Chinese Materia Medica,' p. 49)." See *China Review*, vol. iii, pp. 222, 224.

As no one has, to my knowledge, so far thought of comparing the names recorded for camphor by various Arab and Chinese writers of mediæval times, I have deemed it worth the while to present them together here in table form:—

Camphor.	Serapion, ninth to tenth cent.	Hist. Sung Dynasty, bk. 489, under date 977.	Avicenna, 1012.	Dimashḳī, *circâ* 1300.	Ibn Baṭūṭa, 1345.
	—	—	*Fanşūrī.*	*Fanşūrī.*	*Ḥardālah*, حردالة
1st quality	*Ryāḥī*, رياحى, produced at Faiṣūr.	梅花腦, *Mei-hwa-nao*, camphor in large pieces.	*Ryāḥī* § =	*Ribāḥ'i*, exported from Fanṣūr.	—
2nd ,, ...	*Farḳūn*, فرقون, thick and of a dusky colour.	Camphor of the second sort.	*Azād* =	*Arshīr* = Achëh? *Mahinshār*, white and glittering.	—
3rd ,, ...	*Kūksab*, كوكسب, brown in colour.*	蒼龍腦, *Ts'ang-lung-nao* = 'blue camphor.' ‡	Blue *Asferek.*	*Morjāni*, coarse-grained, dusky colour.	—
4th ,, ...	*Bākūs*, باكوس, or *Bālkūs*, بالكوس, mixed with fragments of the wood from the tree.†	米龍腦, *Mi-lung-nao* = small-grained camphor.	—	*Būtnān*, reddish colour. *Mahbāber*, red outside but white inside. *Kondary*, black inside.	—

* Other readings given by Dulaurier (loc. cit.) are *Karsab* and كركسى, *Karkasī*, which latter, in my opinion, comes strikingly near to *Girgasi* or *Gargasi*, the Malay term for a Rākṣasa. Ishak-ibn-Amrān, according to Millies, writes كركسي, *Karkasī*, which this author suggests may be derived from *Garigis*, the Batta (Batak) name for camphor (Millies, op. cit., p. 66).

† Dulaurier suggests that the Malay word باگوس, *Bāgus*, meaning 'fine,' 'good,' may be implied here; but this seems unlikely, since the drug here alluded to is of the most inferior quality.

*‡ Groeneveldt, in his translation (op. cit., p. 230), most deftly, as is often his wont, skips over the difficulty entailed in the interpretation of this uncommon term by merely rendering it by 'camphor of the third sort.' The whole passage, as translated by him, runs as follows:—"In the year 977 their [the people of *P'o-ni* = Brūnai, West Borneo] king, Hiang-ta, sent three envoys to bring as tribute: one cati camphor in large pieces, eight caties camphor of the second sort, eleven caties of the third sort, twenty caties small-grained camphor, and twenty caties of the last sort." Hervey de Saint-Denys, however, in his version of the same passage from Ma Tuan-lin's work (op. cit., p. 569), manfully takes the bull by the horns (although omitting various other details) and translates the term in question 'camphre bleu.' It seems, therefore, pretty well certain that Avicenna's 'blue *Asferek*' camphor is here implied. It is very regrettable that the original characters for the five kinds of camphor mentioned in the above passage—which is undoubtedly one of the oldest, and minutest as regards particulars, occurring in Chinese literature—have not been given in every instance, thus precluding further possible identifications. We must, therefore, leave this task to those having access to the original work.

§ Serapion says it is called *Ryāḥī* because of its having been first discovered by a king whose name was *Ryāḥ*, رياح. Dimashḳī repeats the statement, changing, however, the name into *Ribāḥ* (see Mehren's transl., p. 128). A district *Riah* is marked on some of the old maps on the north-east coast of Sumatra, a little inland from the present Pāsai district. This may be the source of production for the kind of camphor in question; if not, *Ribāḥ* may stand for the territory on the Raba river (Krung Raba, debouching into Raba Bay), just below Achëh, on the north-west coast of Sumatra.

Ibn Baṭūṭa, strangely enough, although speaking (May, 1345) of camphor in Sumatra and Mula-Jāvah, makes no mention whatever of Fanṣūr. All he does is to describe the method of collecting the drug, and the properties of the latter from what he learned at *Ḳāḳulah* (some port on the East coast of the Malay Peninsula), and says that the plants producing it are reeds, which gives rise to the suspicion that the drug was there obtained from *Blumea* shrubs rather than from stately *Dryobalanops* trees.[1] He may, however, be quite right after all, as some of the purest *P'himsēn* or *Ping-pien* camphor obtainable in Indo-China is, I am assured, found in the joints of a particular kind of bamboo.[2]

[1] See "Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah," translated by Defrémery & Sanguinetti, t. iv, pp. 240–1.

[2] It may or may not be a quite distinct product from the well-known *Tabāsh̲īr*, which is a siliceous concretion occurring in the joints of the female bamboo, and also in the cocoanut of the Straits according to Newbold (vol. i, p. 444). The bamboos containing the valuable substance are said to be very seldom met with. This notwithstanding, the hearsay evidence we have brought forward is more than sufficient by itself to absolve Ibn Baṭūṭa from the charge, if not of carelessness, at least of defective memory brought against him by Dulaurier (in *Journal Asiatique*, February, 1847, p. 123) and others. The explanation ventured upon by some of his commentators that he took the bamboo canes or boxes in which the drug is kept for the plant producing it is, to say the least, childish. The account he gives is precise enough to make it clear that either *Blumea* stalks, or perhaps bamboos, were the plants from which camphor was collected at *Mula-Jāvah*. He very likely did not see them, but only heard the story told him to that effect, just as it happened with me as regards the camphor-producing bamboos at the present day. From the circumstance of his not mentioning *Fanṣūr* we may deduce that his *Ḳāḳula* is not Angkola (W. Sumatra), as Van der Lith has wildly conjectured ("Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 239–40). Had Ibn Baṭūṭa been on the coast conterminous to the inland district of Angkola he could scarcely have omitted to speak of Bārūs, which lies close by. Nor is it likely that *Mul-Jāvah*, the country where the port of *Ḳāḳula* was situated, is Java, as has been no less wildly fancied. All indications concur in pointing to places on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, with names ringing like distant echoes of the Ptolemaic **Kōli** (if not exactly **Takōla** nor **Kokkonagara**) and **Perimula** (=[*Peri-*]*Mula-Java*?). The triple coincidence in the mention of (1) stone walls surrounding the city, (2) abundance of elephants, which are employed also in warfare, and (3) scarcity of horses in the country, occurring in almost the same words in the accounts of (i) *Ḳāḳula* by Ibn Baṭūṭa and (ii) *Ko-lo* (哥羅) by Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., pp. 414–15), seems to point to the unmistakeable identity of the two places, and therefore, confirm the location of *Ḳāḳula* on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula at either Kelantan (v. ante, p. 105) or Ligor. I-tsing's commentator mentions a *Ka-ko-la*, or *Ka-ko-ra* (Takakusu, op. cit., p. 129), producing white cardamom. This place, rather than with *Ḳāḳula*, I would prefer to identify with *Krakor* in Kamboja, a district so named from the wild, or bastard, cardamom growing there, which is locally known as *Krakor* (*Gragar*). See Aymonier's "Cambodge," vol. i, Paris, 1900, p. 227. This plant must be the Siāmese *Rèu*, botanically *Amomum xanthioides* (Wallich). *Ḳāḳula* is, of course, the Arab and Persian word for cardamom; but whether it be derived from the Khmēr *Krakor*, or this, as seems more probable, from it, I am unable to say.

The above considerations will, it is hoped, have made it perfectly evident that the Indū-imported term *Pāṁśuḥ* and its Indo-Chinese derivatives (*P'hummasein*, *P'himsēn*, *Bing-thīen*, etc.), while originally designating more especially the produce of the *Blumea balsamifera*, which they still do to a large extent in Further India, came to be adopted in the sequel among Western (chiefly Arab) traders, under the form *Fanṣūr*, as a specific name for the camphor from the *Dryobalanops* trees, exported at first, apparently exclusively, from Bārūs; and blossomed forth later on into a toponymic applied to the Bārūs district itself, on account of its most characteristic and valuable product.

The appearance of the word *Fanṣūr* in this new rôle does not, however, seem to date further back than the tenth century, for as late as A.D. 851 Sulaimān still speaks, as we have seen, of camphor-yielding plantations called *Fanṣūr* in the island of *Rammī* (North-West Sumatra); and it is not until A.D. 943 that we hear, in Mas'ūdī's "Meadows of Gold,"[1] of the country of قنصور, *Kanṣūr*—evidently, as we have shown, a clerical slip for فنصور, *Fanṣūr* (= *Pāṁśuḥ*, *Pāṁśūr*). Whereas, as a botanical term and a name for camphor, the word in question is undoubtedly of far higher antiquity, and may possibly enter into the composition of the ancient Indian place-name *Pāṁśurāṣṭra*, its topographical application to a portion of Further India (*Bārūs* district) is apparently not traceable further back into history than the date above referred to. It follows, therefore, that it cannot have any etymological connection whatever, as has been before this conjectured by some inquirers, with the toponymic *Bārūs*, which possesses a far older record, and can be traced into the mists of ages through the *Bālūs* (Island) of the Mukhtaṣar, the *Lang-P'o-lu-sz* (Lam-Bārūs) of the T'ang chronicles, the *P'o-lu-shih* of I-tsing's memoirs (A.D. 671–695), the *P'o-lü* (*Bālut* camphor or camphor-oil district) of earliest Chinese Archipelagan navigation, and the **Barusai** (Islands) of Ptolemaic fame, to a still older

[1] See "Les Prairies d'Or," text and transl. by Barbier de Meynard, t. i, p. 338.

term, presumably of Sanskrit-Pāli origin and of the form *Paruṣa* or *Pharusa* (= 'fierce,' 'savage,' 'cruel'), evidently applied to the aborigines of that district by the Indū pioneers of Far-Eastern trade, probably several centuries before the dawn of the Christian era.

The five **Barusai** islands of Ptolemy presumably include, besides Pulo Nias, the three largest Bānyaks (Bangkaru or West Bānyak, Tuwangku or Great Bānyak,[1] and Ūjong-bātu or Little Bānyak); and either Pulo Tāpak (Flat Islands) or the neighbouring Si-Malur (also known, but incorrectly, as Pulo Babi), provided this last has no claim to be included among the **Maniolai**. The centre of the **Barusai** group, lat. 1° 4′ N. corrected, falls, as will be seen from the map, on the parallel passing through the middle of Pulo Nias.

Sabadeibai, three islands (Nos. 98 and 161).

I have identified these with *Si-Berūt* (the Good Fortune Island of the Dutch) and the neighbouring islands of the *Bātu* group. There is said to be a district called *Seibi* in Si-Berūt, after which this island appears to have been formerly designated. In fact, John Crisp, in his account of the inhabitants of the 'Poggy' Islands, etc.,[2] refers to "some island to the northward [of that group] which they call *Sybee*." The islands in the region under consideration are usually named from either some stream, bay, or settlement existing on them. When several of such conspicuous topographical features occur on any one island, this latter becomes

[1] Tuwangku, and not *Tunangku*; as well as *Bānyak* (بانيق = 'numerous'), and not *Banjak* (which is the Dutch spelling), as I see printed in the Admiralty maps and in the "China Sea Directory" (4th ed., 1896, vol. i, pp. 279–80).

[2] Published in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi, pp. 77–91; and reprinted in "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. i, pp. 66–76. The passage here referred to occurs on p. 72 of the last-named publication. See also footnote 1 appended thereto by the editor as regards the Seibi district, of which I do not find any mention in the maps and books lying at my disposal.

more often than not known by various distinct names. The quasi-certainty of Si-Berūt having been in the past better known as *Seibi* or *Saibi* is quite sufficient, I think, to account for the term **Sabadeibai** used by Ptolemy in connection with the group formed by this with the Bātu Islands. **Sabadeibai** simply means, in fact, *Saba-dīpa* or *Saba-dvīpa*, i.e. 'Islands of *Saba*,' or, as we take it, of *Seibi* or *Saibi*. The name *Si-Berūt* itself is, it will be seen, not very different from either *Seibi*, *Saibi*, or *Saba*. There may, of course, have existed some place similarly named on the opposite coast of Sumatra, as there are even now several further southward,[1] after which the islands in question may have come to be designated; but in the absence of indications as regards the former, and in view of the fact of the other places just alluded to being too far away south to answer our purpose, we shall rest content with merely tracing the origin of the Ptolemaic toponymic under discussion to *Seibi* or *Saibi*, thus locating it no further than Si-Berūt and adjacent islands.[2]

Ptolemy describes the inhabitants of the **Sabadeibai** group also as cannibals. In connection with his description it is interesting to notice that Captain Bozorg tells us in his narrative that beyond *al-Neyān* (Nias) there lie three islands called *Barāva* or *Berāwa* (برّاوه), inhabited, like the former, by a head-hunting and anthropophagous population.[3] These

[1] In the Bengkūlen district, where, just below the 3rd parallel of S. lat., modern maps show a stream called *Saba* (Āyer Saba) and two adjoining ones marked, respectively, *Senaba* and *Seblat*. There exist further a stream and settlement *Sabaran* on the east coast of Si-Porah (or Si-Kabau) Island, and a neighbouring islet bears the name *Si-Buru*. I am, however, inclined to include Si-Porah in the Ptolemaic group of the **Sindai**, which will be treated on in the next article.

[2] By reference to No. 98 in the tables it will be seen that the rectified position for the centre of the **Sabadeibai** is long. 99° 17′ and lat. 1° 51′ S., which corresponds to a point only a couple of miles to the south of Si-Berūt. It goes without saying that by the **Sabadeibai** group part of the coast of Sumatra opposite the point just referred to may be meant, which probably was believed by navigators in Ptolemy's time to be a cluster of islets. Furthermore, the term should be compared with **Sabadiu**, with which it seems to have more than one point of analogy. The latitudes assigned by our author to the western limit of **Sabadiu** and to the **Sabadeibai** group lying beyond it are, as will be seen from the tables (Nos. 98 and 126), identical. It is therefore possible that the group in question came to be so designated from its lying exactly opposite the site that was believed in those days to be occupied by **Sabadiu**.

[3] Van der Lith and M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 126.

data so surprisingly tally with those recorded by Ptolemy anent his **Sabadeibai**, as to suggest at first sight that one and the same insular group is here implied. I do not think, however, that such is the case, despite such seductive coincidences, coupled with the fact of the striking similarity between the terms *Berāwa* and *Si-Berūt* (in which *Si* is either an ornamental prefix or represents the definite article).

Van der Lith is inclined[1] to identify the Berāwa islands with those of the Bātu group rather than with Si-Berūt and the neighbouring islands settled by a Mentawi population, because, he says, the inhabitants of the Bātus came originally from the southern part of Nias, and follow, in common with those of the latter, the barbarous practice of killing their enemies for the sake of their skulls. It seems to me, nevertheless, that the term *Berāwa* is possibly a mere modification of *Maruwi* or *Marawa*, the name given to the natives, and once borne by one of the islands of the Bānyak group,[2] which is likewise situated beyond *al-Neyān* (Nias), in which case the three *Berāwa* islands of Captain Bozorg would correspond to the three larger Bānyaks. Or else *Berāwa* may be meant for *Varāha*, Hog Island, a designation applied to the two Tāpak Islands, and, incorrectly, also to the neighbouring Si-Malur. At all events the probability seems to be more in favour of the Berāwas belonging to the Ptolemaic group of the **Barusai** than to that of the **Sabadeibai**.

Although the Mentawi or Mantawi presently inhabiting Si-Berūt, Si-Porah, and the Pageh Islands are, comparatively, a mild-mannered people,[3] there seems to be little doubt that

[1] Op. cit., p. 247.

[2] Apparently Bangkaru (also known as West Bānyak), marked as *Maros* in Valentijn's map of Sumatra (Nieuwe Kaart van het eyland Sumatra). The name of the *Maruwi*, *Marawa* (or *Barāwa*?) tribes should be compared with that of the *Marava* race in the extreme south of India (districts of Madura, Tinnevelly, Rāmnād, etc.). *Berua* is a similar term occurring as a toponymic in Berua reef, in the approach to Susu-susu Bay, West coast of Sumatra. *Barawa* is the trans-Indus name for *darbha* or dub-grass, *Cynodon dactylon*, according to Balfour's Cyclop. of India, 3rd ed., vol. i, p. 869.

[3] Their name is said to be derived from *Mantau* or *Mentau*, their own word for a 'man.' Compare with this the name of the *Mantra*, *Mentra*, or *Mintira* tribes in the south of the Malay Peninsula.

they are descended from that Batta stock, or, at any rate, from that cross-breed between Battas and Negritos, which appears to extend even as far south as Engano. They may, therefore, have been head-hunters and cannibals as well at a former period. This conjecture finds support in the fact of Ptolemy applying the epithet of cannibals also to the natives of his **Sindai**, which undoubtedly correspond to the more southern of the Mantawi Islands (Si-Porah and Pageh group).

Sindai, three islands (No. 162).

Inhabited by cannibals. The latitude (rectified) of the centre of the group is 2° South, which is, within a single minute, the latitude of Indrapura, of the entrance to the homonymous river, the Sungei Indrapura, and also of Syetan Island, lying just off the northern extremity of Si-Porah.

The three islands constituting this group are very probably —(1) Si-Porah or Si-Kabau; (2) the two Pageh, Pagai, or Poggy, which, being separated by a very narrow strait (Si-Kakap Strait), may easily be mistaken for a single island; (3) and, perhaps, Sandion Island (Pulo Sanding), if not actually the farther outlying Engano, more properly Pulo Telanjang (i.e. 'Island of the Naked'). The name **Sindai** is easily accounted for from the fact that the opposite district of the Sumatran seaboard is termed Indrapura, which is also the name of a town, a stream, a headland (Ūjong Indrapura), and of a very high mountain peak (12,255 feet), also called Gūnong Kurinchi, in the same territory. Evidently, either this district or town, or some other one adjoining it further to the south, was in the early days known as *Sindhu* or *Sindh*, from the fact of Indū colonies being first established there; whence the name **Sindai** to

the islands fronting its seaboard. *Sindang* is, to this day, the name of a village and of an upper tributary of the Indrapura River. Villages called respectively *Sindar* and *Sintu*, and a district and river known as *Sindur*, exist in the Bengkúlen district further down the coast. The most luminous proof as regards the presence at one time in that neighbourhood of a district or township bearing the name of *Sindhu* is, however, furnished to us by Chao Ju-kua, who, in his *Chu-fan-chih* ("Descriptions of the Barbarians," written in *circâ* A.D. 1240), mentions a country called 新 拖, *Hsin-t'o* (= Sinda, Sindhu), among the fifteen States dependent on *San-fo-ch'i*, 三 佛 齊 (= *Śaṁbhujaya*, the *Sarbozah* or *Sarbazah* of the Arabs), situated, therefore, in Sumatra.[1] In this country, he goes on to say, there is a port accessible to vessels of deep draught, and in the hills there grows pepper which is small-grained, but heavy, and superior to that of *Ta-pan*. This may be the Tapan district situated on the homonymous river (Sungei Tapan) to the south-east of Indrapura. Dr. Hirth takes it, no doubt wrongfully, to be Tuban in N.E. Java,[2] as he assumes *Hsin-t'o* to be Sunda

[1] See Dr. Hirth's article in *Journal R.A.S.* for July, 1896, pp. 478, 504, and 505 n.; and Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Religion," p. xliv.

[2] Tuban is correctly spelt 杜 板 or 賭 班, both reading *Tu-pan*, *Tu-ban*, in Ma Huan's relation, as may be seen in Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 172; whereas *Ta-pan* is represented in the form 打 板, *Ta-pan*, which may be read also Taban or Daban, but never Tuban. It is therefore certain that the last term is intended as a transcript of *Tapan*. Dr. Hirth must have seen the inconsistency, but, anxious as he was to identify all the places in *Shê-p'o* mentioned by Chao Ju-kua as producing pepper with localities in Java, holding as a matter of course that *Shê-p'o* must certainly be Java and no other place on the face of the earth, he skipped over the matter. Upon close investigation I now find, however, that the places in question are almost undoubtedly all situated in Sumatra, as the following brief remarks will show. Subjoined is Chao Ju-kua's statement, with Dr. Hirth's identifications as they appear in the *Journal R.A.S.* for 1896, p. 504, followed by my own new ones:—

without any further explanation as to where the place so named is to be looked for. If by this he means the western part of Java, inhabited by the Sunda nation and where Sundanese is spoken, known to the Malays as *Tānah-Sunda*, the 'Sunda Country' or 'Land of the Sundas,' he cannot be right, for the name *Sunda* of the district in question is, by the Chinese, transcribed 順達 *Shun-ta*, and not *Hsin-t'o*.[1] We are therefore left to ourselves to find out the location of the mysterious and so far puzzling *Hsin-t'o*. That it must have been situated on Sumatra we have pointed out above, and that it must have included the portion of the west coast

"Pepper comes from the following places in *Shê-p'o*, viz.:—

	Dr. Hirth's Identification.	My Identification.
Su-chi-tan.	Sukitan, East Java.	Sukādāna district in South-East Sumatra (residence of Lampung). May be the *Sukitan* of the "Tung-hsi-yang-k'au" in East Java, although Groeneveldt says, op. cit., p. 179 note, that no name like this has been handed down in Javanese tradition.
Ta-pan.	Tuban.	Tapan district, south-east of Indrapura, West Sumatra.
Pai-hua-yüan.	Pajajaran?	Pāgar-rūyung district, Pādang Highlands, West Sumatra, but more probably the village of the same name on the coast some twenty-five miles to the north-west of Bengkulen. It may be, though doubtfully, Pāgarāwan, on the East coast of Sumatra, in about 3° 30′ N. lat.
Ma-tung.	Madang?	Bātang district, south of Tapanūli (Ta-pian-na-ūli), West Sumatra.
Jung-ya-lu.	Jangola.	Singkel district?, West Sumatra; or Sungal Island, Lampung Bay, South Sumatra.
But the pepper coming from		
Hsin-t'o.	Sunda.	*Sindhu*, and very likely also Barbosa's *Zunda* kingdom.

is the best; the *Ta-pan* variety takes the second place."

[1] See Hist. of the Ming Dynasty cited by Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 166, where it is said of *Chao-wa* (Java) that it is sometimes called *P'u-chia-lung* (Pekalongan), and also *Hsia-chiang* (*Ha-kang*, said by the translator to be Bantam) and *Shun-ta* (Sunda). Also p. 181, where he identifies the *Shun-ta* country with the district where *Ha-kang* (Bantam) is situated.

of that island occupied by the present district of Indrapura and residency of Bengkūlen, in front of which Ptolemy placed his group of the Sindai, is the next point to be demonstrated. This task is made comparatively easy from the fact that Barbosa, writing A.D. 1516, mentions "a kingdom called *Zunda* after a city bearing such a name, which lies in degrees four and three-thirds [$\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$?] on the southern side [i.e. West coast] of Sumatra." "In this kingdom," he proceeds to say, "there is likewise to be found very small grained pepper."[1] That the "southern

[1] I have translated this passage from Ramusio's "Navigationi et Viaggi," 1563 edition, vol. i, f. 318 *verso*, where it textually reads as follows:—"Vn' altro regno si chiama Zunda per vna città che ha tal nome, che è in gradi quattro, & tre terzi, dalla banda di mezzodì, & in questo regno vi è ſimilmente del pepe fine fine." Further on he alludes to an island called *Sunda* in the following terms:—"Paſſata l'iſola di Sumatra verſo la Giaua, ſi troua l'iſola di Sunda, doue naſce molto buon pepe. tien Re da per ſe, il qual vien detto, che deſidera d'eſſer alla obbedienza del Re di Portogallo. Quiui ſi caricano per condurgli alla China molti ſchiaui. Auanti l'Iſola Sunda fra la parte del leuante, et mezzodì si trouano molte Iſole grandi, & piccole, fra le quali ve n'è vna che ſi chiama la Giaua maggiore." It is difficult to guess which is the island that Barbosa here records under the name of *Sunda*. Porro, in the map he appends to Porcacchi's account of Sumatra, p. 189, marks that name, which he misspells *Funda*, abreast of an island at the entrance to Sunda Strait, which may be either Krakatau (Pulo Rakata) or Pulo Sangian, better known as Thwartway Island. There exists an islet called *Sindu* in the Zutfen group just off the south-eastern extreme of Sumatra (Tanjong Tūa or Tuwa); but although it may be quite possible that either of the islands referred to was known to ancient navigators as *Sunda*, or that this denomination was applied collectively to them all, it is scarcely credible that pepper was ever cultivated in any of them, or that a king reigned there, as Barbosa says. These particulars undoubtedly relate to the Sunda country in the west part of Java; and it seems therefore pretty well certain that Barbosa, having heard the name *Sunda* recur in different accounts of both the island in Sunda Strait and the Sundanese State, thought that one and the same place was implied, which he thus imagined to be an insular kingdom lying in the middle of the Strait of Sunda. This seems to me the only plausible explanation that can be offered of Barbosa's words in the passage in question. By his 'island of Sunda' he evidently cannot mean the west part of Java, as he knew Java pretty well; nor any island situated elsewhere than in Sunda Strait, since he clearly explains that the said island of Sunda is found after having passed Sumatra bound to Java, and that 'Giaua maggiore' (Java) lies to its south-east. Several Portuguese writers after Barbosa's time mention likewise, it appears,* an island of *Çunda* (Sunda) along with a kingdom of the same name, which latter Danvers ("Portuguese in India," vol. ii, Index, p. 575, and Appendix D, p. 531) innocently takes to be "an island between Java and Sumatra." Maffei, however ("Istorie dell' Indie Orientali," 1749, t. i, p. 275), tells us that in the northern part of the Greater Java, and opposite the Sumatran coast, there is

* Amongst others Faria y Souza says in his "Asia Portugueza": "The island of Sunda is divided on the south from Java by a very narrow channel. It produces pale gold with abundance of pepper and provision. The natives are numerous but unwarlike," etc. (*Journal Straits Br. R.A.S.*, No. 17, p. 143.)

side" of Sumatra here means its West coast seems beyond doubt, because the kingdom of 'Menancabo' (Menangkabau) is also stated to lie "dalla banda di mezzodì." Porcacchi, speaking of the ten kingdoms of Taprobana (= Sumatra, which he confuses at times with Ceylon), says, evidently after Barbosa: "On the same southern side is the sixth kingdom, called *Zunda* from a city of that name, lying in degrees four and three-thirds."[1] His cartographer Porro marks *Funda* for Sunda on the map on p. 189, abreast of two islets lying at the entrance to Sunda Strait. One of them is, no doubt, meant to represent Barbosa's island of Sunda, which, from the description given of its position, evidently corresponds to some island in Sunda Strait, and cannot therefore have anything to do with the Zunda kingdom. The latitude assigned by Barbosa to the capital of the latter, 4° 40′ or 4° 45′ S., closely corresponds to that of Sambat Bay in the Kawur district of the residency of Bengkūlen. This

a country called *Sonda* (Sunda) producing excellent pepper: "Nella Giava maggiore è una terra nomata Sonda di verso Tramontana dirimpetto alla costa di Somatra. Questa terra . . . . ha il contado, che produce diverse specierie, ma principalmente pepe molto eccellente." Then he proceeds to relate the Portuguese expedition of A.D. 1526 under Francisco de Sa to the said *country*, which Danvers (op. cit., vol. i, p. 382) recounts in the following strain: "Francisco de Sa had been dispatched to the *island of Sunda*, whose king had . . . . offered a place for the erection of a fort, and a yearly tribute of 350 quintals of pepper to the King of Portugal." Du Jarric ("Histoire des Indes Orientales," Bordeaux, 1608, t. i, pp. 32 and 178) speaks of a city and seaport called *Sunda*, situated on Java, after which the Strait of Sunda received its name:—"Du costé le plus Austral de Sumatra, l'on void l'Isle nommée Iaua Major, qui fait auec celle de Sumatra vn destroit appellé Sunda, prenant son nõ d'vne ville de la Iaue Majeur. Il y a vn port fort hanté appellé de mesme" (pp. 32–33) . . . . "qu'on nõme le destroit de Sunda: par ce que par iceluy l'on va à vn haure fort hanté des marchãs, qui est en l'Isle Iaua major, appellé Sunda" (p. 178). The Sunda kingdom thus appears to correspond to the country forming in later days the State of Bantam, but known at an earlier period as *Sunda* and *Sunda-kalāpa* (apparently upon its annexation of the district of *Jakatra*, now Batavia). Its capital and seaport must have been situated either on Sunda Strait or very close to the north-eastern entrance to the same; and from it not only did the Strait get its name, but also some island or group of islands lying within the compass of the Strait itself, which probably formed a guide to navigators to reach the Sunda harbour. Hence the confusion made by writers of the period between the island of Sunda and the neighbouring kingdom of the same name. As to Barbosa's kingdom of *Zunda*, it was evidently quite a separate affair, and there seems to be no reason for doubt that it was situated, as he puts it, on the west coast of Sumatra.

[1] "Dall' iſteſſa parte di Mezogiorno è il ſeſto Regno, detto di Zunda da una città di queſto nome, poſta in gradi quattro & tre terzi" ("L'Isole piv famose del Mondo, descritte da Thomaso Porcacchi," Venetia, 1576, p. 186).

measurement should not, however, be taken too literally, as it is, no doubt, meant to be merely approximate. We may therefore assume, without fear of being too much on the erring side, that the Zunda capital city, if not the actual Indrapura (S. lat. 2° 1′ *circâ*), must have lain not far lower down the coast, perhaps no further than the modern Bengkūlen settlement and the neighbouring well-sheltered Pulau Bay, into which the Selebar (or Salībar) River discharges. As regards the kingdom of Zunda itself, it must have comprised the whole of the intervening tract of sea-coast, extending perhaps even so far down as Sunda Strait. It is difficult to judge, in the state of our present knowledge, whether the name *Zunda* came to the kingdom in question from its being settled by tribes of the Sunda nation, or whether on the other hand that name is a mere misspelling for *Sinda, Sindhu*, or similar term, due to some mishap of Barbosa or of his informers. If, however, so slight a discrepancy in form prevents us from positively asserting the identity of Barbosa's kingdom of *Zunda* with Chao Ju-kua's *Hsin-t'o* State on linguistical grounds, there is fortunately such a perfect coincidence between the statements of the two authors as regards the quality of the pepper produced in either of the two countries named, as to convince us that, if they were not one and the same topographically, they must have been at least close neighbours, one being perhaps politically part (township, district, or province) of the other. We have seen, in fact, that both Barbosa and Chao Ju-kua speak of very small-grained pepper being found in, respectively, *Zunda* and *Hsin-t'o*, the latter authority adding besides that "the pepper coming from *Hsin-t'o* is the best." Now, this little bit of apparently trifling information is of the greatest value in the present case, because of its being quite sufficient by itself to establish the position of *Hsin-t'o* on the west coast of Sumatra, where most later travellers are agreed that the best pepper coming from that island was produced.[1]

[1] Beaulieu (A.D. 1621) says the kingdom of Indrapura produces pepper of the same quality as Jambi (which is better than Indragiri's); at Pasaman, however, the pepper grows to perfection, and it is here that the pepper-gardens

There is further the circumstance that while in Barbosa's list of the Sumatran kingdoms the first one of them mentioned as coming immediately after Menangkabau on the south is *Zunda*, in the enumeration made a century later by Beaulieu Indrapura is inserted instead, thus taking the place of Barbosa's *Zunda*.[1] There does not seem to have ever existed any other kingdom on the west coast of Sumatra and to the south of the Menangkabau State except this one of Indrapura, which is, at any rate, the only one in that position to which reference is made in the accounts of the early European travellers. We may therefore conclude with sufficient reason that Indrapura is the realm Barbosa meant by his term *Zunda* and Chao Ju-kua by his designation *Hsin-t'o*. No doubt the ancient name of this State or of its capital was something like *Sinda* or *Sindhu*, terms which probably still

commence. Tīkū produces still more; but at Priāman it is less plentiful, and at Pādang and Menangkabau scarce (see Prévost's "Hist. Gén. des Voyages," vol. ix, 1751, pp. 340 and 341). Mandelslo tells us ("Voyage aux Indes Orientales," Amsterdam, 1727, t. i, p. 354): "Le poivre de *Sumatra* est sans doute le meilleur de toutes les Indes, après celui de *Cochim*." And Crawfurd still more explicitly remarks ("History of the Indian Archipelago," Edinburgh, 1820, vol. i, p. 482): "Those countries of the Archipelago . . . in which pepper comes to the greatest perfection . . . [are] *the south-west coast of Sumatra*, the north coast of Borneo, and the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula. *Java*, so famous for the fertility of its soil, *produces the worst pepper of the Archipelago*." This makes it perfectly clear that *Hsin-t'o*—which, we have demonstrated, was undoubtedly part of Sumatra—could not have been situated elsewhere on that island but its south-west coast. Strange to say, Jean Parmentier, in his Journal, refers to Indrapura under the name of *Andripoivre*, probably in allusion to the quantity of pepper therein produced (see Millies' "Monnaies des Indigènes," etc., p. 68, note 1).

[1] In Barbosa's list the kingdoms are referred to in the following order:—(1) *Pedir*, on the north side towards Malacca; (2) *Pacem* (Pāsai); (3) *Achem* (Achēh); (4) *Campar*, opposite Malacca (E. coast); (5) *Menancabo* (Menangkabau), on the south side (W. coast); (6) *Zunda*, on the south side (W. coast); (7) *Andragide* (Indragiri); (8) *Aaru* (Aru or Hāru). Beaulieu, after pointing out that Pādang and Deli bound on either side the kingdom of Achēh, proceeds to say: "Au Levant, près de la ligne, est le petit Royaume d'*Andigti* [Indragiri]; plus loin, celui de *Iambi* [Jambi], les plus riche après *Achem*; ensuite, celui de *Palimbam* [Palembang]. A l'ouest, après Padang, suit le Royaume de *Manimcabo* [Menang-kabau], puis celui d'*Andripoura* [Indrapura]. Le reste de la côte, jusqu'au détroit de la Sonde, est désert & couvert de bois" (Prévost, op. cit., vol. ix, p. 339).

In the letter from the Sultan of Achēh to King James I of England, dated A.H. 1024 = A.D. 1612 (published in the *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 31, July, 1898, p. 123), the last districts or places of any importance mentioned on the west coast of Sumatra are *Bengkūlu* (now known as Bengkūlen) and *Salībar* (= Selebar, a little further south); the preceding ones being Indrapura, Sālidā, Priāman, Tīkū, Pasaman, Bārus, Dāyā, and Chalang.

survive in the *Sindang* River and village near Indrapura, in the *Sindang* district on the hill-tracts to the north-east of Bengkūlen, and in the settlements, river, and district of *Sindar*, *Sintu*, and *Sindur* in the same neighbourhood, to which reference has already been made. The islands fronting the tract of sea-coast in question came naturally to be styled by the early navigators 'Islands of *Sinda*,' and they most assuredly are, by reason of both name and geographical position, those that Ptolemy has recorded under the term **Sindai**, which his Latin translators have transcribed as *Sindae Insulae*. This insular group thus proves, as we have pointed out, to be identical with the one of which the two islands now called Pageh, Pagai, or Pagi, lying so close to each other as to be easily mistaken for a single one, form the centre. Here, again, the old term *Sinda* seems to survive in slight disguise in the islet of Sandion, otherwise known as *Pulo Sanding*, lying fourteen miles south-eastward of South Pageh. Although the present inhabitants of these islands are described as simple and inoffensive, we have seen there are good reasons for presuming that the epithet of cannibals applied by Ptolemy to their remote predecessors was not altogether undeserved. From the fact that some modern ethnologists affiliate the natives of Nias on the one side and of Engano on the other to the Batta stock while others consider them to be cross-breeds between Battas and Negritos, it would seem that the early population of the intervening Pageh islands cannot have been of a far different nature, and that if not actual anthropophagy, at any rate head-hunting must have been in full swing at the period when Ptolemy compiled his treatise.

In the course of the foregoing notes on the insular groups located by Ptolemy off the west coast of Sumatra I have assumed throughout that they actually were what he represents them to be, namely, clusters of islands corresponding to those known to us to exist opposite the west coast of that

island. But from the fact of the insular groups in question being recorded in the Ptolemaic list under names belonging to places on the Sumatran seaboard, it might be argued that the portions of the littoral of the main island after which they were named may also have been believed to form as many separate islands, and may, for this reason, have been respectively included in the groups aforesaid. If so, it would appear that the west coast of Sumatra was, in Ptolemy's time, known to navigators only at the points opposite the islands he names, and that such points were not well understood to be part and parcel of one and the same large island until many centuries later, when the Sumatran coastline stood thoroughly revealed. This was undoubtedly the case with I-tsing and the Arab travellers and geographers, who describe districts situated on the Sumatran seaboard as if each were an island in itself. In so far as Ptolemy is concerned he seems, indeed, from what we shall see in the sequel, not to have had a definite idea of the size of Sumatra. He had apparently some substantial knowledge only of the portion of the island corresponding to the actual district of Palembang, and had heard of Achëh, the capital of the island, as being situated in the western extreme of the latter; but he was evidently far from suspecting that Achëh was so far away, hence he assigned to the island only two degrees dimension in longitude. He had, of course, learned of several groups of islands lying off its west coast and bearing names corresponding to places on the seaboard opposite them, but he, as well as his informants, was probably quite unaware that these places formed part of one and the same island, just like the travellers and geographers who followed after him for many centuries; hence there is nothing improbable that he thought those places to be as many separate islets, and that he included them among the insular groups he mentions. I am therefore inclined to conclude that the clusters of islands he locates in this quarter presumably represent not only islands fronting the west coast of Sumatra, but also the corresponding portions of the Sumatran seaboard opposite those islands, after which the latter have, in the

majority of instances, been named. These considerations apply especially to the two groups of the **Barusai** and **Sindai**, in which it is very probable that the districts respectively of Bārus (like *Fansūr* with most Arab geographers) and *Sinda* or Indrapura are included as if each were an island belonging to those groups. Be it as it may, I hope at any rate to have conclusively demonstrated what is the actual location that should be assigned to the groups of islands in question in our maps, a task that has hitherto been looked upon as hopeless by all our modern commentators and dissertationists on the Ptolemaic geography of the Eastern Archipelago.

C. *Sumatra.*

Iabadiū or **Sabadiū**, an island (No. 126).

Ptolemy's information as regards this island is to the effect that its name means the 'Island of Barley.' "It is said to be of extraordinary fertility, and to produce very much gold, and to have its capital, called **Argyrē** [No. 127], in the extreme west of it."[1]

On account of a similarity in names, most of Ptolemy's elucidators have identified this island with Java. But Ptolemy's explanations show it beyond any possible doubt to be Sumatra. No gold whatever appears to have ever been found in Java, while it is notoriously plentiful in Sumatra. No city by a name approaching that of **Argyrē** is known to exist in the west of Java[2]; whereas we shall show it does in the "extreme west" of Sumatra, and corresponds to the present Achēḥ or Achīn. It remains to account for the name

[1] McCrindle's translation, p. 239, § 29.

[2] A place called *Argapura* (i.e. 'High City'), where relics of antiquity have been found, exists at an elevation of 9,000 feet above sea-level, on a mountain towards the eastern end of the island. But this cannot have anything to do with **Argyrē**, both from its location in a diametrically opposite direction, and from its name which, in Ptolemaic transcription, would have assumed a form similar to that of **Aganagara** (*supra*, p. 332).

Iaba-diū = *Yava-dīpa*, 'Island of Barley'—better, perhaps, to say of millet[1]—which is taken to apply solely to Java. This is most certainly a mistake, as it is probably also to hold that the name means barley or millet. The name of the island is, it is true, spelled *Yava* (*Yava-dvīpa*) in the Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in its very territory;[2] but in the speech and literature of the whole archipelago it does not appear otherwise than as *Jāva* or *Jāwa*, while *Java* or *Javā* are the forms that obtain in all the neighbouring countries, among which I may mention Campā, Kamboja, and Siām.[3] It should besides be pointed out at the very outset of this inquiry that, although the expression *Nusa Jāva* (the 'Island of Java,' or, still better, of the Java race) occurs in the legendary tales of the Javanese, the term *Jāva* does not by any means seem to have ever been locally applied to the island itself as a whole, but merely, as Crawfurd declares, to its "central and eastern provinces, those portions occupied by the Javanese race, strictly so called,"[4] whereas its western part appears to have never been designated otherwise than as *Tānah Sunda*, i.e. the 'Sunda country.'[5]

[1] "*Yava-dvīpa* does not mean, as has been thoughtlessly said and repeated, *the country of the barley*, for the simple reason that barley could not grow there; but instead of barley we must read *millet*, of which there are different varieties indigenous in the island, many of them called by the generic name *Java*. It is not impossible that the first Hindus found this cereal used instead of rice, and that the latter was introduced by them." (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 132, note.)

[2] It equally occurs in the form *Yava* in the Pāgar-rūyung inscription of A.D. 656 in Central Sumatra—of which more anon—as a name for the powerful kingdom then flourishing there, which probably held sway over the whole island. This shows the absurdity of making the term in question an exclusive appurtenance of the island of Java, as has been most recklessly done by every writer who has treated the subject hitherto. All evidence is in favour, as we shall see directly, of the term having been imported into Java from Sumatra, which appears to be entitled to priority in respect of its use.

[3] *Java* in the Campā inscription of King Indravarman I, dated 721 Śaka (=799 A.D.). *Javā* in the Khmēr inscription of Sdok Kok Thom, belonging to the reign of Jayavarman II, who ascended the throne in A.D. 802. (See Bergaigne's "Champā," loc. cit., p. 56.) This form *Javā* is also the one we have noticed at Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng, where it is pronounced *Savā* (cf. *Saba*, **Sabadiū**, **Zaba**, *Zābej*). In Siāmese it is invariably spelled *Jvā*, *Javā*; but it must be remembered that final *a*'s in Sanskrit or Pāli words are nearly always lengthened in Siāmese; hence the Siāmese and Khmēr *Javā* may be taken to represent the Sanskrit *Java*. The same remark applies to the Annamese 搽吧, *Chà-vā*.

[4] Crawfurd's "History of the Indian Archipelago," vol. i, p. 322.

[5] Cf. Millies' "Monnaies des Indigènes," etc., p. 7; and Dennys' "Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya," p. 399, s.v. *Tanah*.

The appellation *Java* for the entire island is not, perhaps, so much a poetical fiction of native bards as an invention of foreign merchants and travellers who came to adopt it owing to the fact of their having, naturally, been brought in touch mainly with the eastern part of the island, the very district that exclusively bore that designation, because of its being then the centre of culture and trade; so that in the course of time the term *Java* became to them suggestive of the island itself. I have, nevertheless, remarked how some of our old travellers, such as, for instance, Barbosa, as well as the early Portuguese historians of the East Indies, used to distinguish between *Java* (the eastern part of the island) and *Sunda* (the western part), thus believing them to form two different islands.

The next important point on which I feel compelled to lay considerable stress is, that all over the Archipelago and Indo-Chinese mainland the term *Java* is not viewed in the light of a toponymic proper, but is, on the contrary, distinctly understood to be a racial name, and even when used singly, in a topographical sense, it invariably means 'country of the *Java* (in Malay جاوا, *Jāva* or *Jāwa*) race.'[1] In such an acceptation, we have seen, the range of this term is far from being confined to the sole eastern part of Java, which would, indeed, seem to have been, in point of time, about the latest place and, geographically, the furthest limit to which it extended. Already I have in a former section (pp. 131 and 150) dwelt upon the connection between *Java* and *Yavana*, and shown that this was the name of the Mōñ-Annam race; that race which overspread the whole

[1] "*Bilād el Jāwah*, the country of the *Jāwah* (plur. *Jāwāh*) or *Jāwī* (plur. *Jāwāh* or *Jāwyjīn*), means in Arabia every country inhabited by Malays. This is from Siām and Malacca to New Guinea" (A. G. C. van Duyl in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1895, p. 435, note).

جاوي, "*Jāwī* = 'bastard, or of mixed race.' The Arabs apply this term to Javanese, Malays, and other natives of the Archipelago" (Dennys' "Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya," p. 168, s.v.). In Kamboja, Annam, and Siām *C'hvēa*, *Chà-vā*, 槎 吧, and *C'hawā*, respectively, mean properly the Malays of the Peninsula and Sumatra, but *not at all* the Javanese.

of Indo-China and most of the Malay Archipelago before the advent of populations of a more decided Mongolic type. I have also pointed out that the territory originally occupied by the innumerable tribes of this complex race was Southern China or *Yüeh*; and that *Yüan*, meaning 'a plateau' or 'high level,' and also a people of mountaineers on the southern Chinese borders, was either one of its names or that of one of its branches. Whether *Yüeh* and *Yüan* are derivations of the Sanskrit *Java*, *Javana*, and *Yavana*, or they were original terms modified afterwards by Indū settlers into the latter mentioned classical forms, it is for the present impossible to determine. The same may be said of the term *Māla*, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese *Yüan* which we find embodied in the name of the Malay people. I have suggested (pp. 130–131 *ante*) that it was, most probably, introduced from Malaya-vāra, i.e. Malabār, whence a stream of Dravidian emigrants is known for certain to have flowed into the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula. But there is the fact that the same term Māla was applied to the region originally occupied by the *C'hīeng* or *Yüan*, corresponding to the present territory of Lāos; and that it was there probably coexistent with the term *Javā* which we have traced at Lūang P'hraḥ Bāng as well as in southern Cochin-China. It may be therefore that the term *Māla* travelled down from north Indo-China to the Archipelago hand in hand with its cognate vocable *Javā*. This conjecture would seem to receive support from the fact that we find the term *Java* in the Archipelago under both the identical forms, *Java* or *Jaba* and *Sava* or *Saba*, that we have met with at Lūang P'hraḥ Bāng and Saigon (v. p. 218). And we have it, very likely under both forms also in Burmā, brought thither, no doubt, by the same branches of the *Yüan* or *C'hīeng* race that spread it through Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago.[1] Hence it is a most egregious mistake

[1] Bishop Pallegoix—in the map at the end of the first volume of his work "Le Royaume Thai ou de Siam," and in his "Dictionarium Linguae Thai" (Paris, 1854), pp. 883, 884, s.v. *Xăva*—locates a district or township by the name of *Müang Xăva* (more correctly *C'hwā* or *C'hawā*) on the Malay Peninsula, near

to localize the term *Java* or *Jaba*, with its variant *Sava* or *Saba*, to the present island of Java alone, since it was the common designation for the whole archipelago, or, at any rate, for those portions of it that had been settled by the *Javana* or *Yavana* race, besides being the name of several

the Kra Isthmus and the mouth of the Pāk Chān River. In the map he has it noted as "*Pak-chān* ou *Xava*." Crawfurd, in the map appended to the first volume of his "Embassy to Siam and Cochinchina," London, 1830, has "*Pakchan* or *Chanva*." This is a mistake. The place meant is a village—now called *Bān C'hawā* ('Village of the *Javas*')—situated, it is true, at the height of the entrance to the Pāk-Chān inlet, but on the opposite, or eastern, watershed of the Malay Peninsula, and near the place where the present district of *C'hayā* borders upon that of Láng-súen. It was probably at one time an important settlement of *Javas* or Malays. Now it is known chiefly for its turtle-doves, which are of small size, but very much prized and sought after as pets on account of their cooing note being, it is said, far more melodious and varied than that of similar birds of other districts. There exists nevertheless a rivulet debouching on the eastern side of the Pāk Chān inlet, a little below Kraḥ, bearing the name *Sawā* (Khlōng Sawā); and in an east by south direction from this, on the opposite or eastern watershed of the Peninsula, a similarly named stream, *Khlōng Sawī*, gives its name to Sawī Bay, a very conspicuous and well-sheltered recess in the coast, and to a village on its banks. Moreover, the Annals of Ayuthia (Siāmese edition, p. 21) make mention of a country or principality of *C'hawā* (Müang C'hawā), i.e. *Javā*, among the sixteen States tributary to Ayuthia at the time of its foundation (A.D. 1350), which may correspond to the above territory about *Bān* or *Müang C'hawā*, etc., immediately below the Kraḥ Isthmus, and may at the same time be the mysterious *Mul-Jāvah* at which Ibn Baṭūṭa called in A.D. 1345. See, however, below for further remarks.

As to the name *Java* being applied to the whole or part of Sumatra, we have the evidence: (1) of the Kedah Annals (ch. 13, Low's translation in *Journal Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii) that Achīn, or Achèḥ, was called the country of Jāwī (Jāvī); (2) of Ibn Baṭūṭa, who records Sumatra in 1345–6 under the name of 'Island of *Jāwah* (or *Jāva*)' (see Defrémery & Sanguinetti's ed. and transl., tome iv, p. 228); and (3) the still more decisive and far older testimony of the Pāgar-rūyung inscription in the central part of the island (Menang-kabau district), dating from A.D. 656, where King Aditya-dharma is called the ruler of the 'First (or Primeval) Land of Java,' *Prathama-Yava-Bhū*, meaning, apparently, the first kingdom founded by the *Yava* or *Java* race in Sumatra, or, still better, in the Archipelago (see *Journal Bombay Br. R.A.S.*, June, 1861, Appendix, p. lxviii). It should, moreover, be noted that the natives of Nias speak of the Malays of Sumatra as *Dawa*, a term which evidently is but a corruption of *Jawa* or *Java*, especially as the Battak apply to the same people on their borders the slightly different denomination of *Jau* (*vide* Van der Lith & M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 238).

In Burmā (and Pegu) we have traced the name *Java* under most of its forms: *Jaba*, *Sava*, *Saba*, and *Ḍava* or *Ḍaba*, and shown (p. 56) how Chinese writers tell us that the country was called by the natives *T'u-lo-shu Shê-p'o*, while they state further that *Shê-p'o* was the name of one of the eighteen kingdoms tributary to *P'iao* (Lower Burmā). It should be observed that this term *Shê-p'o* is in Chinese spelled with the same characters as those employed to render the name of the supposed island of Java, viz. 闍婆, although the first syllable *Ja*, *Da*, or *Sa* is sometimes written in the case of the latter 杜, and at times 社, which read, respectively, *Tu* (Du) and *Shê* (Sha, Ja). Hence, *Shê-p'o* may represent either *Java*, *Jaba*, *Sava*, *Saba*, *Ḍaba*, or *Ḍava*.

regions on the Indo-Chinese mainland. It is only by keeping this fact well in mind that we can understand how, up to the periods of Marco Polo's, Ibn Baṭūṭa's, and Nicolò Conti's travels, not so much the present island of Java itself, but more particularly those of Sumatra and Borneo and parts of the Malay Peninsula, were known by the common name *Java*.

The most ancient Chinese forms of this term are to be met with: (1) in Fa-Hsien, who visited the Archipelago on his return voyage from Ceylon to China, A.D. 414, as 耶婆提, *Ya-p'o-t'i* (in Annamese *Jā-bà-dề* = *Yavadi, Yabadi, Jābaj*); (2) in the history of the First Sung dynasty (bk. 97), under the date A.D. 435, as 闍婆達, *Shê-p'o-ta* or *Tu-p'o-t'a*[1] (which is, however, almost certainly a clerical slip for *Shê-p'o* and *P'o-ta*, two distinct though neighbouring States, of which *Shê-p'o* or *Tu-p'o*, Ann. *C'hà-bà* = *Jaba, Saba, Dava,*

[1] The history of the Later Sung dynasty, as well as Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 499), ascribes the embassy of A.D. 435 to a State called simply *Shê-p'o* (闍婆). So does the *Pien-i-tien*, which mentions, apparently incorrectly, a still earlier embassy in 433; while the history of the First Sung dynasty says the mission of 435 came from a kingdom named 闍婆婆達, *Shê-p'o-p'o-ta*. It is the *Nan-shih*, according to Professor Schlegel (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, p. 252), which solely employs the contracted (?) form *Shê-p'o-ta* adopted by Groeneveldt in his translation (op. cit., p. 135), and rendered by him as *Javada*. I have not the slightest doubt that two States are here implied, one of which is *Shê-p'o* and the other *P'o-ta*. A kingdom of this name is, in fact, referred to by Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 508) as having sent missions with presents to China in A.D. 449 and 451. Like *Shê-p'o*, *P'o-ta* was almost certainly situated on the Malay Peninsula, and very likely corresponds to Tavernier's *Bata*, of which more anon. Nieuhoff, writing in A.D. 1662, mentions a pretty large island called *Sapta*, lying at two leagues from Malacca (see Dennys' "Descript. Dict. of Brit. Malaya," p. 209), which seems to be the one now called Pulo Besar, the largest of the Aguadas or Water Islands, situated at seven miles south-eastward of Malacca town. I should not think, however, that either this island *Sapta* or any similarly named place on that coast (such as, e.g., *Sapetang*, otherwise known as Port Weld) have anything to do with the old *Shê-p'o-ta* or *Shê-p'o-p'o-ta*, the resemblance in names being purely accidental. *Shê-p'o-ta* is undoubtedly a faulty reading for *Shê-p'o-P'o-ta*, and this, notwithstanding the amusing vagaries of our Sinologists to restore the name to its supposed original form, is a binary compound of the names of two States, and not the exclusive designation of a single one.

is the only one falling within the scope of this list)[1]; and (3) in the travels of Yüan-chuang or Hwên-tsang (A.D. 629–645) as 閻摩那洲國, *Yen-mo-na* (*Yamana*, *Ramana*, or *Yabana*, *Yavana*).[2] Subsequent forms are: (4) during the T'ang (A.D. 618–907), 闍婆, 社婆, or 杜婆, *Shê-p'o* (*Saba*, *Sava*, *Jaba*, *Daba*, etc.), this name being applied to a country otherwise called 訶陵, *Ho-ling* (*Haling*, *Halang*, *Khalang*); (5) 闍婆, *Shê-p'o* (*Jaba*, etc.), under the Sung (A.D. 960–1280); and (6) later on, in the Yüan period (A.D. 1280–1368), 爪哇, *Chau-wa*, sometimes misspelt 瓜哇, *Kua-wa*, which remained thenceforward in use.[3]

[1] Even shortly before that this State of *Shê-p'o* is mentioned as having been visited by Guṇavarman, grandson of a former king of Kābul, on his way from Ceylon to China, A.D. 424, according to the Kwai-Yuen Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, compiled in 730 A.D. (See *Journal R.A.S.*, April, 1903, p. 369.)

[2] *Yen-mo-na* is placed by Yüan-chuang *to the south-west* of Mahā Campā, hence it must be either part of the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra. Eitel ("Handbook of Chinese Buddhism," 2nd ed., p. 208) explains: "*Yavana* or *Yamana dvīpa-pura* or *Yava-dvīpa* (Pāli: *Yavana* or *Yona*), lit. the island kingdom of *Yamana*, or 野寐尼 (*Yamani*) or 耶婆提 (*Yavadvīpa*). The island of Java [*sic*], described (by Fah-hien and Hiuen-tsang) as peopled by Brahmans and other heretics." I think that this country, or insular region, may correspond to either the *Yama-dvīpa* or the *Ramaṇaka-dvīpa* of, respectively, the Vāyu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas. In another of the eight minor dvīpas enumerated in the last-named work, *Āvatrana* (*Ḍāvatrana*?), we may have the prototype of the very doubtful Chinese *Shê-p'o-ta* (Ḍāvatra?). At all events, it seems very probable that *Yen-mo-na* (*Yamana* or *Yamani*) and *Ramaṇa* or *Ramaṇaka* are identical with the island of *Rāmī*, *Rāmīn*, or *Ramnī* of the Arab travellers and geographers, which is, in my opinion, the district otherwise called *Lāmerī*, *Lāmrī*, etc., i.e. the north-western part of Sumatra (Marco Polo's *Lambri*). On the other hand, *Yen-mo-na*, if taken as a transcript of *Yavana*, *Jabana*, *Sabana*, may well designate the same district on the south-western coast of the Malay Peninsula where Ptolemy has located his mart of **Sabana** (for which see pp. 100–101 *ante*). It is not unlikely that Captain Bozorg's island of *Armanān* (Ramaṇam?) is somehow connected with *Yen-mo-na* and *Ramaṇaka*, although I am inclined to refer it to either the Andāmān or the Anamba groups. It will be seen, in any case, that Yüan-chuang's *Yen-mo-na* island or district must be sought for on either the south of the Malay Peninsula or the northern part of Sumatra, and that it can in no wise be connected with Java. I shall revert more fully to these points later on.

[3] See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 131 seq., and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 494 and 525.

Of all these forms only the last given, *Chau-wa* or *Chwa-wa*, applies to the island of Java, while the others designate, as I shall show, parts of the east coasts of Sumatra and of the Malay Peninsula. It will be seen that the first two are remarkably similar to Ptolemy's renderings **Iabadiū** and **Sabadiū**. They may be abbreviations of the term *Yava-dvīpa* or *Java-dvīpa*; but then, as Groeneveldt properly remarks,[1] such shortened forms must have been generally used at that time, for if the Indū colonists had called the island by its full name, Fa-Hsien for one, who knew Sanskrit, would have transcribed it according to that form. So would have Ptolemy, who elsewhere writes **Nagadiba, Nagadiboi, Sabadeibai, Trikadiba**;[2] and the Arabs, who have *Serendīb*, *Dība-jāt*, etc.[3] And yet in this particular instance Sulaimān, Mas'ūdī, and other Arab writers, following the example of Ptolemy and Fa-Hsien, write *Zābej*, and not *Zabedīb*. The natural inference to be derived from a comparison of the three forms **Iabadiū**, *Ya-p'o-t'i* (*Yabadi*), and *Zābej*, belonging respectively to the second, fifth, and ninth centuries, is, that they are identical or at least of a common origin, and designate one and the same country. It follows, then, that if we succeed in locating any one of these three names, the identification will hold good for the other two as well. The information left us in this respect by Ptolemy (apart from his geographical determination) and Fa-Hsien is too vague to be of much avail; while that supplied by later Chinese writers and the Arab navigators, though confused to a degree, is more rich in details and useful.

We shall try to find out our way through the maze of Chinese and Arabic geographical riddles, and evolve some order out of that chaos instead of remaining content with

[1] Op. cit., p. 132, note.

[2] Lib. vii, ch. 4, §§ 9, 13; ch. 2, § 28; ch. 1, § 95.

[3] Reinaud, op. cit., t. i, pp. lv, lvi, Discours préliminaire; and p. 5 transl. *Dīū, dība, bīva, div*, etc. = Skr. *dvīpa*, Pāli *dīpa*. Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. 22, cap. vii) uses the term *divis*: "Inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus abusque Divis et Serendivis," in which passage *Divis* and *Serendivis* correspond, respectively, to Sulaimān's *Dība-jāt* and *Serendīb*.

taking it for granted—as has been slovenly done by the writers who have preceded us—that one and all of the terms in question apply solely to the Island of Java, no matter how illogical such a course may be, and though by it the progress of historical geography be impeded. It is time that the absurdity of such *a priori* methods should be exposed, and researches instituted in a rational manner as behoves an age like the present one, when empiricism and theorism may well be said to have had their day.

It is beyond doubt, as I shall demonstrate, that in the good old mediæval days the Chinese and Arabs alike used to distinguish very clearly between at least two, if not three, regions all bearing the name *Java*, *Yava*, or *Dava*, one of which was situated in the present Northern Burmā, the second in the Malay Peninsula, and the third (if any) in Sumatra.

I. *The Chinese Evidence.*

In commenting upon the attack made upon Tonkin (*Kiāu-chau*) by the populations of *Java* (in either the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra) and *K'un-lun* (Malay Peninsula), in A.D. 767, the Annamese annalists quote from the T'ang Shu and other contemporary Chinese works the following explanations:—

A.—"One kingdom of *Dà-bà* or *C'hà-và* [in Chinese, 闍婆, *Shê-p'o*] was *Java* of the mountains [Highland *Java*] or *Chau-lang*, commonly called *Dŏt-lā*.[1] It bordered on the east on Upland *Chên-la* [Upper or 'Fire' Kamboja]; on the west on Eastern India[2]; on the south it belonged to the maritime region [Gulf of Martaban]; and on the north it

[1] For *Dŏt-lā-chu*, the Chinese 突羅朱闍婆, *T'u-lo-shu Shê-p'o*, for which see note on next page.

[2] 天竺, *T'ien-chu*, here no doubt meant for Bengal, although this province is said to lie in the east of *T'ien-chu* by Chao Ju-kua. (See *Journal R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 496.)

was conterminous with [the territory of *Hsie-lo*[1] of] the *Nam-chieu* [Nan Chao, 南詔] country. It had under its rule eighteen lesser kingdoms."[2]

The boundaries here described are, it will be seen, exactly those assigned in other accounts to the kingdom of *P'iau*, 驃[3]; and, indeed, the name *T'u-lo-shu* or *T'u-lo-chu*, otherwise spelt *T'u-li-chwo*, 徒里拙, is stated to be one by which the natives called the country termed *P'iau* in Chinese history.[4] The eighteen lesser kingdoms are the eighteen tributary States of P'iau enumerated in the "T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng" (*in circâ* A.D. 1700), among which there was one likewise called 闍婆, *Shê-p'o* or *T'u-p'o*, situated at eight days' march from the kingdom of *P'o-hwei-ka-lu*, 婆賄伽盧, i.e. *Pharuīgara*.[5] It is, accordingly, evident that in the mind of the Chinese historians of the period *Shê-p'o* corresponded at some time or other to *P'iau* (Lower Burmā), and to a portion of *P'iau* (in Upper Burmā). The name or title of the *P'iau* king was apparently, at the time of the embassy sent by this potentate to China in A.D. 802, 摩羅惹, *Mo-lo-jê*,[6] a contraction of either *Mara-rāja*, *Mura-rāja*, or *Mahā-rāja* (possibly *Mayūra-rāja*). This kingdom of Highland *Java* or Dava we have identified with *Ḍavāka* (*Dava* country) = Upper Burmā.[7]

[1] 些樂. This toponymic, which has hitherto baffled the wits of our Sinologists, I have identified with the *Cheila* of Ney Elias ("History of the Shans," p. 16), the ancient capital of the *Thai Màu* or *Thai Lúang*, superseded in the eleventh or twelfth century by the more modern *Sẽ-Lūn* or *Sẽ-Rān*. It stood, like the latter, on the left bank of the Nạm-Màu (Shwē-li River), in lat. 23° 57′, long. 97° 53′.

[2] Des Michels, op. cit., p. 169, and Aymonier's "History of Tchampa," p. 9.

[3] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 230.

[4] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 228.

[5] Ibid., p. 231, note; and *supra*, p. 44.

[6] Ibid., p. 232.

[7] *Vide* p. 55 *ante*. Mr. E. H. Parker says in his "Burma" (Rangoon, 1893), p. 11: "The Javanese [!! i.e. the people of *Shê-p'o*] (i.e. the emissaries of Hindu kingdoms in Java) who visited China said that the *Piao* or *Pyŭ* called themselves *Dulichu* (or some such word), and that their territory was bounded by Cambodgia, East India, Yünnan, and the sea." Here, evidently, what is glibly rendered as *Javanese* and *Java* is simply *Shê-p'o*, that is, the State of that name on the Malay Peninsula. The same writer once more tells us, in the *China Review*, vol. xxi, p. 43: " . . . the king of the Pyu . . . also sent a mission [A.D. 802]. The envoys of *Java* [*Shê-p'o*] then in China gave

B.—"There was another kingdom of *Ha-lak* [?][1] called *C'hà-và* (Java), afterwards *C'hà-và Kwok* [in Chinese, *Shê-p'o* or *Shê-p'o Kwo*], far off in the southern sea."[2] This is the *Shê-p'o* of Sung history, mentioned since A.D. 992 with a king 穆羅茶, *Mu-lo-ch'a*.[3] "*Jāu-chí* [Tonkin], say the Annamese annalists, attacked this kingdom with 30,000 troops and subdued it."[4] An earlier embassy is stated in Sung history to have been despatched by this country to

the Chinese an account of the Pyu, and indeed some passages in Chinese history distinctly say that '*Java* is another name for Pyu.' Doubtless the mistake arose through the civilizations being largely identical, both being Hindoo" [!!].

No comments are needed on the reckless manner of treatment of historical geography followed in the above extracts, which is unfortunately but too typical of modern Sinology. Fancy Javanese envoys giving, and that too at the dawn of the ninth century A.D., an account of the country and people of Burmā! Far more reasonably one might have expected Cypriotes or Cretans supplying the Andalusians, at about the same period, with a report on the customs and institutions of, say, Helsingeland or the Chudes.

The term *T'u-lo-shu* (= *Triśūlika*?, *vide* p. 31 *ante*), I have since identified—as I shall more fully explain in one of the addenda at the end of the present volume—with the *Disuric* mentioned in one of Andrea Corsali's letters dated A.D. 1515, and printed in "Ramusio," vol. i, p. 180. Strange to say, the term is forcibly suggestive of *Tulākṣetra*, a name of district occurring in the Sanskrit MSS. from Nepāl, commented upon by A. Foucher in his "Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde" (Paris, 1900), pp. 58, 178, 191, 210. However, those MSS. tell us that *Varddhamāna* is in the country of *Tulākṣetra*. Now, if *Varddhamāna* be really meant for. Bardvān, as Foucher assumes (p. 58), which lies at some sixty miles north-west of Calcutta, *Tulākṣetra* would prove to be a district of Bengal, and have nothing to do with *T'u-lo-shu* or *T'u-li-chwo*. But may not *Varddhamāna* be meant, in the case in point, for either Bhāmō (*Varma-pura*, see p. 42 above) or some district in Lower Burmā, e.g. *Jaya-varddhana*, i.e. Tōngū? The resemblance between *T'u-lo-shu* or *T'u-li-chwo* (Ann. *Dô-li-chwiet*) and *Tulākṣetra* is too striking to justify the identification of the latter with the former, well-known to us from Chinese sources, rather than with a hypothetical *Tulākṣetra* in Western Bengal, which has never been heard of elsewhere in Indian literature.

[1] As no native characters are supplied for this term it is difficult to guess what is meant. Should the spelling be 哈, 剌, *Ha-la*, *Ka-la*, the reference might be to the *Hala* tribe, a tattooing branch of the Sakai people still to be found in the Pêrak district on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. (See Newbold's "British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca," London, 1839, vol. i, p. 421, and vol. ii, p. 383.) Or is the connection with the state of *Ha-la-tan* or *Ka-la-tan* referred to hereafter, or with the *Kalah* 'island' of the Arabs?

[2] Aymonier, op. cit., p. 9.

[3] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 494, 499; and Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 143, where the last character in the king's name is misprinted 茶.

[4] Aymonier, loc. cit.

China in A.D. 821, under the reign of Mu Tsung.[1] Another mission of A.D. 435 is, in Later Sung history, recorded as having been the first one sent by *Shê-p'o*, whereas in the annals of the First Sung it is ascribed to *Shê-p'o-P'o-ta*.[2] Guṇavarman, we have seen (p. 463), visited this State of *Shê-p'o* in A.D. 424 on his way from Ceylon to China.

On the island of *Shê-p'o* a State named *Ho-lo-tan*, 呵羅單, is mentioned as having sent several missions to China between A.D. 430 and 452.[3] It is therefore almost certain that the *Shê-p'o* of A.D. 821–992 was identical with the *Shê-p'o*, 'island,' of A.D. 430–452, the *Shê-p'o* spoken of in a breath with *P'o-ta* (*Shê-p'o-P'o-ta*) in A.D. 435, and the *Shê-p'o* visited by Guṇavarman, A.D. 424. The name of the king who despatched the mission to China in A.D. 435 is recorded as 師黎婆達陁阿

[1] *T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, p. 253, where the date is given as 820. But Mu Tsung reigned A.D. 821–825.

[2] Ibid. See also p. 463 *ante*.

[3] See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 505–506. Parker thus translates, in the *China Review*, vol. xvi, p. 301, a passage from the "P'êi-wên Yün-fu" relative to the State in question: "The State of *Ho-lo-tan* has its capital at *Shê-p'o Chou*." The characters 闍婆, he adds, "are pronounced as 蛇婆 [*Shê-p'o*], the modern Japanese pronunciation being *Jaba*, i.e. *Java*, and not *Ava* as stated by Dr. Williams." Next he proceeds with his translation as follows: "*Jaba* State is in the South Sea; it is flat and suited for crops; in the year 1129 an officer was sent to confer a marshal's baton on the Lord of *Java*." In the *China Review*, vol. xiii, p. 384, the same Sinologist translates from the identical source: "The capital of *Ho-lo-tan* State is on *Java* island." Professor Schlegel, in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, p. 249, renders the above passage as: "*Kalatan* in A.D. 430 *ruled over* the island of *Shê-p'o*." Hervey de Saint-Denys in his translation of Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 505) has: "le royaume [of *Ho-lo-tan*] est situé dans l'île de *Che-po* ou *Tou-po* [*Shê-p'o*, *Tu-p'o*]." It will thus be seen, owing to the discrepancies just quoted, that it is impossible to make out whether *Shê-p'o* was merely the name of the capital city of *Ho-lo-tan* State or that of the 'island' on which it was situated. The latter was more likely the case. The term *Ho-lo-tan* may stand for either *Haradan*, *Halatan*, *Kaladan*, *Karaṭa*, and the like. It may be compared with the *Kalah* and *Kardanj* of Sulaimān, the *Havanj* of Serapion and Edrīsī, and perhaps also with Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Hardālah* (quality of camphor, possibly so named from the district where it was produced; *vide ante*, pp. 437, 441). It may, on the other hand, designate the same country as 訶羅旦, *Kou-lo-tan* (=*Kulūta*?), a State mentioned early in the seventh century as lying to the south of *Ch'ih-t'u* (Sukhothai, Siām, see p. 179 above). Either, or both of them, may be now represented by the *Krut* district on the west coast of the Gulf of Siām (lat. 11° 24' N. *circâ*); by *Gurōt* (Kurāta?) in the Ghirbi district on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula (*vide supra*, pp. 95, 97); and possibly, though it seems very unlikely, by *Kalantan* on the east coast of the latter. My view inclines in favour of *Gurōt* for *Ho-lo-tan*. This term may, however, be simply a transcript of the Malay word *Kraton*, meaning a 'fort' or 'citadel.'

羅 跋 摩,[1] Shih-li P'o-ta T'o-a-lo-pa-mo = *Śrī-Bhaṭṭa* (*Bata*, *Vaṭa*, *Varta*, or *Varddha*)-*dara* (or *dhara*?) *padma* (or *varma*, *varman*), where *P'o-ta* is spelt with the same characters as occur in the name of the State of *P'o-ta* itself.

The situation of *Shê-p'o* was past *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang) in coming from China, for in A.D. 904–5 *San-fo-ch'i* is described as lying between *Chên-la* (Kamboja) and *Shê-p'o*.[2]

Furthermore, in A.D. 992, *Shê-p'o* is stated to have had as neighbour a country called 婆 羅 門, *P'o-lo-mên*, where the natives "had the secret of looking into people's minds; whenever anybody wanted to do them mischief they knew it beforehand."[3] In this connection it should be observed that under the date A.D. 802 we are told of *P'iau* (Lower Burmā)

[1] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 499, and Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 135. In Ma Tuan-lin the fifth and sixth characters are transposed, this portion of the name thus reading *A-t'o-lo* instead of *T'o-a-lo*. It is most unlikely that the State of *P'o-ta* is implied in the preceding words *Shih-li-P'o-ta*, which may mean simply *Śrī-bhadra* (*bhaṭṭa*, *vaṭa*, *vāta*, etc.). As regards the State of *P'o-ta*, I have already pointed out (*supra*, p. 463) its very probable identity with Tavernier's *Bata*. This famed traveller says, in fact, in V. Ball's translation ("Travels in India, by J. B. Tavernier," London, 1889, vol. ii, p. 162): "Some years ago [i.e. prior to 1645 *circâ*] very rich mines of tin were discovered at *Delegore*, *Sangore*, *Bordelon*, and *Bata*," of which places the translator gives us the magnificent equivalents of "Delli (?), Salangor, Billiton, and Banka (?)." [N.B.—The Bangka mines were only discovered, as Marsden informs us, in 1710 by the burning of a house!] We shall restore this barbarously mangled piece of historical geography by pointing out that the localities named are all to be found on the Malay Peninsula, and correspond respectively to Ligor, Singora, P'hattalung, and mayhap *Bardia* (C'hump'hōn, so named from the islet *Bardia* marked on the old maps, which seems to be the one now called *Koḥ Mattrā*). *Pathīu*, some twenty-seven miles above C'hump'hōn, may also be meant, or even Bāḥ-Dōn, below C'haiyā, in about 9° 5′ N. lat.; in any case we may feel absolutely certain that *Bata* cannot be far away from the three places before named by Tavernier and identified by us as above. We may even take it for granted that it stood, like those, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. This *Bata* is, then, in all likelihood, the *P'o-ta* State of Chinese history, and *Shê-p'o* cannot have been very distant from it. I may add for completeness' sake that in connection with the Ceylonese punitive expedition of *circâ* 1175–1180 against Pegu, a Ceylonese chronicle appears to mention a seaport *Sapattota* on that coast, "over which Kurttipurapam was governor" (Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xli, pt. 1, p. 198). This toponymic *Sapattota*, if correct, is suggestive of the more fictitious than real *Shê-p'o-ta*. So is *Zīr-bād* (i.e. 'below the wind'), the term applied by Persian and Arab mediæval writers to the countries of Further India and the Archipelago (see Abdur-Razzāḳ in "India in the Fifteenth Century," pt. i, p. 6). But such resemblances in names are, of course, merely accidental, and should not be made the basis for serious rapprochements.

[2] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 559.

[3] Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 145; and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 502.

that near its capital there were "hills of sand and a barren waste which also borders on 波斯, *Po-sz*, and *P'o-lo-mên*, and is twenty days from the city of *Si-shê-li* (the *Si-shê-li* of the Buddhist classics is Central India)."[1] Here *Po-sz* and *P'o-lo-mên* are almost certainly not meant for Persia and *Brāhmaṇa-rāṣtra* (India), but for some other similarly named countries in Further India. The second very probably corresponds to *Brahma-deśa*, the country about Tagaung in Upper Burmā.[2]

From the foregoing evidence it plainly follows that the situation of *Shê-p'o* must have been somewhere between

[1] Parker's "Burma," p. 7.

[2] The Sanskrit inscription discovered at Tagaung and dated Gupta Samvat 108 = A.D. 426, states that *Hastināpura* (Tagaung) is situated in *Brahma-deśa*, which latter thus seems to be the region about Tagaung (see Dr. Führer's archæological report for the year 1894). The *P'o-lo-mên* neighbour of *Shê-p'o* may, however, not have been the region just referred to, but some district largely settled by Brāhmaṇs, of which there were several on the Malay Peninsula. Two well-known ones were Ligor and P'háttalung on its eastern coast; and as regards its west coast, Kazwīnī, writing *circâ* A.D. 1330, says that in *Kalah* there is a large city with plenty of gardens (which particular would suit well, among others, the Tenasserim and P'hang-ngā, or Takūa-thùng, districts), which is a meeting-place for Brāhmaṇs (see "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 257). Doudart de Lagrée ("Explorations et Missions," 1883, p. 10) mentions *C'hvēa-Prēam*—i.e. *Java-Brāhmaṇs*, or Brāhmaṇs from *Java* or *C'hvā*, *C'havā*—as having settled at some unknown period in Kamboja, where descendants of them still exist. Tradition, he says, makes them hail originally from Benares; but there can be no doubt in my mind that they must have come from some Brāhmaṇic settlement founded by their forefathers on the Malay Peninsula, as their very designation, *C'hvēa* or *C'havā*, clearly implies.

As regards *Po-sz*, it might just as well refer to the *Basīsi* (or *Basīsik*, بسيسق) tribe in the more southern parts of that coast. In *circâ* 1240 Chao Ju-kua mentions a place identically called *Po-sz* or *Po-ssŭ*, of which Dr. Hirth remarks: "here probably not Persia, but some other country, which I have not been able to identify" (see *Journal R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 479). On p. 429 *ante* we have seen the same name applied, according to Dr. Bretschneider, to part of the west coast of North Sumatra, from the fact of the Persians carrying on a large trade with that country and probably having colonies there. I shall revert to this point later on and show that the term *Po-sz* in the region in question has no connection whatever with Persians, although I fully admit the possibility of their having settled there in a certain number, as they did at many other trading centres in Further India. I-tsing in the seventh century tells us of their frequent navigations between East Sumatra and Canton (*vide supra*, p. 428); Kan-shin three-quarters of a century later (A.D. 748–749) finds an extensive Persian settlement in South Hainan (see Takakusu in the Proceedings of the "Premier Congrès des Études d'Extrême-Orient," Hanoi, 1903, pp. 58–59); Muḥallabi (*circâ* A.D. 1000), quoted by Abū-l-Fedā, mentions Persians living in the city of the island of *Kalah*, and so forth. According to Dr. Bretschneider's theory, then, all these places should have become known to the Chinese as *Po-sz*, which was by no means the case; hence the untenability of the theory itself and its self-condemnation on its own showing.

San-fo-ch'i (Palembang) and *P'iau* (Lower Burmā); that is, either in North Sumatra or on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. The latter alternative seems to be the most probable, and in that case *Shê-p'o* State is very likely one and the same with the next.

C.—Finally, there existed a kingdom of 訶陵, *Ho-ling*, which was likewise known by the name of *Shê-p'o* (A.D. 627–649), but which I-tsing (A.D. 664–665) calls also 波淡, *Po-ling*.[1] It is described as an 'island,' but doubtless a peninsula is implied. Its capital city seems to have been *Shê-p'o*, possibly in A.D. 627–649, but probably not till later on (A.D. 774 to 873). Prior to that, during the reign of a king by the name of 吉延, *Chi-yen*,[2] the capital had stood more to the east, at the town of 婆露伽斯, *P'o-lu-chia-sz*.[3]

It is very probable that this *Shê-p'o* is the same country as B, especially arguing from the fact that no intercourse whatever is mentioned after A.D. 860–873 with *Ho-ling*, whereas it is recorded from 992 onwards for *Shê-p'o*. The embassy stated to have been sent by the last-named kingdom in A.D. 821 was probably despatched by *Ho-ling-Shê-p'o*. Similarly, the mission from *Shê-p'o* that reached China in or about A.D. 802, giving an account of *P'iau*, must have come from the same State of *Ho-ling-Shê-p'o*.

Chinese texts—or rather, perhaps, the translations given of them by our Sinologists—are far from agreeing as to the location of *Ho-ling* or *Po-ling*, alias *Shê-p'o*, in relation to

[1] Chavannes, op. cit., p. 60. In Annamese *Bā-lang*, and *Hà-lang* or *Khā-lang* for *Ho-ling*.

[2] *Kit-yen*, *Kiet-dzien*, *Kil-yön*, in the old dialects, which pronunciations suggest the words *Khyan*, *Kirjan*, *Kerian*, or *Krian*; and *Krtin*, *Krtayajna*, etc.

[3] A name strikingly similar to *Bharu-kaccha* or *Barygaza*. It may, however, be Malay derived, e.g., from *Būluh-gājah* (= Pāli *Veḷū-gaja*), meaning 'Elephant-bamboo'; or else it may be connected with either *Prakāsai* (*vide supra*, p. 95) or *Brūas* (Baruvas, Beruas, etc.), said to be the original seat of government in Pêrak. *Berkuāsa*, a very similar term, has in Malay the sense of 'strong,' 'powerful.'

Professor Schlegel gives, in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 275, an almost totally different translation of the last passage as follows:—"The king lives in the city of *Shay-po*, but his ancestor *Ki-yen had removed to the east from the city of Polukiasze* (Amoy, *Polokasu*)." In Groeneveldt's translation (op. cit., p. 139) the sentence here italicized is rendered " . . . . . but his ancestor, *Ki-yen, had lived more to the east, at the town Pa-lu-ka-si*."

the neighbouring States. From Groeneveldt's translations from both the *Ch'iu T'ang-shu*, the Old History of the T'ang Dynasty, bk. 197, and the *Hsin T'ang-shu* or New History of the T'ang Dynasty (bk. 222, p. 2),[1] that location may be deduced as follows:—

1. East of *P'o-li*, 婆利, or *Ma-li*, 馬禮, which he takes to be Sumatra.
2. West of *P'o-têng*, 婆登, or *To-p'o-têng*, 墮婆登, which he most absurdly identifies with the island of Bālī (!).
3. South of *Chên-la* (Kamboja).
4. North of the sea and of an insular State called 多摩長, *To-mo-ch'ang*.

In a further passage from the same book of the old T'ang history *To-p'o-têng* is, in agreement with the above, placed to the east of *Ho-ling* and to the west of 迷黎車, *Mi-li-ch'ê*.[2] However, in the amplified new history of the same dynasty *Ho-ling* is said to lie east of *To-p'o-têng*, in open contradiction to the preceding statements.[3]

The "San-ts'ai T'u-hwei" (published A.D. 1607) tells us that *P'o-têng* lies eastward (for westward?) of *Lin-i* (Campā), borders in the west upon *Mi-li*, 迷離 (same as 迷黎車, *Mi-li-ch'ê*?), and in the south upon *Ho-ling*.[4]

From the fact of all Chinese texts being agreed in making the country of 羅刹, *Lo-ch'a* (see above, pp. 260, 261), and not *Ho-ling*, coterminous with *P'o-li* on the east,[5] it follows

[1] See op. cit., p. 138, and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 522, 526, 534.

[2] Ibid., p. 183.

[3] See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 531, and *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 284. *Mi-li-ch'hê* is, in the same contradictory manner, therein located *to the west of To-p'o-têng*. Professor Schlegel, while saying, following the Old T'ang history (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 372), that *Ho-ling* "*lay east of P'o-li*," goes on to state in a note to the next page (373), apparently following the New T'ang history, that the texts have: "*Kaling* borders *to the east upon Poli, to the west upon Topoting*, to the north upon Cambodja, and to the south upon the sea." This is also the interpretation put by Hervey de Saint-Denys upon a corresponding passage of Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., pp. 525–6), and under the chapter devoted to *P'o-têng* in the same work (p. 523), where it is stated that *P'o-têng* borders on the east upon *Ho-ling* and on the west upon *Mi-li-chê*.

[4] *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 285.

[5] See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 460 and 489.

that *Ho-ling* could scarcely be looked for in the same quarter. Whether it be due to divergences of opinion on the part of the translators in interpreting the texts, or to clerical slips on the part of the Chinese writers who compiled or copied them from older sources, it is perfectly evident, from the contradictions pointed out, that there is an error, whether of misapprehension or misconstruction, somewhere, which it is of the greatest importance to correct before proceeding with our inquiry. After a careful examination of the subject I have come to the conclusion that Ma Tuan-lin's account as translated by Hervey de Saint-Denys is the most logical, inasmuch as it smooths over all contradictions, and the most consistent with topographical and historical evidence, as will become apparent in the sequel. I accordingly adopt the data as supplied in this version, on the basis of which the position of *Ho-ling* becomes fixed as follows:—

1. Eastward of *P'o-têng* or *To-p'o-têng*, to the west of which lies *Mi-li-ch'ê*.[1]
2. Westward of *P'o-li*, to the east of which lies *Lo-ch'a*.[2]
3. Southward of *Chên-la* (Kamboja).[3]
4. Northward of the sea and of an insular kingdom called *To-mo-ch'ang*. This State has: (1) *T'o-lung*, 多 隆, on the west; (2) *P'o-fêng*, 婆 鳳, on the east; and (3) *Pan-chih-pa*, 半 支 跋, sometimes also spelled *Ch'ien-chih-fu*, 千 支 弗, on the south.[4]

It is further stated in the Ti-li-chê of the T'ang-shu, ch. 436, quoted by Chavannes,[5] that *Ho-ling* lies four to five days' sailing to the east of 佛 逝, *Fo-shih* (here meaning the whole eastern coast of Sumatra from Pāsai to Palembang), and that it is the largest island (read 'peninsula' or 'district') in the south. This makes it evident that *Ho-ling* must have

[1] Pp. 523, 526, 531.
[2] Pp. 460, 489, 525–526.
[3] Pp. 526.
[4] P. 534.
[5] "Les Religieux Éminents," etc., p. 42, note.

stood on the Malay Peninsula, and not on any of the islands fronting the east coast of Sumatra to the south of it as far as Palembang; for the only two of them, viz. Būlang and Gālang, bearing names closely related respectively to *Po-ling* (Bā-lang) and *Ho-ling* (Khā-lang, Ka-lang) are far from being the largest islands in the south, or, for that matter, even in the Rhio-Linga Archipelago.[1]

I-tsing mentions once only the fact of one Buddhist devotee having sailed from China, first to *Ho-ling*, then to 末羅瑜, *Mo-lo-yü* (Mallayo or Malāyu), and thence to Central India. From this Chavannes (loc. cit.) rightly argues that *Ho-ling* was to be found before *Mo-lo-yü* on the sea-route from China to India, although, as shown by the itineraries of I-tsing and Wu-hing,[2] it was not necessarily touched at when making that journey. There is, however, nothing in the above statement which tells against our assumed position of *Ho-ling* on the Malay Peninsula; nay, even on the west coast of it. For, in the first place, the Buddhist devotee who undertook that journey may, after having reached *Ho-ling* and in vain looked for a ship there to convey him across to India, have found it more convenient, in order to obtain the desired passage, to sail back some distance to *Mo-lo-yü*, which, as may be seen from all itineraries described by I-tsing, was invariably called at and must have accordingly stood on the regular sea-route from China to India, and *vice versâ*. Secondly, *Ho-ling*, although mainly situated on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, may well have stretched partly across to its eastern seaboard on the Gulf of Siām, in which case in sailing outward from China it would naturally have been met with, as Chavannes puts it, before *Mo-lo-yü*. Thirdly, I-tsing's allusion may be to

[1] Chavannes concludes, of course (loc. cit.), that "le pays de *Ho-ling*, se trouvant à l'est de la partie méridionale de Sumatra, ne peut être placé que dans l'île de Java" !! This in spite of the fact that Java does not at all lie to the east of any part of Sumatra, but only in a south-eastern direction from it, and very far south from *Fo-shih*.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 119 and 125 (where the outward route described is: Canton, *Fo-shih*, *Mo-lo-yü*, *Chie-ch'a*, *Lo-'kwo* or Nikobārs; and the homeward one: Tāmralipti, *Chie-ch'a*, *Fo-shih*, China); and p. 144, where the itinerary is: China, *Shih-li-Fo-shih*, *Mo-lo-yü* Island, *Chie-ch'a*, Nāgapaṭṭana.

a quite distinct place, bearing the same or a similar name to *Ho-ling*, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. We have here, in fact, a Tanjong or Cape *Puling*,[1] also known by the name of *Gelang*, the names of which closely correspond respectively to *Po-ling* and *Ho-ling*. Whichever of the three surmises here put forward be the correct one, it will be seen that there is not the slightest evidence to show that *Ho-ling* stood elsewhere than on the Malay Peninsula. As regards *Mo-lo-yü* (Mallayo or Malaya), I cannot see my way to agree with Chavannes and his followers in making it the same as Palembang, on the strength of I-tsing's statement that *Mo-lo-yü* had shortly before his time or during his stay there become part and parcel of the *Shih-li-Fo-shih* dominions, and of Alboquerque's assertion that Palembang was called *Malayo* by the Javanese.[2] I shall demonstrate further on that I-tsing's *Mo-lo-yü* must be sought for on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. It is very strange, and therefore worthy of note, that I-tsing seems to know nothing about *Shê-p'o*, but only speaks of *Ho-ling* or *Po-ling*.

The country of *Ho-ling* is said in the "Hsin T'ang-shu" (or New History of the T'ang Dynasty, compiled during the eleventh century, bk. 222) to produce "tortoise-shell, gold and silver, rhinoceros horns, and ivory."[3] "There is a cavern from which salt water bubbles up spontaneously."[4] The same things, it should be pointed out, are related of *Shê-p'o* State in the Sung annals: "The country produces gold, silver, rhinoceros horns, ivory, lignum aloes . . .

[1] Already noticed above, p. 104, as the South Cape. In the latest map of the Malay Peninsula published by the Straits Branch of the R.A.S., 1898, the term Tanjong Puling disappears, and is replaced by the designation *Tanjung Gelang*, no doubt derived from the hill (*Bukit Gelang*) which forms the extremity of this headland. Its position is fixed in 4° N. lat. Likewise disappears the term Tanjong Kwāntān, substituted by *Tanjung Tembeling*. This is mapped lower down. There is, therefore, every probability that Bukit Gelang or Gelang Hill is, after all, Ptolemy's **Maleu Kōlon** (Malaya Gelang = Bukit Gelang), in preference to Tanjong Kwāntān lower down, or Tanjong Guliga further up the coast.

[2] See Chavannes, op. cit., p. 37, note, and Takakusu, op. cit., pp. xxx, note, xl, and xlv.

[3] Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 139. Professor Schlegel, in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 274, translates: "tortoise-shell, gold and silver, rhinoceroses and elephants."

[4] Groeneveldt, loc. cit.

sulphur, and sapan-wood. . . . Salt is obtained by boiling sea-water."[1] These productions again point to some place in

[1] Ibid., p. 142. Salt is stated to be obtained by boiling sea-water at the following places mentioned in the same work: (1) at *Tung-hsi-chu*, i.e. Pulo Pemangil and Pulo Aor, but more probably on the sea-coast of the Malay Peninsula opposite them (p. 258); (2) at Pahang (p. 256); (3) at Sumatra city and adjacent territory on the north coast of Sumatra (p. 211). Numerous caves are to be found on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, among the most notable being those at Kwāla Lampor (Selangor); Ipoh (in Kinta, Pêrak); Gūnong Geriyang or Elephant Hill (Kedah); Langkāwī Island, north coast (Gūa Cherīta); Trang; Kasom (near P'hang-ngā), etc.; but whether one has a saline spring bubbling up in it I am unable to say.

Sulphur may have been obtained on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula from the deposits of the many sulphurous springs existing there in the Malacca, Nāning, Klang, Kinta, and Upper Pêrak districts. Or else it may have been brought thither from the neighbouring north coast of Sumatra, where it has been noticed at Pulo Way and at a mountain between Achīn and Pedir by Beaulieu (Prévost, op. cit., vol. ix, p. 340); and in mountain caves along that coast by Ma-Huan (see Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 209).

Veins of silver have been discovered in various portions of the Malay Peninsula (see Dennys, op. cit., p. 347); and in Lārut (Pêrak district) it was found associated with the rich tin ores of that territory (see *Comptes Rendus* of the French Geol. Soc. for April 14th, 1882, p. 165).

The chief supply of tortoise-shell in the Malay Peninsula comes from the Dindings near Pêrak (see Dennys, op. cit., p. 414).

Gold is found in considerable quantities, either disseminated in quartz reefs or in alluvial deposits, especially about Gūnong Ledang or Mount Ophir, to the east of Malacca, where it was worked till 1817 by the Malays; on the upper waters of the Muār River and its tributary the Gemencheh (Chendras and other mines), N.N.E. of Malacca town; in Upper Pêrak at Ayer Tāwar, Busong, and Belum or Balom mines, of which last McCarthy says ("Surveying and Exploring in Siam," p. 16): "*We saw traces of ancient gold-mines, gigantic workings, abandoned no man knows how long ago.*" On the east coast of the Malay Peninsula we need not mention its frequent occurrence in Pahang (on Lui, Lipis, and Jelei rivers); in Kelantan (Galas and Pergau rivers); and in Legeh or Rangĕh (upper waters of the Tanjung Mās and Telūbin, and Tomoh district). But it is of paramount importance for ethnological science to call attention to the fact that most of the gold-mines now being developed in Pahang through European enterprise were originally opened at apparently a very remote age by natives of an unknown race, whose workings, of which very evident and innumerable traces still remain, have rightly been styled "wonderful" by the Europeans who first visited them (see Dennys' "Descript. Dict. of Brit. Malaya," pp. 265–266). The chief of these formerly exploited mines are Raub, Punjum, Selensing, Tui, and Kechau, the Selensing being one of the most marvellous. "It is situated in a small valley surrounded by low hills, which in some forgotten period must have been the scene of very extensive mining operations. The surfaces of these hills are honeycombed with perpendicular shafts, circular in shape, which in some instances penetrate to the water-level below the surface of the valley, a depth of considerably over 100 feet. [Dennys, op. cit., p. 266, speaks of pits over 160 feet deep extending for miles.] Many of these pits are placed so close together that a wall of rock not more than two feet thick separates them from one another. The antiquity of these workings is attested by the apparently virgin forest which clothes the hills in which they are situated, large slow-growing trees being in some instances found with their roots centred in the sides of the shafts. . . . . No clue has yet been obtained which might serve to indicate the race to which these miners belonged. The mode of mining employed by them differs radically from that in use among the Chinese, and the

the north of Sumatra or on the Malay Peninsula, and exclude Java, making it thus probable that *Ho-ling* is identical with the *Shê-p'o* of section B above.

The true geographical position of *Ho-ling* may be further determined from gnomonical data handed down to us in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty in the following terms:—"When at the summer-solstice a gnomon is erected of eight feet high, the shadow (at noon) falls on the south side, and is two feet four inches [Chinese *ch'ih* of ten *ts'un* or inches each, i.e. $2\frac{2}{5}$ or 2·4 'feet'] long."

The importance of such a statement can never too much be insisted upon, since it enables us to arrive at a correct

Malays possess no tradition on the subject. . . . . Whatever the race may have been, it is evident that it must have attained to a considerable degree of mechanical skill, and presumably to a fairly high state of civilization; and yet, from an examination of the excavations, one is led to believe that the race which mined them must have been of a somewhat more diminutive stature than either the modern Malay or Siamese. From the appearance of many portions of these workings, it would seem probable that the work of mining was suspended suddenly and never resumed, possibly on account of war, an epidemic, or some other public calamity." (H. C. Belfield's "Handbook of the Federated Malay States," London, 1902, pp. 127–128.) As for myself, I can add that traces of similar old workings have been noticed, not only in connection with gold, but also tin mines in various parts of the Peninsula; Neolithic implements, such as celts, axe-heads, etc., being found in the ancient timbered drives or tunnels. This has been the case, for instance, in Pêrak. Since A.D. 1516 Barbosa speaks of a gold-mine lying abandoned in Pahang (Ramusio, vol. i, fol. 318 *verso*). What, therefore, was the race that opened these mines? Evidently the same that built those wonderful monuments in Kamboja—the race of *Fu-nan*, now still represented in the Malay Peninsula by the Sakai and allied tribes. However, this race, as in Kamboja, no doubt did only the manual labour. But the intelligent mind that planned, directed, and superintended must have been, as there, Hindū. Or shall we have to assume that, in the case of the most ancient of those mines, where Neolithic implements occur associated with the workings, the directive mind was Phœnician? This is by no means improbable, as we shall see in the following pages that Phœnician influence once undoubtedly extended as far as Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, where, especially on the latter, it must have been very considerable, the Biblical Ophir hitherto unidentified and vainly sought for lying very probably within its compass, or, at any rate, very close upon its northern borders.

Lignum aloes or Ghāru-wood (*Aquilaria Malaccensis*) is plentiful on the Malay Peninsula, where it occurs in dense forests in Johor, Malacca, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, etc. (See *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 35, January, 1901, p. 74.) It is also exported along with ivory, etc., from Selāngor ("China Sea Directory," vol. i, 4th edition, 1896, p. 169). In Sumatra it appears to occur only in its southern portion (near Kebang, Turabangi River, Lampongs).

Sapan-wood "grows in abundance on the northern borders of Malacca and elsewhere in the Peninsula" (Dennys, op. cit., p. 338). It is peculiarly plentiful in the central and northern portions of the latter. Its occurrence on the north coast of Sumatra (*Lambri* or *Ramni*) is mentioned by Sulaimān, Marco Polo, and most later travellers.

estimate of the real location of *Ho-ling* better than any attempt based simply on circumstantial evidence of not unfrequently too vague a character, such as, for instance, toponymic resemblances, etc. It is plain that if some gnomonic datum of this kind accompanied each foreign place-name mentioned by Chinese authors, hardly any difficulty would be experienced in deciphering their geographical charms. And yet, to our utter surprise, we see no attempt made in the pages of Groeneveldt's monograph to test that statement, while nearly two pages are wasted in conjectures as to the location of *Ho-ling*, which a simple calculation of three lines would have settled. Accustomed as we are to rank gnomonic and astronomic observations, however imperfect, high above mere verbiage and philological disquisitions in an enquiry of this kind, we shall at once proceed to find out what result can be drawn from the data contained in the passage quoted above.

Mindful, then, of the fact, too frequently overlooked, that the shadow cast by a vertical gnomon does not correspond to the altitude of the sun's centre, but to that of its upper limb, so that the observation of it is tantamount to an observation of the sun's upper limb; and calling a the angle of incidence at which a ray from the said upper limb grazing the top of the gnomon will meet the plane of the dial at noon, we have—

$$\text{tang. } a = \frac{8}{2{\cdot}4} = 3{\cdot}3333333, \text{ whence } a = 73^\circ\ 18'\ 2''{\cdot}7.$$

Apparent altitude of sun's upper limb ..	$a =$	$73^\circ\ 18'\ 2''{\cdot}7$
Parallax for altitude	$a =$	$+\ 2''{\cdot}4$
Refraction (approximately estimated) =		$-17''{\cdot}5$
		$-15''{\cdot}1$
True meridian altitude of sun's upper limb	=	$73^\circ\ 17'\ 47''{\cdot}6$
Less semi-diameter (approximately estimated)	=	$15'\ 45''{\cdot}6$
True meridian altitude of sun's centre ..	=	$73^\circ\ 2'\ 2''$

Say, 73° 2′.

Zenith distance = 90° − 73° 2′ = 16° 58′.

Assuming now the sun's declination at that summer solstice to have been something like 23° 27′ N., we deduce the latitude—

$$\text{Lat. of } \textit{Ho-ling} = 23°\ 27' - 16°\ 58' = 6°\ 29'\ \text{N.}$$

Had the Chinese annalists put on record also the year in which the above observation was taken, a far more precise result could be arrived at. But even with the drawbacks we have to labour under, the possible amount of error cannot very well exceed a few minutes of a degree; so that, making a fairly ample allowance for this as well as for other slight errors arising from imperfections in the method of measurement, we may feel assured of being well on the truth's side when we assert that the position of *Ho-ling* must have been between, say, 6° and 7° North latitude. It will thus be seen that *Ho-ling* cannot be looked for in either Java or Sumatra, both of which lie below the 6th parallel of Northern latitude. Borneo, although reaching with its northernmost extremity to the next parallel above that, is most certainly out of the question. There accordingly remains only the Malay Peninsula where that State could be located. And yet we see Groeneveldt, and after him Takakusu and others, seriously identifying *Ho-ling* with Java on the mere strength of the statement contained in the above-quoted extract from the T'ang Annals, that "*Ho-ling* is also called *Shê-p'o*," which last term, although meant to convey the sounds *Java*, *Jaba*, *Saba*, *Sava*, etc., we have demonstrated to apply to many other places besides the island of Java.[1] I feel very sorry for the pet theories of these and other Sinologists obsessed with such geographical notions; but *magna est veritas et praevalebit*,

[1] The only instances, I believe, in Chinese literature in which the term 闍婆, *Shê-p'o*, is employed to denote the island of Java, are two, and occur in a passage of Fei Hsin's itinerary, the "Hsing-ch'a Shêng-lan" (see for the text of this passage, *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 376, note 247). The same writer, however, invariably uses 爪哇, *Chao-wa*, every other time he alludes to that island.

and it is high time for the sake of scientific progress that it should do so.[1]

We have seen that *Ho-ling* is located by the Chinese annalists themselves at four or five days' sailing to the east of *Fo-shih*. This appears to be one and the same with the State also called *Shih-li Fo-shih*, and I-tsing in his works uses both terms indiscriminately,[2] although Takakusu is inclined to draw a line of distinction between them and take *Fo-shih* as the old name of the capital, while assuming *Shih-li Fo-shih* to be a later appellation for both the capital and its now far more extensive dominions. I think, however, there is no reason or foundation whatever for such a subtle distinction, and consider that *Fo-shih* is a mere shortened form of *Shih-li Fo-shih*; an abbreviation of a character quite common in Chinese literature. According to a common custom in Oriental countries, the State would be often designated by the name of its capital, and *vice versâ*, so that in such a case there could be no difference between the appellations of either. This point settled, it is gratifying to notice that I-tsing, as well as his contemporaries, furnish us reliable gnomonical data by which the geographical position and limits of the country in question can be determined accurately enough. As this is of great importance for our enquiry we shall avail ourselves of such an opportunity at once.

Starting first with I-tsing, he tells us[3] that in the country of *Shih-li Fo-shih*, at about the time of both equinoxes, at noon, there is no shadow cast on the dial-plate from the

[1] It is curious, and withal not a little amusing, to notice the serious geographical blunders to which incurable Javomania has led our Sinologists. Takakusu, the only one who, as we have seen, has found courage enough to publish the result (although incorrect) of the gnomonical observation at *Ho-ling*, is not convinced even after obtaining 6° 8′ N.; and, rather than give up his hobby about Java, attempts to otherwise explain the astounding discrepancy between his pet views and actual figures. "There is," he writes, "a confusion in the statement if a place in Java (6° 8′ S.) be meant. I must leave the point unsettled, until I have examined all the parallel passages in the Chinese books" (op. cit., p. xlvii). But it is in his head, and not in the statement of the Chinese annalists, that the confusion lies, which has been communicated thence, as we have seen, to the process of working out the data set before him.

[2] Chavannes, op. cit., p. 125, note 2, gives us the most clear proof of this.

[3] Takakusu, op. cit., pp. 143–144.

gnomon, or on the ground from a man who stands erect on those days. This argues that the land in question was crossed by the equator, and may have stretched for some distance on both sides of it.

On the other hand, the *Nan-Man Chuan*, or History of the Southern Barbarians, gives us the following interesting details.[1] "*Shih-li Fo-shih* lies 2,000 *li* (about 400 miles) beyond *Chün-t'u-lung Shan*, 軍徒弄山 (i.e. very likely *Kundur* Island in Durian Strait).[2] The country stretches for 1,000 *li* (or 200 miles) from east to west, and 4,000 *li* or more (about 800 miles) from north to south. It counts fourteen cities, and is divided into two States. Its whole western part is called *Lang-P'o-lu-sz*, 郎婆露斯 (i.e. *Lam-Bārūs*, see pp. 429–430 above). It produces much gold, cinnabar, and camphor (*Lung-nao*, for which *vide ante*, pp. 439 and 441). A gnomon eight feet high, erected on the day of the summer solstice, casts its shadow [at noon] 2 feet and 5 inches (or $2'\frac{5}{12}$) towards the south."

It will readily be seen that the dimensions here given correspond wonderfully closely with those of the island of Sumatra (the actual length of which is 960 miles and the greatest breadth 220 miles). The two States into which the country of *Shih-li Fo-shih* was divided were evidently: (1) *Shih-li Fo-shih* proper, comprising the whole eastern portion of the island; and (2) *Lam-Bārūs*, embracing its western half. The gnomonical data referred to, when worked out after the same method we have followed above for the determination of the latitude of *Ho-ling*, yield 5° 50′ N. latitude. The position thus determined corresponds to that of Pulo Way or Weh, the island lying off the north-western

[1] See *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, pp. 178 for translation, and 179, note 101, for the Chinese text with which I have collated it, inserting above the original terms with my own equivalents and identifications.

[2] The translator, Professor Schlegel, interprets this as meaning the *Kundurang* or *Gunturang* mountains, which is nonsense. An island is evidently intended, and this is almost certainly the island of Kundur, lying opposite the mouth of the Kampar River. Although the distance from this island to Palembang, the capital, is only some 250 miles, it is fully 400 miles, as stated in the text, from Pulo Kundur to the north coast of Sumatra, the point to which, as we shall see directly, the gnomonical observation recorded in the above passage applies.

extremity of Sumatra, but may well be taken—after due allowance has been made for the usual imperfections inherent in the gnomonical measurement in question—to apply to the northernmost limit of Sumatra, i.e. Pedro Point (lat. 5° 39′ N.). This gives us withal the northernmost limit of the land of *Shih-li Fo-shih*. There seems therefore no reason to doubt that the whole of the island of Sumatra, and more specifically its eastern portion from Achīn in the north down to Palembang and even the Lampungs in the south, was included by the Chinese under that general denomination of *Shih-li Fo-shih*; and the list of the fifteen States dependent on it, under its later designation of *San-Fo-ch'i*, given about A.D. 1240 by Chao Ju-kua, to which we shall have to revert in the sequel,[1] confirms that view.

Such being the facts it will be evident that the location assigned to *Ho-ling* in the books of the T'ang dynasty, at four or five days' sailing to the east of *Fo-shih*, perfectly agrees with the above deductions, and more especially with the results we have drawn from the gnomonical data handed down to us by the Chinese historians, which are: 5° 50′ N. lat. for the northern limit of *Fo-shih* or *Shih-li Fo-shih*, i.e. the northern end of Sumatra; and 6° 29′ N. lat. for *Ho-ling*, i.e. the west coast of the Malay Peninsula at about that latitude. These two points lie about 250 miles apart, a distance which it would take just about four or five days' sailing in the olden times to cover. The bearing is also correct, the latitudes of the two places being about equal, so that an easterly course would have to be steered in order to proceed from the former place to the latter.

Having thus made it certain, from calculations based upon data sufficiently reliable, that the position of *Ho-ling* or *Po-ling* must be fixed on the Malay Peninsula in about 6° 29′ N. lat., it remains to be seen how far this result agrees with local

[1] Among the fifteen States here referred to there are those of *Pa-lin-fêng* = Palembang and *Hsin-t'o*, which latter we have already shown to be Indrapura, on the south-west coast of Sumatra (*vide ante*, p. 455).

features, as well as with the location assigned to *Ho-ling* in respect of the conterminous States named in the Chinese texts.

A glance at a map of the Malay Peninsula will show that the 6° 29′ parallel of latitude skirts the southern limit of the Pulo Butong group of islands, passing afterwards just halfway between Pulo Langkawī and Pulo Terutao or Trotto, and cutting next the west coast of the Malay Peninsula a little above the mouth of the Perlis or Polit River, and the chef-lieu of the district of the same name which, like its neighbour Satūn or Satūl adjoining it on the north, was abstracted from the dominion of Kedah and placed under the direct dependence of the Siāmese Government in 1841. Continuing across the Malay Peninsula the same parallel reaches the eastern coast in the Sāi district, a little above Kwāla Menara, the mouth of the Tanjung Mās River. This was formerly part of Kelantan territory, the main stream of which debouches in the Gulf of Siām only some thirty miles to the south-east.

Returning, however, to the west coast of the Peninsula at the point where we left it, we do not here find in modern maps any toponymic suggestive of *Ho-ling* or *Po-ling*, except the very name *Perlis*, *Polit*, or *Palit*, which may indeed be somehow connected with the second form of the Chinese term.[1] In order to arrive at something approaching to the

[1] Of this district and its river thus wrote Michael Topping at the beginning of last century (see Dalrymple's "Oriental Repertory," London, 1808, vol. i, p. 399; and the reproduction of the account in "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. i, p. 1 et seq.): "Purlis has a deep narrow river, at the entrance of which is a small sandy island. . . . . The bar of the river is very long, with only ten feet of water upon it at spring tides. The town is situated four or five miles from this entrance [this must be the village of Kalasah, or that of Kangar mentioned in the "China Sea Directory," vol. i, p. 140, as the capital; Palit or Perlis proper being situated some six miles further up], in a valley of a mile and a half in circumference, encompassed with steep hills. The old king, in his latter days, chose this place for his residence, which occasioned many vessels and people to resort here. Since his death it has sunk into its former obscurity," etc.

Perlis, under the form *Parlés*, is mentioned several times by Mendez Pinto in his Travels since A.D. 1539 and 1545 (see English transl., London, 1692, pp. 22, 24, and 189); also by Bocarro in his Decadas (p. 187) in 1612. It seemed then a well-frequented resort of trade.

Further to the north of Perlis and Satūl there is, of course, the little State of

first form of the same we have to look a little lower down the coast towards the mouth of the Kedah River, where we are at once stopped by a familiar place-name, that of *Gunong Gerĭang* or *Geriyang*, better known to seafaring men, by whom it is reckoned an excellent landmark, as the 'Elephant Hill,' and greatly famed for its magnificent stalactite caves. A streamlet flowing from its neighbourhood takes, nowadays, its name from the hill; but the more important watercourse a little to the south of it—known as Kedah River only since the establishment on its banks of the new seat of government for Kedah in A.D. 1720, or somewhat earlier — was no doubt, like the surrounding territory, also named *Gerĭang* after the famous hill referred to above.[1] Here, then, we very probably have a real relic of the ancient *Ho-ling*, as this term in its old Chinese pronunciation was perfectly capable of representing sounds like *Garang*, *Kharang*, *Garing*, etc. The caves mentioned by the Chinese annalists as existing in *Ho-ling* may well be the very ones on Gerĭang Hill.[2] Similar caves occur, however, on several of the neighbouring islands of the Langkāwī group, as well as on the rocky islets fronting the mouth of the Traŋg river further up the coast.[3] Particularly worthy of mention is the famous cave known as the *Gūa Cherĭta* (from Skr. *Guhā Carita*,

Palĭan or *Plĭen*, the name of which somewhat resembles that of *Po-ling*. Very little is known, however, of its past history. A mountain *Kalong* exists at some 5½ miles as the crow flies south of the capital of Perlis, but too much stress cannot be laid on such vague toponymic resemblances.

[1] Topping, loc. cit., says that the principal seaport, called Quedah by strangers, is termed "*Qualla Batrang* by the natives"; that is to say, *Kwāla Batrang*, *Bātang*, or something similar. Here we have another toponymic which has long since disappeared from maps, and very likely also from the memory of the inhabitants. I am inclined to think, nevertheless, that both the river and territory in question must have been better known to ancient folk from the Gerĭang Hill.

[2] For a good description of the hill and its caves in 1833 see "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. *i*, pp. 212–215. T. Ward, its author, in noticing a tradition existing among the natives that the hill was at one time surrounded by the sea, remarks that he is inclined to believe, from geological indications, that such was the case at no very distant period (p. 214). Colonel Low also notices it (op. cit., p. 182); and, speaking of Gūnong Cherai (Jarai, Srai) or Kedah Peak further to the south, says that large crystals of quartz, gold, and tin ore are to be found there, while hot springs exist in various parts of the neighbouring central range of the Peninsula.

[3] For these caves on the Trang islets see Low, op. cit., pp. 183–184.

i.e. 'Legend Cave'),[1] on the north coast of Langkāwī Island, so called from an inscription in Arabic character high up on the limestone cliff at the entrance. This epigraphic document seems to be very old, and shows, at all events, that the island was frequented at one time by Arab navigators and traders.[2] Indeed, from the testimony of our own travellers some two centuries ago, it is legitimate to infer that the insular group of which it forms the principal part must have enjoyed in the past far greater notoriety and a busier life than nowadays.[3] Its position within a few miles of

[1] Marked *Goa Cherika* in the latest map of the Malay Peninsula published by the Straits Branch of the R.A.S. Hence the correct name may be, after all, *Guhā Cārika* (*Cārika-guhā*), i.e. 'Inscription Cave.'

[2] It would be very interesting to have the inscription deciphered and translated, as it may reveal to us some interesting phase of the as yet scarcely known past history of Langkāwī and neighbouring islands and coast. Mr. Kynnersley, who visited the spot in 1900, and gives an account of his trip in the *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.* for July, 1901 (No. 36), remarks anent the inscription (p. 62): "Certain Arabic words and names can be made out, but whether it is ancient, as the Malays like to believe, or some hundred years old, it is impossible to say." Evidently further investigation is needed here.

Since writing the above I have noticed the late W. E. Maxwell's most interesting article on "Pulau Langkawi" and its antiquities and legends in the *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 19 (1887), to which I refer the reader. Concerning the Gūa Cherīta, this accomplished scholar says (pp. 32–33) that the inscription, carved in the rock at a height of some twelve feet from the ground, is Malay, and contains a date, A.H. 1060 = A.D. 1649; it seems to record the visit of some rāja at that period, if the date alluded to is to be taken as the date when it was written, and not of some past event commemorated at a later period. Maxwell also gives a transcription of the opening sentences of the inscription as far as they are decipherable; of the remainder he notices, only a word here and there can be made out.

[3] According to Colonel Low (in his notes to his translation of the Kedah Annals, in *Journal Malay Archipelago*, vol. iii), *Laṅkāpurī* was the ancient name of this cluster of islands, now called *Laṅkāvarī* by the natives, but *Langkāvī* in the maps and modern books. In Siāmese records I find their name usually spelled *Nāngkāwī*; hence it is probable that owing to their being, like the Nikobārs, anciently inhabited by a stark-naked population they were similarly termed *Nanga-vāra*, *Nanga-vārī*. They are marked 龍牙交椅, *Lung-ya-chiao-i* (Cant. *Lung-ngā-kāu-i* = Laṅgākāwī), in the Chinese map of about A.D. 1400 published by Phillips (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxi, 1886, p. 38). This is perhaps the most ancient mention of them extant, at any rate under that name. In 1606 Matelief calls them *Lanchevy*; and shortly afterwards (A.D. 1621) Beaulieu gives a rather detailed description of "l'isle que ses habitants nomment *Lancahui*, et ceux d'Achem *Pulo Lada* ou l'Isle au poivre," and speaks of rather extensive pepper plantations situated at the foot of a large mountain there (Gūnong Raya?), owing to which an active intercourse was maintained with the island (see Prévost's "Collection of Voyages," vol. viii, p. 336, and vol. ix, p. 334). Now rice and sugar are the principal productions, the valleys and plains being inhabited and cultivated. There are numerous villages, of which the principal one is Kwah, near the south-eastern extremity of

several once flourishing seaports on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and in the track of sailing vessels proceeding thither from the southern coast of India and from Ceylon *viâ* the Nikobārs, or travelling to and fro along the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, between the Gangetic Delta, Arakan, Pegu, and the Straits, coupled with the fact of its possessing good anchorages, cannot but have helped in making it, if not a large emporium, at least a well-known place of call for ships and an *entrepôt* for transoceanic trade. Even at present some considerable amount of commerce is carried on with Penang and the adjacent coasts by junks,

the island. The term *Pulo Lāda*, or 'Pepper Island,' is actually, strange to say, applied to Pulo Butun, the south-western island of the group, which is hilly and covered with thick jungle. But formerly the islands were collectively known as the *Lādas* or pepper islands. The view expressed by Dennys ("Descriptive Dict. of British Malaya," p. 318) that they were "so called more probably from their number than their produce" will now be seen, after the evidence from Beaulieu, to be absolutely unfounded. On Dayang Bunting, the largest southern island, separated from the adjacent Pulo Tuba by a narrow winding channel (Selat Tuba), there is a fresh-water lake about 500 yards long. Thermal springs exist near Tanjong Dundang or Dendang (or Gamarau), the north-east extreme of Langkāwī Island. According to a Malay tradition the body of Tun Jana Khateb, a noted champion from Pāsei, lies at Langkāwī (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 83). A far more important legend about the island is given by Maxwell, op. cit., pp. 31–32. According to it Langkāwī is the old *Langkāpurī* (Laṅkāpura, i.e. Ceylon), where the celebrated war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa took place. After this war the island was little frequented, and in later ages became the home of the bird Garuḍa. [See above, pp. 80–81, where, from other indications, I was before this led to locate the abode of Garuḍa—the *Kūṭa-Śālmali* peak—on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. The Vāyu Purāṇa places the said abode on *Vaikaṅka*, a mountain range running eastward from Mount Meru; see Hall's ed. of Wilson's V.P., vol. ii, p. 118. In Chinese literature the *Ta-p'ang-niau*, 大鵬鳥, or Chinese Rukh, is said to reside on the island of *K'un-lun Ts'éng-sz*, in the south-western sea, i.e. Malay Peninsula or Archipelago; see *Chinese Recorder*, vol. iii, p. 361, and *China Review*, vol. viii, p. 189. Ibn Baṭūṭa pretends to have met it there (op. cit., vol. iv, pp. 305–306).] At a far later period it is stated in the legendary chronicle of Kedah that the prince from Rūm to whom the foundation of Kedah is ascribed, being shipwrecked on Garuḍa's island of Langkāpurī (i.e. Pulo Langkāwī), found a hiding-place, safe from Garuḍa's hostility, in the very famous cave of Gūa Cherīta, where he was tended by his future wife, the daughter of the Emperor of China, until through the providential intervention of Sulaimān (Solomon) he was set free to lay the foundation of the Kedah State on the opposite coast. The name of the hospitable island was afterwards changed from *Langkāpurī* to *Langkāwī*. This is a far more accurate version of the story than that given by Colonel Low in his translation—which Maxwell calls "inferior"—from the Kedah Chronicle. Another legend about a Princess *Meran Langkāwī* occurs in the Malay romance of Isma Yatim (see Newbold's "Straits of Malacca," London, 1839, vol. ii, p. 332).

while larger vessels and men-of-war occasionally visit the island.

In conclusion, there is ample evidence to show that the insular group of the Langkāwīs, as well as the mainland abreast of it, were in the old days of exclusive sail navigation the centres of active trade and intercourse with transoceanic countries. We have, of course, no exact data as regards the extension of *Ho-ling* except the vaguely defined boundaries with adjoining States mentioned by the Chinese annalists, and we do not therefore know how far south and north it stretched on the Malay Peninsula; but I think that the position I have indicated in about 6° 29′ N. lat. very closely corresponds to that of the central part of the kingdom, or, at any rate, of the district where its capital or principal seaport was situated. Tanjung *Sāwah*, the south-western promontory of Langkāwī Island, and Pulo *Tuba*, the island lying close eastward of Pulo Dayang Bunting, bear names strikingly similar to *Shê-p'o* or *Tu-p'o*; but it is more probable that this term was a generic designation of the Malay Peninsula at the time being, of which *Ho-ling* was merely a part. In fact, although *Ho-ling* is also called *Shê-p'o*, i.e. Java, in the Chinese accounts of it, and its later capital is said to have been at the city of *Shê-p'o* or *Tu-p'o* (Java or Tuba), we have seen that the kingdom of *Ho-lo-tan* is likewise stated to have been situated on the island of *Shê-p'o* or *Tu-p'o*. Thus *Ho-ling* was most probably simply the name for a part of *Shê-p'o* rather than a synonym for the whole of that region.

Off the north coast of Langkāwī Island, and nearly abreast of the spot occupied by the Gūa Cherīta cave, there is an islet bearing the name of Pulo Kilim. Other toponymics similar to *Ho-ling* occur further up and down the west coast of the Malay Peninsula.[1] We shall presently see, however, that

[1] They are, on the north: *Khelong* or *Khelung* Bay, in the south-eastern part of Junkceylon Island; the islet of *Khalem* (Koḥ Khalem), at the entrance to that bay; and, a good deal farther to the north, *Klung* or *Müang Khlung*, an ancient district above Takôpa, towards Ranông. On the south: (1) Sungei *Kling*, a small eastern affluent of the Pêrak River, close to its mouth in

none of the places they belong to is so suitably situated as the Gerĭang Hill and surrounding territory, in respect of the States named by the Chinese annalists as conterminous with *Ho-ling*. The positions of the States in question in relation to that of *Ho-ling* as given in the rectified account adopted by us above, and their probable modern equivalents with which we propose to identify them, are as follows:—

1. On the west *P'o-têng* or *To-p'o-têng*, to the west of which lies *Mi-li-ch'ê*. *To-p'o-têng*, 墮婆登, is very likely the place marked *Tapting* in lat. 7° 35′ N. and long. 99° 30′ E., or just above Trang, in McCarthy's map[1]; and may thus correspond to an old State having its centre in the Trang district and formerly bearing that name. Again, *To-p'o-têng* may, though less probably, stand for *Takŭa-thùng* in the elided form *Ta-*[*k*]*-wa-thùng*. So may *P'o-têng* designate *Pulo Butong*, the insular group lying off to the west of Langkāwī; but it is more likely that it is a mere abbreviation

South-West Pêrak. (2) *Klang* or *Kalang*, now the residence of Selangor, on the Sungei *Klang* at about twelve miles from its mouth, which is called Kwāla *Klang*. This river is marked in the Chinese map of about A.D. 1399, published by Phillips, as 吉令港, *Chi-ling* (Ki-ling) *Chiang*, a spelling which excludes its identification with *Ho-ling*. On this stream was situated the former State of Kalang, the foundation of which is claimed by the Benūa (Banawa or *Vānava*) tribes. *Kalang*, according to Newbold, means 'tin,' and the country about Selangor was called *Negri Kalang*, i.e. 'Land of Tin.' After the foundation of Malacca (*circâ* 1350–1400) Kalang became one of its dependencies, being governed by the chief of Pêrak (see Newbold's "British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca," London, 1839, vol. ii, pp. 30, 376). (3) Pulo *Klang* or *Kalang* (sometimes marked as Kalam, Kallain, etc., in the old maps), an island at the mouth of the Klang River. (4) Tanjung *Kling*, a point six miles west of the town of Malacca. (5) *Kalang* or *Kallang*, a district on Singapore Island just above *Gelang* and east of Rochor, from which it is separated by a small stream, the Sungei *Kalang*. There is also a hill, Bukit *Kallang*, on the central part of the island. Of toponymics similar to *Po-ling* we have very few. One is Sungei *Baling*, a stream rising in Central Kedah and flowing into the Muda River. Another is *Pualing*, a considerable village in North Malacca, about twenty miles inland from Malacca town. Lastly, may be mentioned the *Krĭan* or *Kerĭan* River and District, just below Province Wellesley.

[1] Annexed to his book "Surveying and Exploring in Siam," London, 1900. The Siāmese name of the place in question seems to be *Thap-thĭen*, which, if correct, would make very little difference in our identification. I have since noticed that Warington Smyth mentions it under the form *Taptieng* as a great pepper district, to which the plantations give a delightful aspect ("Five Years in Siam," London, 1898, vol. ii, pp. 8, 10). This spelling *Taptieng*, if correct, is even more suggestive of *To-p'o-têng*.

of *To-p'o-têng*. In any case, it will be seen that the State so named has every chance of being the territory stretching from Trang towards *Takūa-thùng* and even further. Though it may be easy to find place-names somewhat resembling *P'o-têng* further down the west coast of the Peninsula, I do not think one exists which could be connected with *To-p'o-têng*; hence I believe that my identification is correct.[1]

As regards *Mi-li-ch'ê*, there seems to be no doubt that it is Mergui further to the north,[2] as the manner in which that name is spelled in Chinese, 迷黎車, makes it capable of being read also *Mi-li-chü* or *Mi-li-kü*, *Mi-li-ki*, etc., which forms closely resemble those (*Mergi*, *Mirgi*, etc.) recorded in the early pages of this paper for Mergui (*vide supra*, pp. 84–85). The variant 迷離, *Mi-li* (*Me-li*, *Mai-lei*), we have noticed as occurring in the "San-ts'ai T'u-hwei" for a State situated to the west of *P'o-têng*, evidently refers to the same place elsewhere termed *Mi-li-ch'e*.

[1] Groeneveldt, we have seen, has not hesitated to identify *To-p'o-têng* with the island of Bālī, بالی, east of Java (see "Essays relating to Indo-China," 2nd series, vol. i, p. 183). Professor Schlegel (in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, 1898, pp. 284–285), although asserting he is wrong, is at a loss to find a suitable equivalent for *To-p'o-têng*, and inclines to locate it at Tringānu. He makes bold to suggest some Malay equivalent like *Bātang*, but cannot manage to dispose of the first syllable *To* of the name.

[2] In Groeneveldt's opinion (op. cit., p. 237) *Mi-li-ch'ê* would correspond to the Moluccas (!), which are situated neither to the east or west of his 'Bali.' Professor Schlegel (op. cit., p. 287) reads *Bé-lê-ch'ia*, and supposes the term is a transcript of the Sanskrit *Mleccha* [Pāli *Milakkha*] usually applied to uncivilized tribes. He therefore takes it to refer to the wild Negritos of the Malay Peninsula. But this is altogether too vague. He might have, with better cause, connected the term with *Marica*, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Malay *Lāda*, i.e. pepper, which becomes *P'hrik* (for *Barica*, *Brica*) in Siāmese, and may have been the name given by Indū navigators to the insular group of the *Lāda* or Langkāwī Islands. This is, however, a mere conjecture, unsupported moreover by topographical evidence; nay, in distinct contradiction with it, as it is related in the Chinese accounts. I have thought of Myitta or Mritta on the Tenasserim River in the Tavoy district, which was once a flourishing town; but I believe that Mergui or *Marit*, the ancient *Mṛttikā* (see above, p. 82), is really the place intended.

There also existed on or about the site of the present Patāni a city or fort known as *Kota Meligei* or *Meliyei* (Maligai? Newbold, vol. ii, p. 68, writes *Malikei*), after which the country round about seems to have been named, before the foundation there of Patāni in about A.D. 1500 (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," pp. 85 and 319). Possibly this was somehow connected with the present Legeh, which formed until a few decades ago part of Patāni territory. From its situation on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula I do not think that this *Meligei* is in any way connected with *Mi-li-ch'é*.

2. On the east *P'o-li*, to the east of which lies *Lo-ch'a*. *P'o-li*, 婆利 (*P'a-lai*, *Bālei*, *Valai*, or *Vāri*), is stated in New T'ang History to be known also as 馬禮, *Ma-li* (*Ma-lai*, *Barai*, *Bālai*, etc.), to abound in ponies, and to produce also carbuncles, some being as large as a hen's egg.[1] The people of the country, according to the Sui Annals (A.D. 581–617), were skilled at throwing metal quoits or *cakras*, by which they never failed to hit their adversaries.[2] The history of the Liang dynasty mentions that in A.D. 518–523 the king's family name was Kāuṇḍiṇya, who stated that the wife of Śuddhodana was a woman from his country.[3] The land produced a soft stone called

[1] See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 206; and *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, 1898, pp. 290–291, also vol. ii (second series), 1901, pp. 334–335. Groeneveldt translates 'fire-pearls,' but Professor Schlegel, more rightly, 'carbuncles,' for the description given of them is: "They are round and white, and shine to a distance of several feet; when one holds such a pearl at midday over some tinder, the fire immediately springs from it." This argues them to be crystals, very likely of quartz, shaped somehow like a lens, and capable as such of concentrating the sun's rays. The same articles are said to be produced at *Lo-ch'a*, and it is recorded that between A.D. 650 and 755 one of such crystals, as large as a hen's egg, was sent as tribute to China by *Lin-i* (Campā), which was stated to have been obtained from the kingdom of *Lo-ch'a*. We have in a preceding page called attention to the fact that large crystals of quartz have been noticed by Colonel Low to the south of Gūnong Cherai or Kedah Peak. Very likely they occur also in the main range and on the eastern watershed of the Malay Peninsula, where it is probable that *Lo-ch'a* was situated. Newbold speaks of them as occurring in the alluvial earth thrown out from tin-mines in Sungei Ujong and other districts of the Peninsula ("British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca," London, 1839, vol. ii, p. 99, etc.). Also, in considerable quantities and with gold-dust, at the base of Mount Ophir (Malacca); in Tringānu, Pahang, Gominchi, etc. (vol. i, p. 403). The presence of such crystals very likely originated the legend of diamonds being found in Kedah, Jala, Malacca (*Taniapura* or Tanjung-pura), and neighbouring places on the Malay Peninsula (see Dennys, op. cit., p. 178; Mandelslo, Amsterdam ed. of 1727, p. 335; Garcia de Orta, etc.).

[2] The description given shows these weapons to be *cakras*: "It is the size of a (Chinese metal) mirror, in the middle is a hole, and the edge is like a saw" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 205). Tavernier speaks of these discs being still used in his time at Sidhpur in India (see V. Ball's Tavernier's "Travels in India," London, 1889, vol. i, p. 82).

[3] *Kauṇḍiṇya*, in Pāli *Koṇḍañña*, is the well-known name, amongst others, of the maternal uncle of Suddhodana, the father of Gotama Buddha. Suddhodana's wife was *Māyā*, Buddha's mother, and her birthplace was the city of *Kolī*, or *Koliya*, also known as *Vyāghrapura* ('Tiger City') and later on as *Devadaha* from the Prince of that name, on the Rohiṇī. Several kings in Indo-China are recorded who bore the name of *Koṇḍañña*, one being a Brāhman, who, according to Chinese records (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 439), came from India in about A.D. 400–420 *viâ P'an-p'an* to *Fu-nan* (Kamboja), and became the sovereign of that country, his descendants continuing to bear the family name of *Koṇḍañña*, the founder of their dynasty. As far down as A.D. 970 the name *Kauṇḍiṇya* occurs in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kamboja for

Kambaḷa, out of which figures were carved that became very hard after long exposure.[1] The Sui history adds that in A.D. 516 the king's family name was *Ch'a-li Yāka*, and his personal name *Hu-lan-na-p'o*[2]; and says of the people that for their sacrifices they choose a time when there is

the line of kings reigning there. From the passage cited above, it may be inferred that in *P'o-li* also there may have reigned a personage of the same name hailing from the ancient home of the Sākya princes in the Nepāl terai, where Koliya was situated. This would argue that the royal family of *P'o-li* were Buddhists at the time being. With these circumstances the fact may or may not be connected of a city bearing the name, as recorded by Ptolemy, of **Kōli** (*supra*, pp. 105–106), existing right across the Malay Peninsula in the Kelantan district, which may have been founded by the *P'o-li* sovereigns or their relatives in order to record their place of origin.

[1] Professor Schlegel (in *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 183) identifies this stone with a species of marl called *Napal* by the Malays. This, he says, though very soft at first, becomes under water so smooth and hard that sometimes the anchors do not hold upon it. He is unable, however, to cite any examples of carvings from this material as extant on the east coast of Sumatra, where he places *P'o-li*. I can, on the contrary, point out endless instances of images impressed on tablets moulded out of a somewhat stiff clay, which are to be found in many a limestone cave of the Trang, Jala, Pahang, and other districts on the Malay Peninsula. Some of these have been described in *Man* for December, 1902, pp. 177–178. The author of the article there says of them (p. 178): "On being exposed to the air they soon become harder and assume a paler colour." I have a few of them with me, and although I must confess the material is rather brittle, I am inclined to take it that this is the 'soft stone' with 'carved figures' alluded to in the above account. I have, since writing the above, come across two references to the very *Napal* stone in Newbold's "Statistical Account of the Straits of Malacca," London, 1839, vol. ii, pp. 98 and 142. The author says it is steatite, and occurs in a stratum under the tin ore in Sungei Ujong and above the gold-bearing rock at Bukit Chimendras in Gominchi (Johol State). He adds that the first layer of *Napal* is soft and whitish (p. 142). This proves that *Napal* is more especially a product of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula than of the east coast of Sumatra, as Professor Schlegel would have us believe.

[2] 剎利邪伽 and 護濫那婆 or 護路那婆. The first name seems to mean *Kṣatriya*, *Saka*, *Sakya*, *Yakkha*, or *Yaga*. The second sounds something like *Huraṇṇava*, *Bhūraṇṇava*, *Hulu-nava*, or *Uru-lava*, *Urṇāva*. A Sanskrit inscription on a stele at Wat Mahēyong (Mahiyaṅgaṇa), near Ligor, dating probably from the seventh or eighth centuries, mentions a personage under the name of *Arṇṇāya* (Arṇṇa, Ūrṇāyu (?), the reading being uncertain), which may be the king in question, and also contains the name of a certain "illustrious *Agasti*," which may be the same person whose name is recorded above under the mutilated form of *Saga* or *Yaga*. The reason why I suggest these connections is because the same inscription speaks of *Cīna-dhvajā*, or 'Chinese flags,' perhaps banners made of China silk, thus showing that the country had intercourse with China. It is a pity that this epigraphic monument should be so badly preserved as to prove for the most part undecipherable. The fact of its having been found in the Ligor district is no certain proof that it originally stood there: it may very well have been brought across from the western watershed where *P'o-li* was, or erected on the occasion of some visit to Ligor of a king from *P'o-li*.

no moon; they then fill a platter with wine and eatables and let it float away on the stream; in the eleventh month they always offer a great sacrifice.[1] The sea produces coral. The itinerary followed by ships sailing to their country from Tonkin was by way of *Ch'ih-t'u* (head of the Gulf of Siām) and *Tan-tan* (Pulo Tanta-lam, between Ligor and Singora).[2] The New History of the T'ang Dynasty describes the people as having swarthy bodies and red frizzled hair, nails like hawks, and teeth like wild beasts; they perforate their ears and put rings (pendants) into them, and wrap a piece of cotton round their loins. Their markets are held at night and with veiled faces.[3] The king, when going out,

[1] Here it is a question of the festival of floating offerings in streams, introduced a long time ago from India into Indo-China, and known in Siām under the name of *Lôi-krathong*, or 'Leaf-platters floating.' It takes place at the eleventh and twelfth full moons, which generally fall in October and November respectively. The custom is widespread all over the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, it being practised with some variations even among the *Biajūs* of Borneo. It also exists in the Maldive Islands (see Leyden in "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. i, p. 123). It is probable, however, that its adoption in the Archipelago occurred at a comparatively modern date, and that earlier it was mainly confined to the Malay Peninsula, where it survives to this very day, even in the purely Malay States, such as Pêrak, Selangor, etc. (see *Straits Times*, Aug. 13th, 1895, art. "Malay Customs in Selangor").

[2] Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 205–206, and *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 332 et seq. In these, as well as in the following passages, I have, as a rule, adopted the emendations to Groeneveldt's translation proposed by Professor Schlegel. I should like to call attention here to the fact that Valentijn in his map of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra marks a place by the name of *Tantan Velho* (i.e. 'Old *Tantan*' in Portuguese) on the Old Singapore Strait, immediately to the east of *Tandjong Boero* (Tanjong Bulus).

[3] Hervey de St. Denys translates the same passage as embodied in Ma Tuan-lin's work thus (p. 459): "Les naturels ont le corps noir, des cheveux rouges et crépus, des ongles d'oiseaux de proie, et des dents de bêtes féroces. Ils se percent les oreilles pour y suspendre de petites sonnettes et ceignent leurs reins d'umlè d'étoffe de coton. Ils tiennent leur marchés la nuit, et s'y rendent le visage couvert." Practically the same description is given of the natives of *Lo-ch'a*, the State lying east of *P'o-li*, on p. 489 of the same work: "Les habitants sont très laids; ils ont la peau noire, les cheveux rouges, des dents de carnassiers, et des ongles d'oiseaux de proie. De temps en temps, ils vont faire le commerce sur les côtes du *Lin-i* (Campā). Ils arrivent et se montrent seulement pendant la nuit; le jour ils se tiennent cachés." Dr. MacGowan, quoting from I know not what Chinese work, writes as follows in the *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 289: "In the reign of Yang-ti of the Sui, 605–16, the Pali of Sumatra [read *P'o-li* and omit Sumatra] brought as tribute specimens of their wild men,—black in colour, hair red and curled, feet and toes like birds' claws, and teeth like brute beasts; their ears were perforated; for clothing they used a strip of cloth. Subsequently these savages are again named by an officer sent by Yang-ti to Pali [*P'o-li*], from whom it was ascertained that they were called Losha [*Lo-ch'a*] and occupied an extensive region east of Pali [*P'o-li*]. They were of dreadful

sits in a chariot drawn by an elephant, etc. Most of these particulars are repeated from the preceding histories of the Liang and Sui dynasties with but trifling additions, hence it seems that all Chinese intercourse with *P'o-li* practically ceased after 616 A.D., the date of the latest embassy mentioned in those records. I-tsing has merely a passing reference to it somewhat later on (A.D. 671–695).

It will readily be seen, from *P'o-li's* topographical location to the east (or, more correctly, south-east) of *Ho-ling*, that it must have been on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula from, say, the 6th or 5th degree of North latitude downwards. Such being the case, it must be identified either with Pêrak or the district on the banks of the *Prai* River (abreast of Pinang Island), or, again, the territory round about the *Pulai* stream and Gūnong *Pulai*, at the very south-eastern extremity of the Malay Peninsula, and at the western entrance to the Old Singapore Strait. There are, of course, many other places on the west coast of the Peninsula and elsewhere bearing similar names, but they

appearance, black, red-headed, with claws for fingers and toes. They engaged in commerce, trading with Lin-yih, all transactions taking place by night, or, if trading by day, it was with veiled faces." The translator then proceeds to suggest that these savages—hardly savages or wild men, by the way, for they engaged in trade with other peoples—might have been the progenitors of the present Kubus. There can be no doubt, however, that tribes of Negrito stock on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula are implied, and with them is wrongly included the far more civilized Mōñ-Khmēr population settled along the sea-coast and on the adjacent islands, which was really the element that carried on the trade and maintained intercourse with neighbouring countries, employing, as a matter of course, slaves from those savage tribes to do menial work, man the boats and sea-vessels, etc. It is most probably only in such a capacity, i.e. of ship-crews, that batches of Sakai and Samangs ever got to the coast of Campā. As no native race is to be found on the east coast of Sumatra or the islands immediately adjoining it possessing the somatic characteristics depicted above—though evidently with exaggerated touches—for the populations of *P'o-li* and *Lo-ch'a*, we are compelled to locate these two countries on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, where we meet such characteristics in the Samangs, the Panggangs, the Tumiors, etc. As regards the practice of holding markets at night in *P'o-li*, it is interesting to observe that the same custom was followed down to the sixteenth century at Malacca, of which the "Hai-yü" (1537) says: "Women hold a market at night, but must finish at the second drum; when they stay over this term and are caught by the patrolling *orang kaya*, they are killed, and the king does not look further into the affair" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 247). This shows that *P'o-li* must have occupied the very same stretch of country or a conterminous one, as we have already inferred for other reasons.

are mostly insignificant and of very doubtful antiquity.[1] The one other place, now no longer existing, that might lay some claim to identification with *P'o-li* is *Worawārī* or *Varavārī*, which is mentioned as early as A.D. 1360 in the Palatine Law Code of Ayuthia as one of the tributary States to Siām in the south (Malay Peninsula[2]). Whether the district so named has any connection with the *Wāris* tribe, better known as *Bidwanda*, who, settling in the southernmost part of the Malay Peninsula, proceeded to encroach upon Sakai territory further to the north, I am unable to say; but I should think not, because *Wāris* appears to be a relatively modern epithet.[3] It is, of course, possible that the term *P'o-li* may represent some such word as *Bālei*, بالي, meaning a hall of state, a court, a term often applied to capitals of Malay districts, in which case it would have disappeared long ago, along with the particular place it designated. But it is not altogether improbable that, in its alternative form, *Ma-li* (or *Malei*, *Malai*), we have the country which Edrīsī recorded in A.D. 1154 under the name of 'Island of *Malāi*,' ملاى.[4]

[1] Like, e.g., *Palei*, a small village in South Malacca, about half a mile from the coast; Sungei *Pulai*, a rivulet further up the coast, below the Bernam River, etc.

[2] See above, p. 84, where I have suggested its possible connection with **Bērabai** or Mergui, which is, however, far from certain. So its spelling, which may have come down to us in a corrupt form. *Wara-ārī*, according to a Siāmese list of Malay poetical terms given in the "Pathama Mālā," p. 91, is the Malay word for the China-rose (*Hibiscus rosa Sinensis*). The common name for this plant is, however, *Bunga Raya*, and in the catalogues of Malay plant-names at my disposal I only find *Waru* or *Baru* = *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, L. The term *Varavārī* may be, on the other hand, a contraction of Muār, موار, *Muwāra*, or *Mora-Muār*, the name of a well-known river below Malacca, which may have been known also as *Mwāra-vāri*.

[3] See *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, July, 1898, No. 31, pp. 47–59. *Wāris* is an Arabic word adopted into Malay, meaning an heir, and was probably given the Bidwandas from the fact of their having been the first comers in the Negri Sembilan district. See also the said *Journal*, No. 22, pp. 299, 302, 312–316.

[4] See Jaubert's "Géographie d'Édrisi," Paris, 1836, t. i, pp. 86, 92. This term, together with the Chinese *Ma-li* or *Ma-lei*, should be compared with *Śālmali*, *Suvarṇa-mālī*, *Malai-kolam*, etc., above (pp. 80, 81, 104). However, *vide infra*.

In any case, from the fact of *P'o-li* being described as quite an extensive country,[1] containing 136 villages or settlements, we think we are justified in assigning to it the whole stretch of coast from the Prai River on the north to the Pulai stream on the south, thus including within its compass all places referred to above as likely to have given their name to the whole country in question.

It should be added that the Sui annals mention another State with an almost identical name, though somewhat differently spelled, viz. 薄利, *Po-li* (*Pok-lai*, *Bu-li*).[2] This country, however, seems to have no connection with *P'o-li*, and probably must be sought for on the east coast of Sumatra, if not elsewhere in the Archipelago.

East from *P'o-li* lay, as we have seen, the land of *Lo-ch'a*, with customs and population similar to those of *P'o-li*. By this we have already suggested that the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, from Johor, or even the Rochor River on Singapore Island, up to Pahang and even further to the north, is meant.[3] If *Lo-ch'a* stands for *Rākṣas* or *Rākṣasa*, it is no doubt intended for the *Jakūns*, جاكون, of the more southern parts of the Peninsula, and perhaps also for the wilder tribes of Negrito-Sakai stock populating its eastern coast. The term may, however, be merely a toponymic travestied, in Chinese spelling, so as to assume that meaning which it may not at all have had in its original local form. We have already pointed out Rochor as a possible equivalent. But there is a more approximate one yet, namely, *Latcha*, a small stream debouching a little above the river of Chana (Chănaḥ), in the district of this name, in about 7° 4′ N. lat.

[1] Fifty days' travelling from east to west and twenty days' from south to north according to the Liang Annals; four months and forty-five days respectively according to Sui history; several thousand *li* in extent according to the New T'ang History.

[2] See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 515. This country is described as situated in the bay formed by the sea to the south of the land of 抱利, *Chü-li* (*K'öü-lei*, *Kü-lei*, *Ki-li*, *Kü-ri*). The natives are black-skinned, have very white teeth and red eyes, disposed horizontally. Men and women alike go stark-naked.

[3] See above, pp. 260, 261.

Another not very dissimilar name is that of *Legeh* or *Lagëḥ*, also called *Rangëḥ* (but usually spelled *Ranga*), not far below (6° 15′ N. lat.).[1]

3. On the north, *Chên-la* (Kamboja). This bearing is fairly correct as far as Chinese bearings go; more correct in any case than that given for *P'o-têng*, which, though lying to the west of *Ho-ling*, is located to the south of *Lin-i*,

[1] The Chinese characters 羅 刹 employed in writing the term *Lo-ch'a* are, it should be observed, pronounced *Lo-ch'at*, *Lo-sat*, *Loa-sak* in the Southern Chinese dialects, and *Lā-shat* in Annamese, the second one meaning, in reality, *chatr* or *chattra* (Pāli *chatta*), a parasol or umbrella, the state canopy which is one of the insignia of royalty. If not intended to convey the significance of *Rākṣasa*, *Lo-ch'a* must have accordingly been the transcript of a toponymic sounding something like *Lach'a*, *Lach'at*, *Lashak*, *Lajar*, *Lajaḥ*, etc., in its original form. Such being the case, it occurs to me that this kingdom of *Lo-ch'a* or *Lach'at*, *Lach'ak*, etc., must have been the hitherto unidentified province of *Locat*, *Lochac*, *Locheac*, *Loach*, *Loear*, or *Loncat*, visited by Marco Polo on his homeward journey from China and Champā, which was most assuredly situated about this point on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and not on the coast of Kamboja or Siām as has hitherto been conjectured. If not actually *Lateha* in Chanaḥ, it is undoubtedly *Legeh* or *Lagëḥ*, which name, on account of the explosive and abruptly cut off sound of the last syllable, may seem to the uninitiated to sound like *Lagëk*, *Langëk*. I have often thought about Lakhōn or Ligor as being probably Marco Polo's *Locat* or *Loeac*; but on account of the wide difference in sounds between the two names I now consider the identification proposed to be preferable. It should be observed that Marco Polo says of this place that it is so bad that very few people go there; hence it cannot have been a great emporium of trade, and this is exactly what suits the district in question. His statement as regards gold being plentiful there also admirably suits Chanaḥ and Legeḥ, whereas it would ill apply to the coast of Kamboja and the upper part of the Gulf of Siām.

Our Sinologists have preferred to identify the country of *Lo-ch'a* with the Nikobārs, although most distinctly stated to lie east of *P'o-li*. Groeneveldt (op. cit., p. 207) says: "This [*Lo-ch'a*] has been, for a long time, the name of the Nicobar Islands, probably on account of the wildness and bad reputation of their inhabitants." I should like to see what proofs he has for saying this. *Rākṣasa-dvīpa* is, as far as I am aware, a term given of old to Ceylon (see Senart, "La Légende du Bouddha," p. 272; and "Lalita-vistara," Calcutta ed., p. 196), and not to the Nikobārs. Professor Schlegel, in the *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 177 et seq., takes it for granted that *Lo-ch'a* means the Nikobārs, and corrects into 'west' the bearing given of that country 'east' of *P'o-li*. The fact of Ch'ang-hsün, the Chinese ambassador to *Ch'ih-t'u* (Sukhada in Siām) in A.D. 607–8, having called at *Lo-ch'a* on his homeward route to China, does not alter the learned Professor's preconceived opinion and put him on his guard. Fancy Ch'ang-hsün making a little pleasure détour *viâ* the Nikobārs in order to get back to China from Siām! I have carefully followed and laid down step by step his route in my "Siam's Intercourse with China" (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1901, pp. 163–164), where I have demonstrated that the place touched at, *Lo-ch'a*, must have stood on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, in Pahang or thereabouts. In that position, and that only, could it be touched at by *Ch'ang-hsün* on his route from Siām to Campā and China, as it was by Marco Polo on his outward voyage from China and Champā to the Straits.

i.e. Champā. Those who are inclined to locate *Ho-ling* in Java have this in their favour, that they place it correctly in respect of Kamboja, but at what distance away! and are at a loss to make the other countries named as neighbours of *Ho-ling* fit in in the directions indicated for them.

4. On the south, the insular kingdom called *To-mo-ch'ang*, which has: (1) *To-lung* on the west, (2) *P'o-fêng* on the east, and (3) *Pan-chih-pa* or *Ch'ien-chih-fu* on the south. The distance at which *To-mo-ch'ang* lies south of *Ho-ling* is not stated, hence the difficulty of identifying it. I have thought of Tamiang or Tamiyang, on the east coast of Sumatra, in about 4° 25′ N. lat.; but this is recorded, at least, from A.D. 1436, by Fei-Hsin as 淡洋, *Tan-yang* or *Tam-yang*,[1] and besides does not suit, both on account of its not being an island and of its not having in its neighbourhood places bearing names similar to those indicated. I have therefore come to the conclusion that *To-mo-ch'ang*, 多摩萇, is very likely Singapore Island, which in the Chinese map of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips appears as 長腰嶼, *Ch'ang-yau* Island,[2] a term not unseemingly derived from the former. *To-mo*, the first part of the name, may very well represent the term *Tama*, *Tuma*, which we have noticed here in *Bêtumah*, *Tamus*, or *Tamarus Promontorium*,[3] and which survives to

[1] See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 216; and *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 365–366. There is, in truth, an island as well called *Temiang*, which gives its name to Temiang Strait, between Rīau (Rhio) and Linga; but this does not appear to suit the case. Neither does Pulo Temian in the south-western Anambas.

[2] Lit. 'Long-loined Island.' An island of the same name is mentioned in the Chinese account of Brūnai, West Borneo (see Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 223), as lying in the river.

[3] See pp. 199–200, 249, *ante*. We have also *Bukit Timah*, or 'Tin Hill,' 550 feet high, to the north-west of Singapore town, and the highest elevation on the Island of Singapore; the name of which, *Timah*, may be connected with the above through the Sanskrit *tamara* = 'tin.'

The passage in question says: "Formerly their city had a stone wall and a wooden wall; the stone wall was demolished in order to fill up the island *Ch'ang-yau* and shut out the sea." This evidently refers to the *Kota Bātu* or artificial bar formed in the river, according to the "Selesīlah" of the rājas of Brūnai, by Sulṭān Berkat, between the islands *Kāya Orang* and *Pulau Chermin*, which jointly command the entrance of the Brūnai River (see *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 5, June, 1880, pp. 3, 7). *Ch'ang-yau* here does not seem to be a transcript of the name of either of the two islands, but a collective name given to them together with the connecting bar. *Ch'ang-yau*, or *Ch'öng-iu*,

this day in *Tumerau* or *Tembrau*, the name of the Old Singapore Strait, the *Selat Tebrau* of modern maps. *Ch'ang* may stand for *ūjong* = 'promontory,' and the whole represent *Tama-ūjong*, or something similar, which would be a form analogous to *Tamaśak* = '*Tama* Land,' that we have already met here (*supra*, p. 199). The toponymy of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago offers us forms like *Temanjung*,[1] *Manjong*, منجوڠ, the ancient name for the Pêrak district (see above, p. 98); and *Temajo* or *Temaju*, an island off the west coast of Borneo, abreast of Sangan Point; but I think that *To-mo-ch'ang* could nowhere be better located than on Singapore Island as proposed above.[2]

This point settled, it remains to look for the other places mentioned as its neighbours on the west, east, and south.

To-lung, 多 隆, may be Pulo *Tulang*, below the Great Karīmon and on the west side of Durian Strait; it may, in fact, embrace the whole of the cluster of islands of which Tulang forms part, both Karīmons included.[3]

P'o-fêng, 婆 鳳 (*P'o-fung*, *Boa-houng*, *Bu-wung*, *Ba-fung*), is far more difficult to locate. It can hardly be Pulo *Papan*, because this island lies close to the south-east of Tulang, from which it is separated by a narrow channel only; and can scarcely correspond to Pulo *Abang* in Dempu Strait (below Pulo Galang), as this does not lie in the direction indicated, and very likely belongs to the group to be next discussed. It is therefore probable that *P'o-fêng* or *Ba-hung* may, after all, be meant for the *Pāpan* district (Pāpan Besar) eastwards of Old Jahor; if not for Pahang, or, at any rate,

Chŏng-iu, as it is variously pronounced, as applied to Singapore Island, may also stand for *Changi*, the name of the district and headland at its north-eastern extremity.

[1] A village on the west coast of Pulo Weh, off the northern end of Sumatra.

[2] I have since noticed that Professor Schlegel, in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 286, is inclined to adopt the same site, but out of mere conjecture, and without giving, as we have done, any reasons based on similarity of nomenclature, etc., in support of his view.

[3] For a long distance to the west there is no similar name to be found in the Straits until we get to Pulo *Talang* in the Dindings, and Kwāla *Trong* further up towards Larut. Another Pulo Talang lies south of Pulo Bintang (Rhio), but does not suit the case. *To-lung* may possibly be meant for Durian, the Durian group, otherwise known as Moro or Muro.

its homonymous settlement at Kwāla Pahang on the Endau River.[1]

As regards *Pan-chih-pa*, 半支跋, or *Ch'ien-chih-fu*, 千支弗, I feel perfectly confident that under this name is comprised the insular group extending southwards from Penjabung Island and the homonymous strait south of Pulo Gālang to Līma and Penuba Straits and Singkep Island. In this cluster of islands, it will be at once noticed, *Penjabung* is a very close approach in nomenclature to *Pan-chih-pa*, while *Singkep* looks a surprisingly exact counterpart of *Ch'ien-chih-fu*, especially in its Cantonese pronunciation,

[1] Professor Schlegel, loc. cit., too readily takes *P'o-fêng* to be Pahang, which, after his own showing (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, pp. 297–8), is spelled 彭亨, *P'êng-hêng* or *P'ang-hêng*, in the books of the Ming dynasty (Wan-li period = A.D. 1573–1619). But this, he contends, is the old name, taken from the Pang-gang tribe; "the new name is transcribed 婆鳳, in Amoy dialect *Po-hong* = *Pahang*." Nevertheless, I find it spelled 彭坑, *Pêng-k'êng* (*P'ang-hang*), in the Chinese map of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips (op. cit., p. 39), which is also the form adopted in Fei-Hsin's work, A.D. 1436 (see Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 255); whereas the autograph 彭亨 is the one appearing later on in Ming history (ibid., p. 256). Thus, contrary to what the learned Professor maintains, 彭亨, his 'old form' of the name, proves relatively modern. As regards his assumed 'new name,' 婆鳳, it already appears in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty, published during the eleventh century, and cannot therefore be quite so 'new' in comparison with the above. And as its form is considerably different from what we know for certain to be the usual transcripts of the name *Pahang*, we should be cautious in identifying it too readily with this name. Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 507) mentions, apparently following the Sung Annals, a kingdom of 婆皇, *P'o-hwang* (Pa-hang, Ba-gang, or Ba-gwang), which sent tribute to China from A.D. 449 to 463. The "P'ei-wên Yün Fu" (see *China Review*, vol. xiii, p. 337) speaks of an even earlier embassy sent by the same State, and by the neighbouring one of 婆達, *P'o-ta*, in the reign of the Sung emperor Wu-ti (A.D. 420–423).

It is possible that Pahang is the district alluded to under these various transcripts, especially as *P'o-hwang* is, in one instance, and under the date A.D. 449, mentioned at the same time along with the States of *Ho-lo-tan* and *P'o-ta* (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 506), thereby leading one to infer that it must have been a neighbour of theirs, being like them situated on the Malay Peninsula; but perhaps it is better to reserve judgment until we know more of the ancient history of the Malay Peninsula than we do now.

Ts'yn-chi-fêt.[1] There are, moreover, within its compass *Pangelap* and *Penuba* Islands and Straits bearing not dissimilar names.[2] I have no doubt that in this insular

[1] In other dialects: *Ts'ien-chi-fuh*; Korean, *Ch'ŏn-chi-pul*; and Japanese, *Sen-chi-futoz*; = Sinchipu, Sinkipur, or Sinkipulo. In a passage quoted by Professor Schlegel from the New History of the T'ang Dynasty, bk. 222, fol. 5 *recto* (see *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 287, note 50), it is said that *Ch'ien-chih*[*-fu*], otherwise called *Pan-chih-pa*, which means roughly *Wu-shan*, i.e. the 'Five Islands,' is situated in the middle of the south-western sea, and was originally a State subordinate to Southern India, that is, perhaps, a Dravidian colony. Professor Schlegel misconstrues the interpretation 'Five Islands,' which he takes to apply to the five islands (called, however, *Wu-hsü*, and not *Wu-shan*) after which the territory known later as Malacca was called, according to Ma Huan's work (1416). If the Chinese interpretation is correct, *Pan-chih-pa* (Pun-chi-pat, Pan-chi-pal) may stand for *Panca-palli* = 'Five Cities.' I have also a sort of a suspicion that 千 支 弗, *Chêen-chih-fu*, may be a *lapsus calami* for 干 支 弗, *Kan-chi-fu*, as the two characters, 千, *Ch'ien*, and 干, *Kan*, are often confounded with one another in Chinese texts. If so, 干 支 弗 might read *Kāñcīpura* (Conjeveram). This conjecture receives support from the fact that in the passage cited above from the New T'ang History the name is actually spelled 千 支, *Ch'ien-chih*—the missing character 弗 being supplied within parentheses by Professor Schlegel—which suggests 干 支, *Kan-chih* = *Kāñcī*, this being the abbreviated form by which Conjeveram (Kāñcī-varam) or Kāñcīpura is often designated in Sanskrit literature. I am, of course, aware that the name of this city is spelled 建 志 補 羅 and 建 志 城, *Chien-chih-pu-lo* and *Chien-chih-ch'êng*, by Hwên-tsang (A.D. 639) and other Chinese Buddhist pilgrims; but the Arab transcript *Ḳanjah*, of which more anon, tends to confirm that conjecture. Being a dependency or colony of Southern India (probably Drāviḍa, the capital of which was Kāñcīpura), there would be nothing strange if the insular State in question had been named by its colonists after their fatherland. The same remark applies to the form *Pan-chih-pa*, if meant for *Pancapalli*, and so named from the homonymous town on the coast of south-eastern India. Should, on the other hand, the spelling *Ch'ien-chih-fu* be correct, we should then read *Sāñci-pura* or, perhaps better, *Singkep*, as surmised above.

[2] Other kindred toponymics in that neighbourhood are: Penjengat Island, off the entrance to Rhio Bay; Pulo Penjait Lāyar, further to the west, past Pulo Rempang; Pulo Penjaleh, off the entrance to Kampar River, east coast of Sumatra, etc.

Professor Schlegel, in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 279, note 25, basing his opinion on a Chinese commentary which says that *Pan-chih-pa* means 五 山, i.e. 'Five Islands,' is misled into believing that these are the five islets off Malacca, after which this place became known of old to the Chinese. But above Pulo Singkep there are likewise five islets, known accordingly as *Pulo Lima* (in Malay, 'the

group of *Pan-chih-pa* or *Ch'ien-chih-fu* we have the hitherto unidentified islands of *Fanjab* or *Ḳanjab*, فنجب, قنجب, of Mas'ūdī.[1] This "*Imām* of (Arab) writers" tells us in his "Meadows of Gold" (A.D. 943) that among the natives of the many islands of his fifth sea, the sea of *Kerdenj*, "there is one tribe called *Fenjab* (or *Fanjab*): these have frizzly hair and strange figures; mounted on their boats, they lay in wait for ships that pass in their neighbourhood and shoot upon them poisoned arrows of a peculiar kind. Between the country they inhabit and the territory of *Kalah* there exist mines of white lead (tin) and mountains containing silver."[2] Further on our author speaks of the same country as *Ḳanjab*, and has a passing allusion to its ruler: "and other princes of India, such as the king of *Ḳanjab*, and several other potentates of the mountains (islands) of China (China Sea) which face the islands of *Zābej* and others."[3] Edrīsī (A.D. 1154), although mainly following him, calls the same people فنجت, *Fanjat*—evidently a mere clerical slip for فنجب, *Fanjab*—and adds that every one of these natives carries round his neck a collar of either iron, brass, or gold.[4]

Five Islands'), which give their name to Līma Strait between Penuba and Linga islands, thus confirming, if necessary, our identification. I should think, however, that if *Pan-chih-pa* really means *Panca-pura* or *Panca-palli*, i.e. five cities or islands, these five islands should be rather the pretty extensive and tolerably well populated islands of Singkep, Linga, Sebangka, Temīang, Pangelap, etc., up to Penjabung, where we still probably have a relic of the old term *Panca-pura*. This insular cluster may also represent the island referred to as *Pāñca-janya* in the Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas, and classed among the eight minor *dvīpas* (see Professor Hall's ed. of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 129, n.).

[1] See "Prairies d'Or," text and transl. of Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861, t. i, pp. 340-341 and 394. The translators have failed to perceive that *Fanjab* and *Ḳanjab* refer to the same place. Evidently they correspond respectively to the two Chinese transcripts *Pan-chih-pa* and *Ch'ien-chih-fu*; hence the Chinese must have got these terms from the Arab navigators, or *vice versâ*.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 340-341.

[3] Ibid., p. 394.

[4] He places this population on some of the islands surrounding the great island of *Sūmah* or *Sabarmah* = either the southern end of the Malay Peninsula or the neighbouring Rhio-Linga archipelago, and says: "There exist on some of these islands a people called *Fanjat*, with black and frizzly hair, attacking the ships with war engines, weapons, and poisoned arrows. It is difficult to withstand their attacks, and few of those that pass in their neighbourhood or fall into their hands succeed in effecting their escape. Each of these men wears round his neck

Evidently the population here referred to is that of the Orang-laut, severally called *Sika*, *Sekah*, and *Bajau*, inhabiting the islands of the Rhio-Linga Archipelago, and well known in the past for their very pronounced piratical habits.[1]

a collar of either iron, copper, or gold" (Jaubert's "Géographie d'Édrisi," Paris, 1836, t. i, pp. 88–89). Professor Van der Lith, commenting upon the above-quoted passage from Mas'ūdī on the *Fanjab* people, says ("Merveilles de l'Inde," Leide, 1886, p. 261): "Mais je ne puis pas expliquer le nom de *Al-Fendjab*. Peut-être c'est par erreur que Mas'oudi leur a attribué ce nom, qui est cité par Edrîsî, i, p. 173, comme un titre des rois de Zabej (?)." Now, this is unworthy of such a scholar. Had he read his Edrīsī carefully, it might perhaps have struck him that the people referred to as *Fanjat* in t. i, pp. 88–89, are the same as Mas'ūdī's *Fanjab*, and he would thus have seen that Edrīsī does also speak of them, although of course saying further on, p. 173, that in the *Rāneh* (Zābej ?) kings are called *Fanjab*. The rest will now be clear to the reader, and henceforth what has proved an inextricable puzzle to Arabists and Sinologists alike will cease to tax the brain and energy of future students, for *Pan-chih-pa* and *Fanjab* may now be safely entered in the list of solved geographical riddles.

[1] I have often thought that *Fanjab* and *Pan-chih-pa* may be in reality but transcripts of the term *Bajau*, which is met with under various forms, such as, e.g., *Baju*, *Beaju*, *Bajow*, *Banju*, *Banjau* (Banjav = Banjab = Fanjab ?). These terms are considered as having originated from the Javanese word *Bajo* = a 'robber,' modified in various ways in the dialects of the archipelago. *Bajag* is seemingly another of its forms, meaning a pirate or sea-robber. In Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India," however, it is stated (vol. ii, p. 328), I know not on what authority, that *Baju* means a 'fisherman.' According to another version, the term would be derived from *Wajo*, a district in Celebes whence the *Bajo* or *Bajau* hail from. But this may have been so named from the fact of being a country of robbers. Be it as it may, this people are said to have emigrated thence to Borneo and further west, probably as early as the sixth or seventh century A.D. The *Sekah* of Billiton call themselves by preference descendants of the Bajau, and it has indeed been suggested that there may have been a certain original connection between them and the Bajo of Celebes. The *Sekah* (*Sika*, *Skak*, *Sekat*) are described as possessed of "short, stout, thickset figures, broad and very muscular arms and legs; long, frizzly, black hair, and open countenances—screaming and laughing whilst carrying the heaviest burdens on their broad shoulders—forming a striking contrast to the slender, inanimate, and crafty Malays." "Everyone who carefully and accurately notices their physical demeanour and their moral and intellectual peculiarities, is struck by the fact that the Sekahs are not Malays. Against this speaks not only the fact that their language is entirely different, but also the occurrence of hairy, frizzle-haired men and women, true Papuan types." (A. B. Meyer's "Negritos," Dresden, 1899, p. 46.) Dr. Meyer thinks there may be in them an element which can be derived from the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, and we are of the same opinion. This is the daring race that peopled all the Rhio-Linga Archipelago, and of which, it will now be recognized, Mas'ūdī, in the first half of the tenth century, gave so strikingly true a description.

The *Bajos*, on the other hand, are described by Dr. Riedel (Meyer, op. cit., p. 47) as having "straight and curly, but not frizzly hair." This confirms me in the view I have ultimately adopted, viz., that the *Fanjab* depicted by Mas'ūdī and Edrīsī were *Sekahs* and not Bajaus; and that although *Fanjab* closely resembles the term *Bajau*, especially in its forms of *Banju*, *Banjau*, etc., it is not an ethnical designation, but a place-name, and should be more logically connected with *Pan-chih-pa* and the cluster of islands comprised under that heading.

I need not point out how this, I hope now well proved, identification of *Pan-chih-pa* or *Ch'ien-chih-fu* with Singkep and the islands lying north of it as far as Penjabung Island and Strait, deals the last blow to the *Ho-ling*, *scilicet* Java, theory. For it is plain that if *Pan-chih-pa*, which lies south of *To-mo-ch'ang*, which in its turn lies south of *Ho-ling*, is Singkep and the islands bounding it on the north, *Ho-ling* must be looked for much further northwards, that is, on the Malay Peninsula, and cannot in any wise be located away south in Java. This is, it must be admitted, even by itself alone, a conclusive argument capable of disposing right off of that question on geographical grounds; but when to it be added the multifarious points we have successively discussed and made out one by one in the course of these last pages, it cannot fail to strike even the casual reader that the sum of evidence in favour of the location of *Ho-ling* on the Malay Peninsula is absolutely overwhelming. Before dismissing the subject altogether, however, we think it worth while to make a few more remarks of a circumstantial character.

We have seen that *Ho-ling* was also called a 杜婆, *Tu-p'o* (*Tu-ba*, *Tu-va*, *Dhu-va*),[1] and 闍婆, *Shê-p'ō* (*Ja-va*, *Tu-ba*, *Sha-va*), both which names we have found represented in the Langkāwī group in Pulo *Tubah* and Tanjung *Sawah*. These alternative names for *Ho-ling*, it should be observed, are mentioned the first time in the new history of the T'ang dynasty (compiled during the eleventh century), and do not occur at all in the older compilation, which gives but a bare account of the country. The same remark applies to all the other particulars hereafter referred to, which all come to us through the new annals. Among such is the statement already dwelt upon that the king lives in the town of *Shê-p'o* (*Java*, *Saba*, or *Tuba*), while his ancestor *Ki-yen* had lived more to the east, at the town *P'o-lu-ka-si*, or, according to

[1] Groeneveldt (op. cit., p. 138) corrects the first character into 社, *Shê*; but Professor Schlegel remarks in the *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 274, note 5, that 杜 "may or may not be a clerical error for 社."

Professor Schlegel's translation, "had removed to the east from the city of *Polukiasze.*" In the event of this latter interpretation being correct, the city in question would, as we have pointed out, very probably be *Prakāsai*, just below Ghirbi (about 7° 52′ N. lat.). For *Ho-ling* was pretty extensive. Twenty-eight small neighbouring States are said in the same annals to have acknowledged its supremacy, and there were thirty-two high officials in the country. The highest of these dignitaries is referred to as the President (大 坐, *Ta-tso*) *Kan-hsiung*, in Cantonese *Kom-ħeng* (敢 兄). Now this, it will be seen, is, as likely as not, the Siāmo-Khmēr title *Kamhëng* or *Khamhëng* (the 'Strong'), often borne by high officials.

On the mountains, continues the same account, is the tract of land (or district) called *Lang-pi-ye* (*Long-pi-ya* or *Nang-pi-ya*), 郎 畢 野, where the king frequently goes (or ascends) to get a view of the sea. Here we have a term similar to the Malay place-names *Rumbei*, *Rambei*, *Rambai*, *Rumbia*, etc., which we meet with in several parts of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. We even have a Kwāla *Rambai* near the central range, and a village called *Baling* at the head-waters of the Mūda River, in Southern Kedah.[1]

An anecdote is next told about a queen of *Ho-ling* called *Hsi-mo* (*Sik-mok*, *Sit-mok*, *Sil-mak*, *Si-ma*), 悉 莫, who was taken by the people of the country as their ruler in A.D. 674.[2]

[1] Other instances of the occurrence of this and similar toponymics are: Ayer *Rambai*, a small affluent of the Sapatang, near Port Weld, Larut; Sungei *Rambai*, a small tributary of the Selangor River not far from its mouth; Sungei *Rambai*, a little affluent of the Kesang River, South Malacca; and Pulo *Rumbia*, the largest island of the Sembilan group, in front of the entrance to the Pêrak River. *Rambai* and *Lampai* are the Malay names for several species of Euphorbiaceæ (*Baccaurea*, *Galearia*, *Aporosa*), and *Rumbia* or *Rembia* the Malay term for the Sago-palm. *Rumpei* is the tree-nettle (*Laportea crenulata*), and *Lampai-hitam* the *Gynochthodes sublanceolata*. As the last character, 野, *ye*, in *Lang-pi-ye* means 'wilderness,' and the whole name may, as Groeneveldt observes, also be translated 'the wild region of *Lang-pi*,' the word intended may be *Rimba*, which in Malay means forest or virgin jungle. Hervey de St. Denys, Ma Tuan-lin's translator, takes (op. cit., p. 527) *Lang-pi-ye* to be a city on a mountain: "Sur une montagne est bâtie la ville de *Lang-peï-ye*," etc.

[2] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 528; Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 139. The translation given by the last-named of the passage in question runs as follows: "In 674 the people of this country took as their ruler a woman of the name Sima. Her

Now it is a very curious coincidence that at about the same period the Peguan book of Gavampati[1] mentions a queen, *Sīmā-devī* by name, as reigning at Rē (*Burmanicè* Yay), north of Tavoy, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, who had attained to great power, many neighbouring States acknowledging her supremacy. It seems almost certain that this is the same personage as the one alluded to in the Chinese account, the topographical inconsistency being easily explainable by assuming that *Ho-ling* was, at the time being, one of the States that were tributary to her.

Later on, in the year 813, *Ho-ling* is stated to have presented to China, amongst other curiosities, four *Sêng-chih* slaves (僧 祇 奴), who were most likely dancing slave-girls, such as are known to have originally been trained for theatrical exhibitions at Ligor and neighbouring districts in the Malay Peninsula, whence the practice spread on to Pegu, Siām, Kamboja, and the Malay Archipelago.[2] We are told a few lines later on, in fact, that between A.D. 860 and 873 *Ho-ling* again sent an envoy to present female musicians.

rule was most excellent; even things dropped on the road were not taken up. The prince of the Arabs [the Chinese text has 大 食, *Ta-shih*, which is usually meant for *Tājik*, the *Tājika* or Arabs; but which we shall see in the sequel refers in this and parallel cases to Achëḥ or Achīn], hearing of this, sent a bag with gold to be laid down within her frontiers; the people who passed that road avoided it in walking, and it remained for three years. Once the heir-apparent stepped over that gold, and Sima became so incensed that she wanted to kill him. Her ministers interceded, and then Sima said: 'Your fault lies in your feet, therefore it will be sufficient to cut them off.' The ministers interceded again, and she had his toes cut off, in order to give an example to the whole nation. When the prince of Tazi [Tājik, Achëḥ] heard this he became afraid and dared not attack her."

[1] Noticed above, pp. 114, 182, etc. The passage here alluded to occurs in fasciculus ii.

[2] Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 140, takes them to be negro slaves, assuming that *Sêng-chih* stands for the Persian *Zanggī* = a man from *Zang*, i.e. Zangibar. Professor Schlegel argues, on the contrary (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, pp. 91 and 278), that the ancient pronunciation of 僧 祇 was *Sang-ti* (which I beg to doubt), and that therefore these characters never could have represented an Arab or Persian word *Zanj*, *Zenj*, or *Zanggi*, *Zengi* (black, negro). It occurs to me, however, that the term is almost certainly identical with the vocable *Tsêng-sz*

In fine, I-tsing mentions, in about A.D. 665, a very learned Buddhist monk, Jñānabhadra by name, who was

(*Cheing-sü*, *Zang-sz*, *Ch'ing-sa*) or *Ts'êng-ch'i* (*Ts'êng-k'ei*, *Ts'ên-k'i*, *Cheing-ki*, *Zang-ji*, *Ch'ing-kī*) appearing in the composite 崑崙層斯 or 崑崙層期, *K'un-lun-Ts'êng-sz* or *K'un-lun-Ts'êng-ch'i*, the latter being the spelling adopted in the Chinese encyclopædia called the "Wan-pao Ch'üan-shu" (see *China Review*, vol. viii, pp. 188–189). Here apparently slaves or rather slave-dancers (*Séng-chih* or *Ts'êng-ch'i*) from *K'un-lun* are meant. This country, we have demonstrated (*ante*, pp. 89, 90, 103, 260), is not, as hitherto assumed by our Sinologists, the inhospitable and uninhabited (except compulsorily by convicts at the present day) Pulo Condore, but part of the Malay Peninsula, where Negrito and hybrid Negrito tribes are settled. From the fact of the *K'un-lun* people being described in the "San-ts'ai T'u-hwei" (1607) as "black as if covered with black varnish," Phillips (*China Review*, loc. cit.) infers that *Ts'êng-ch'i* or *Ts'êng-k'i* represents the term *Zang*, *Zanj*, or *Zangi*, and that negro slaves imported from the African coast are meant. Dr. Hirth (*China Review*, vol. xviii, p. 314) adopts the same view, although unable to explain the term *K'un-lun*. *K'un-lun* slaves are mentioned as being brought to China in 976 by an envoy from *Ta-shih* (Arabia or Achin?), and sent as tribute by *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang) in 1017. Sometimes they are designated 崑崙奴, *K'un-lun-Nu*, a term which may be compared with 僧祇奴, *Séng-chih-Nu*, above. Professor Schlegel, ever fond of the most extraordinary rapprochements, is led to connect the *Séng-chih-Nu* with Upper Siām, from the mere haphazard coincidence that the name of the capital of *Ch'ih-t'u* (Sukhôthai State) in A.D. 607 is likewise spelled 僧祇, *Sêng-chih*, which, I have demonstrated, is *Saṅkha* or *Swankhalôk* (*vide supra*, p. 178; and *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1900, p. 369). Hence he concludes that the *Séng-chih-Nu* were "Siamese slave-girls" (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, pp. 91, 278). This notwithstanding the fact that a few lines further on (op. cit., p. 278) he quotes a passage from the T'ang Annals stating that between A.D. 713 and 741 the State of *Shih-li Fo-shih* (East Sumatra) presented two dwarfs and two *Séng-chih* slave-girls along with singing and dancing masters. (Here the character 秖, *chih*, *chi*, is employed instead of 祇, *chih*, *ch'i*, which makes, however, but little difference, though it shows, with *Ts'êng-ch'i* or *Ts'êng-sz* above, that the real pronunciation must have been *Saṅgi*, *Sanji*, or something similar, and not *Sang-ti* as the worthy Professor maintains.) It will be plain that if such slaves or slave-girls could be sent by so distant a country as the east coast of Sumatra, it is most unlikely they were procured from the powerful Sukhôthai–Swankhalôk State in Upper Siām. It is true that a country of a somewhat similar name, *Syangka*, is mentioned in the fourteenth century in the "Nagarakretāgama," a Javanese poem composed in honour of the king of Mājapāhit, among the continental kingdoms that maintained friendly relations with his (see "Compte Rendu du Premier Congrès International des Études d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, 1902," pp. 21–22). The kingdoms in question

a native of the State of *Ho-ling*, where he was met with

mentioned besides *Syangka*, with my identifications of them within parentheses, are: *Ayodhyāpura* (Ayuthia, the old Siāmese capital from A.D. 1350 to 1767); *Dharmanagara* (Śrī Dharma-rāja-nagara or Ligor); *Marutma* (Marit or Mergui, or Muttima, Muttama = Martaban?); *Rājapura* (Rājburī, S.W. Siām, or the puzzling *Lo-ch'a*?); *Singhanagara* (Singapore, or else *Siṁhapura* of the Chām inscription, No. 383?); *Campā* (Bal-Angwē); *Kamboja*; and *Yavana* (Annam, or rather Tonkin). These being the facts of the case, I can hardly think that *Syangka* can mean Swankhalôk, and must take it that some State on the Malay Peninsula is implied, which may be the *Ts'êng-ch'i* or *Sêng-chih* above referred to; but as regards its exact location I am unable to make any definite statement. Indeed, Philip Baldæus, about the middle of the seventeenth century, does mention a harbour of *Sencaza* on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula between *Tanangar* (Trang? or Ranong?, P'hang-ngā?) and *Perach* (Pêrak). (See "Beschr. der Ost-Ind. Kunsten," etc., p. 154; Churchill's "Collection of Voyages and Travels," 1794, vol. iii, p. 588; Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 41.) This *Sencaza* may well be the *Syangka* sought for, but as Baldæus' work is chiefly a compilation from the writings of his predecessors, the term in question may be also a clerical error for Langkāwī or something similar, so that his authority cannot be relied upon until more evidence is forthcoming.

I feel, however, rather doubtful as to *Ts'êng-ch'i* or *Sêng-chih* being a place-name at all, and would prefer to view it as a term designating dancers, more especially dancing-girls, somehow connected with the Mōñ , *Katsing*, *K'tsöing*, meaning a 'female dancer' (perhaps from the Hindī *Kasbin*, *Kanchni*). It is my sad lot to have so often to disagree with Professor Schlegel that it affords me sincere pleasure to be able, for the nonce, to fall into something like accord with him on one point in this question, namely, that in which he holds the persons in question to be slave-girls (though not, as he says, Siāmese). I would rather suggest 'dancers' in general, including both male and female. Such dancers, he observes, "coming from the highlands [?] of Kelantan, Patani, Kedah, and Trengganu, on the Malay Peninsula, are known in the archipelago by the name of *Majung* [*Māyung*, ماءيوڠ; Malay *Wāyang* and *Bāyang*, بايڠ, which, however, more properly means a shadow-play or puppet-show, *biduan*, بدوان (*bedwān*), being the real name for a dancing-girl]. Pijnappel (Malay Dict., ii, 129) says that they are probably of Siamese origin." I have elsewhere shown (see my monograph on the "Thēt Mahā C'hāt Ceremony as performed in Siām," Bangkok, 1892, p. 31, note 3) that such dancers and the peculiar style of performances they go through originated in Ligor, from which fact they are usually known as *Lakhôn*, the vernacular name of Ligor (*Nagara*, see above, p. 109). Their prototype was, of course, the Indian *nautch* (*nāṭya*, *nṛtya*, *nacca*), but modified and adapted to local tastes so as to impress the display with a peculiar physiognomy of their own. Hence their name, which was introduced with them into Siām and Kamboja, where it still survives in the

by several of I-tsing's confrères, whom he assisted in translating several Buddhist texts into Chinese.[1]

From A.D. 873 no mention of further relations with *Ho-ling* is made in Chinese literature, which shows that either that State disappeared, was absorbed into others, or disintegrated as the case may be, or else, which seems less likely, that all intercourse between it and China ceased.

At all events, the circumstantial evidence we have collected above, coupled with the more direct data adduced at the outset, establishes beyond doubt, I venture to think, the position of *Ho-ling* on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula where we have located it, and absolutely excludes the possibility of its having stood on the island of Java, instead of which we have to read the country of *Java*, *Sava*, or *Saba*, on the Malay Peninsula, defined above under section B. Nor do I think that the term *Ho-ling* stands, as most Sinologists have suggested, for a word *Kling*, *Kaling*, or *Kalinga* introduced by immigrants or colonists from the east coast of India. This, we have seen, was already the name for the eastern *Tri-Kalinga* in Pegu, also at times styled *Taleng* or *Telinga*, and *Kaliṅga-rāṣṭrā*,[2] and it is

form *Lakhōn* (although in Kamboja female dancers are also called *Nēang Robam*, from *rēam* or *rām*, which is probably but a shortened form of the North Indian *rāmjanī*, Skt. *rāmā-janī* = 'a dancing-girl'); into Pegu, where it has been modified into *Lēakôn*, *Tēakôn*, or *Takôn*; and into Java, where it yet subsists as *Lălakon* = 'theatrical play,' 'dramatic composition.'

It may be that youngsters from the neighbouring wild tribes were kidnapped as slaves in Ligor and neighbouring States for the purpose of being trained as actors in such performances, but of this we have no proof. All we know, and that from Chinese sources ("San-ts'ai T'u-hwei," see *China Review*, loc. cit.), is that the inhabitants of *K'un-lun* "make slaves from among their own people, and sell them to foreign merchants, receiving in exchange dresses and other articles." Also that in *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang) slaves from *K'un-lun* "make music for them by tramping on the ground and singing" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 188); which extracts show that the *K'un-lun*, *Ts'ĕng-ch'i*, or *Sêng-chih*, actors must have been *Lakhōns*, and have hailed from Ligor and neighbouring States on the Malay Peninsula. Edrīsī (A.D. 1154) gives a description of such dancing-girls as were attached to temples—probably in the capacity of *Deva-dāsīs*—in *Jābah* (Malay Peninsula and Sumatra). See Jaubert's "Géographie d'Édrisi," Paris, 1836, t. i, pp. 80–81.

[1] Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 60–63.

[2] *Vide supra*, pp. 31–32. The Kedah Annals (see *Journal Malay Archipelago*, vol. iii) call it the country of *Galungī* or *Kalungī*, and place it at some days beyond Tavoy, at the mouth of the *Changong* River (= *Bī-Tsing*, *Bī-Chŏing*,

unlikely that the denomination included the west coast of the Malay Peninsula as well, although we have mentioned indications of *Ho-ling* having at one time (seventh century) extended as far up as Rē (Yay) and perhaps further. A better suggestion would have been *Kareng* or *Karieng* instead of Kalinga, although there is no proof that the Karenga had as yet reached so far down the Malay Peninsula at the period in question. I prefer, therefore, to adhere to my own provisional identification with *Geriang*.[1]

Having thus disposed—it is to be hoped successfully—of the *Ho-ling* question, it behoves us to finally clear the ground by a more precise determination of the position of *Shê-p'o* or *C'hā-vā* classed under Section B. This, we shall now proceed to demonstrate, must likewise be fixed on the Malay Peninsula. Our evidence for such an assertion are the itineraries given by Chinese writers outward from *Shê-p'o* in different directions, which need, however, to be overhauled and laid out afresh, as they have been, *more*

Bē-Synga, or 'Elephant River,' i.e. the Irāvatī). The sailing distance from Kedah is, in chap. iii of the same work, reckoned at one month's time; and the country is said to be noted for great jars (Twantē pottery and Martabani). In chap. x the Rāja of Kalungī is said to reside in a small island called *Pulo Āyer-tāwar*, i.e. 'the island of the fresh water,' which is situated to the east of the country of Kalungi. This island is, in my opinion, undoubtedly *Punzalaing* (called *Goung-zay Gyun* or 'Wash-head Island' by the Burmese), which lies between Martaban and Maulmain, and whence water was annually carried to Ava (and in the old days no doubt also to the Peguan capital) to wash the king's head (*Mūrdhābhiṣēka* ceremony) on certain festival days. It becomes perfectly evident, after these explanations, that the country of *Kalungī*, or *Galungī*, of the Kedah Annals was Pegu. Certainly, the same work tells us that the *Samang*, *Bila*, and *Sakai* tribes were dependent upon Kalungī. But this dependence was probably merely a nominal one, as there is ample evidence to show that separate States existed on the territories of the tribes in question, though such States may, of course, have been to some extent tributary to the Peguan kingdom. In any case, if *Ho-ling* means *Kalinga*, it is from the Peguan, and not the Indū, Kalinga that it got its name, or that it was identified with by the Chinese, owing to its being probably a dependency of that kingdom.

[1] The famous Professor Lacouperie, not satisfied with taking *Ho-ling*, which he reads, of course, *Kalinga*, to be Java ("Beginnings of Writing," p. 185), in order not to be outdone by his confrères in Sinology and fantastical geography, goes so far as to state (ibid., p. 201) that: "The name of Java as *Ho-ling* is known much earlier in the Chinese records, and, under the form of *Hu-liang*, it is mentioned [*sic*] in the *She-ki* (xxviii, 44), where it is proposed to identify it with one of the five fairy islands spoken of in Shantung by traders of the Indian Ocean"!!! After reading this who will dare to come forward and say that our Sinologists lack imagination?

solito, muddled to the utmost degree by our Sinologists. The itineraries in question are set forth as follows, starting from the centre of the State or, what seems more logical, its capital.

1. Eastwards: 1 month's march to the sea (Gulf of Siām), thence 15 days' sailing to *K'un-lun*, here apparently Pulo Condor or Kundur (distance 300 to 400 miles from the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, which gives an average run of about 20 to 25 miles a day).[1]
2. Westwards: 45 days' journey to the sea (Bay of Bengal).
3. Southwards: 3 days' journey to the sea (Bay of Bengal). Thence, 5 days' sailing to the *Ta-shih*, 大食, or *Tājik* country = *Dachi*[2] or Achëḥ, Achīn. (At the above rate of speed this would give a distance of about 100 to 130 miles, which proves too small, the least distance from Achīn to the west coast of the Malay Peninsula—at Papra Strait—being 240 miles.)

[1] It is probable that what are here translated as 'days' are really meant for 'stages.' As will be seen from the calculations of the distances, 10 days or stages = 200–250 miles, which gives about 20–25 miles per day or stage.

[2] The "Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao" (A.D. 1618), which is the first Chinese work to speak of Achëḥ or Achīn under the name of 亞齊, *A-ts'e* (*Ya-ch'i*), says that formerly this was the *Ta-shih* or *Tājik* country (*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 368). We have pointed out that probably this is the place alluded to under the same name of *Ta-shih* or *Tājik* in the document of *Ho-ling*, and under the date A.D. 674 or shortly afterwards. Whether the designation in question came to it, as Groeneveldt thinks (op. cit., p. 139, note), from the fact of Arab or Persians being of old settled there or not, is for me yet open to doubt. I hope to revert to this moot point later. Suffice for the present to call attention to the fact that Balbi ("Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali," Venetia, 1590) calls the country, in 1586, *Dagin*, *Dacin* (pp. 129 *verso* and 130 *recto*), and *Dachien* (p. 132 *verso*), adding (p. 130 *recto*) that the ruler of the *Dacin* kingdom is termed 'King of *Assì*' (i.e. Achëḥ). "The Tombo do Estado da India," 1632, similarly has *Dachem* under the date 1521 ("Collecção de Monumentos Ineditos," etc., Lisboa, 1868, t. v, pt. 2, p. 112). So Bocarro, under later dates, 1613, 1614, 1616, etc. ("Decada 13 da Historia da India, por Antonio Bocarro," Lisboa, 1876, pp. 279, 415–418, etc.), and calls its people *Dachens* (pp. 414, 424), using the term *Achem* to designate the king. Linschoten, *circâ* 1587–8, still writes *Dachem* ("Voyage of Van Linschoten," Hakluyt Soc., London, 1885, vol. ii, p. 108). This constant recurrence of the terms *Dachien*, *Dachem*, *Dacin* for over a century after A.D. 1521 seems to imply a derivation from the former name, *Ta-shih*, *Tājik*, or *Dachi*, of the country.

4. Northwards: 4 days' journey to the sea (Bay of Bengal).[1] Thence, sailing north-west (read south-west), 15 days to *P'o-ni*, 渤 泥; 15 more days to *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang); thence 7 days to *Ku-lo*, 古 邏; again 7 days to *Ch'ai-lih-ting*, 柴 歷 亭, which is on the way to the land of *Kiau-chi* (Tonkin) and to Canton.[2]

Every Sinologist has invariably taken the *P'o-ni* or *Pu-ni*, 渤 泥, mentioned here to be *Brūnei* or *Burnai*, بروني, on the north-west coast of Borneo, for, according to the peculiar way of reasoning of such people, any toponymic that resembles *Brūnei* in features *must*, of course, be Borneo and nothing else. Certainly, the name of *Brūnei* in Borneo is similarly spelled *P'o-ni*, 勃 泥 or 浡 泥; but its distance from *Shê-p'o* is stated to be 45 days, and 40 from *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang); whereas the *P'o-ni*, 渤 泥, in question is located at a distance of only 15 days from the northern border of *Shê-p'o*, and 15 from *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang).[3] Both these *P'o-ni* cannot therefore be one and the same State.[4]

Again, every Sinologist has hitherto invariably failed to identify *Ku-lo* and *Ch'ai-lih-ting*, for no names similar to these occur in the one-shilling school atlases, on which

[1] Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 495) and Schlegel (in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, p. 258) have four days instead of five, as stated in Groeneveldt (op. cit., p. 142), which must therefore be a slip. The Chinese text as given by Professor Schlegel (loc. cit.) has, in fact, I notice, 北 至 海 四 日.

[2] The actual distance from Kwāla Pāni, the entrance to the Pāni River, to the mouth of the river Palembang is about 440–450 miles, which, apportioned over 15 days, gives an average of nearly 30 miles a day. Again, the distance from the mouth of the Palembang River to Kwāla Cherating (our identification of *Ch'ai-lih-ting*), *viâ* Rhio Strait, is *circâ* 400–420 miles, which, apportioned over 14 days, yields 28 to 30 miles a day, i.e. about the same average. It will be seen, therefore, that the Chinese itinerary is consistent throughout, so long as common-sense is taken as a guide in its interpretation, and not unbridled fantasy, as is too often the case with our Sinologists.

[3] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 495, 567; Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 142, 229.

[4] Professor Schlegel has here taken a wrong view of the matter in readily admitting the existence of two *Shê-p'o's*, of which the one stated to be 45 days distant from *P'o-ni* was the island of Java (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, p. 304); instead of perceiving that it is really a question of two *P'o-ni's*, as we have already demonstrated.

these gentlemen appear to base their abstruse geographical inquiries.

Now, I am perfectly certain that the *P'o-ni*, 勃 泥, of the above extract—which *cannot* absolutely be Brūnei—is, on the contrary, *Pāni* or *Pānei*, فاني, on the Barumun or Pāni River, east coast of Sumatra, in about 2° 20′–2° 30′ N. lat.[1] The bearing of the course steered upon leaving the northern part of *Shê-p'o* bound to *P'o-ni*, given as north-west, is undoubtedly an oversight for south-west. Such slips frequently occur in the accounts of old travellers, among whom even the usually accurate Marco Polo. Measuring on a map the distance from the mouth of the Palembang to that of the Pāni River (15 days' sailing), and setting it out in a northern direction from the last-named place, we reach a point slightly above Takūa-pā (Takôpa) on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and not far below the Kraḥ Isthmus, which latter we may therefore take as practically the northernmost limit of *Shê-p'o*. Setting out the same distance (corresponding to 15 days' sailing) from Brūnei (W. Borneo) towards the west coast of the Malay Peninsula *viâ* the Natunas and the Straits of Singapore, for three times in succession (equal to 45 days' sailing), we again get to a place somewhere between Pāk-p'hraḥ (Papra) Strait and Takôpa, which is the position found for the northern limit of *Shê-p'o*, at the outset *viâ* Pāni. The Chinese itinerary is therefore perfectly correct, and it is only the recklessness of Sinologists and their infatuation in making *Shê-p'o* = the Island of Java, and *P'o-ni*, 浡 泥 = Borneo (Brūnei), that causes it to look absurd. It will, however, now be perfectly clear that this is

[1] This State is mentioned in a letter from the Sultan of Achīn to King James I of England, dated A.H. 1024 = A.D. 1615, and published in the *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 31, July, 1898, pp. 125, 127, and 129. It is even to this day the seat of a Prince, and the mouth of its river a frequented seaport. There is a small State of a similar name further down the east coast of Sumatra, viz. *Birni*, برني, near Jambi; but this lies far too close to Palembang to be the place alluded to in the Chinese account above. It is likewise mentioned in a similar letter from the Prince of Birnī to the English Captain at Jambi of about the same date or shortly afterwards, published in op. cit., p. 139 et seqq.

not the case; and I may add that I have found the same accuracy in several other itineraries recorded by Chinese writers, which have been, as in the present instance, hopelessly mangled and muddled under the tender mercies of our geographical-dabbling Sinologists. It should be pointed out that from the fact of the distance *San-fo-ch'i*–Brūnei being given as 40 days,[1] and that from *Shê-p'o* to the same point (Brūnei) as 45 days, it is not at all legitimate to infer, as has been done by several writers, that *Shê-p'o* must lie at only five days' sailing beyond *San-fo-ch'i*. The reason for this is that the route from Brūnei to *Shê-p'o* (west coast of the Malay Peninsula) lies through the Strait of Singapore, whereas the one taken to reach Palembang wends *viâ* the South Natunas and Bangka.

Now, as regards *Ku-lo* and *Ch'ai-li-ting*. The last-named is, no doubt, the *Cherating* or *Serating* river and district[2] on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, in about 4° 10′ N. lat. This, it should be noted, is more or less the point at which sailing-vessels from the Straits bound towards Annam or China during the season of the monsoon bid farewell to the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and steer across the Gulf of Siām in order to make the east coast of Lower Cochin-China, after having passed leeward of Pulo Obi (Ūbi). The distance Palembang–Cherating (14 days' sailing, actual 420 miles) is, we have shown, in perfect proportion to the one given for the run Palembang–Pāni (15 days, actual 450 miles). *Ku-lo* (7 days, or, at the same rate, 210 miles) must therefore be looked for at about half-way between Palembang and Cherating. This brings us to Rhio Strait—which was undoubtedly the route taken—and precisely to *Gūroh*, گوروه, village, on the northern shore of Bintang Bay, which is just that distance (210 miles) from Palembang. However, *Ku-lo*

[1] The actual distance from the mouth of the Palembang River to the entrance to Brūnei River is about 800 miles, which, apportioned over 40 days, yields 20 miles a day, i.e. very nearly the same average as in the distances already examined. The slight difference in such averages must, of course, proceed from the number and length of stoppages at intermediate stations on the route.

[2] We have here a *Sungei Cherating* (river), a *Kwāla Cherating* (its mouth), a *Bukit Cherating* (hill), and a *Tanjung Cherating* (cape).

may be the neighbouring *Karas* Islands at the southern entrance to Rhio Strait, or even the flat islet of *Terkolei* lying in the approach to both Bintang and Rhio, and from which either seaport may have been conventionally indicated by Chinese navigators.[1]

The itinerary in question becomes, in the light of the above considerations, perfectly clear. Leaving the northern border of *Shê-p'o* at Takūa-pā, or, perhaps more likely, at the embouchure of the Sawā River in the upper reach of the Pāk-chān inlet, the Chinese junks had to sail in a south-western (stated by mistake to be north-western) direction in order to reach the open sea and get clear of the dangers on the coast. Then, rounding Pāk-P'hraḥ point and Junkceylon Island, they shaped a S.S.E. course along the west coast of the Malay Peninsula to the Dindings or Pulo Sembilan, and thence crossed southwards to *P'o-ni*, 浡 泥 (Pāni), which they made in 15 days from the date of their departure from *Shê-p'o*. In another 15 days they could get, if necessary, to *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang); otherwise they would proceed on to China *viâ* the Singapore Strait. From Palembang 7 days' sailing *viâ* the Rhio Strait would bring them to Bintang Bay at Gūroh or some neighbouring seaport (*Ku-lo*). Thence in another 7 days they would reach *Ch'ai-lih-ting* (Cherating) on the way to *Kiao-chi* (Tonkin) and Canton as stated.

Supposing now *Shê-p'o* to be the Island of Java, and *P'o-ni*, 浡 泥, to be Brūnei in N.W. Borneo, as our Sinologists would have it, how could they account for the unseamanlike idea that in order to reach *Sun-fo-ch'i* (Palembang) from Java the Chinese junks should take such

[1] The "Sung Shih" (History of the Sung Dynasty) mentions the fact that a *Hoppo* or Superintendent of Trade having been established in A.D. 971 at Canton, the barbarians of *Ta-shih* (Arab, Persian, or Achinese?); *Ku-lo*, 古 邏; *Shê-p'o*, and *P'o-ni*, 孛 泥 (Pāni, or Brūnei?), all came to trade there (see *China Review*, vol. xviii, p. 379). To Mr. Parker, the translator of the above passage, the nations in question are, of course, "the Caliph Empire, *Kulo* [unidentified], Java, and Borneo." All the same, it is interesting to learn therefrom that as early as A.D. 971 the people from *Ku-lo* already went to trade at Canton.

an absurd détour *viâ* Brūnei (N.W. Borneo), which seaport they could not certainly reach in 15 days, and which, on the strength of Chinese evidence itself, lay at fully 40 days' sailing from *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang)? The identifying of *Shê-p'o* with the Island of Java by the Sinologists is accordingly shown to be a mere fad, like so many of its kind set going by them which have been exposed in the course of this enquiry. *Shê-p'o* is now conclusively proved to be part of the Malay Peninsula below the Krah Isthmus, which formed its northernmost limit; a result agreeing with our former considerations connecting it with the *Sawā* River, and the *C'hawā* and *Sawī* districts in the neighbourhood of the isthmus just referred to.[1]

How far the southern border of *Shê-p'o* reached we have no precise information. If we are to judge from the fact that *Ho-ling* (or its capital), which we have demonstrated to have stood in about 6° 29′ N. lat., was likewise called *Shê-p'o* or *Tu-p'o* (Java, Jaba, Sava, Saba, Tuba, Tuva, Toba, Duba), and that even further down the Peninsula Ptolemy locates a mart by the name of Sabana, which is, as likely as not, still represented by the present *Sabah* on the Bernam River, 3° 45′ N. lat.,[2] we would have to infer that such southern limit of *Shê-p'o* stretched as far south as Selangor, if not further; for even lower down similar toponymics occur.[3] However, we deem it a safer course not to lay too much stress on such unreliable indications, and prefer to remain content with the now well-substantiated fact that the land of

[1] See above, pp. 461–462, note.

[2] See pp. 100–101 *ante*.

[3] E.g. in *Jāva* Island (*Pulo Jāva* or *Jāwa*) in front of Malacca, which is the islet (or, rather, the double islet, for it is composed of two islets nearly joined) long known to the Portuguese as *Ilha das Naus*, because of its being the port or anchorage for ships trading to Malacca. The name may come to it from the *Ipomœa quamoclit*, a little scarlet convolvulus called *Jawa* in Malay; and may therefore have no connection whatever with the racial term *Jāwa* or *Java*.

A *Kwāla Sāwa* exists in Sungei Ujong, north-east of Port Dickson. This term, again, may be derived from *Sāwah*, meaning a wet rice-field (called *Blāng* in Achīn). A *Kampong* (village) *Jāwa* is to be found on the west of Rumenia Point, south end of the Malay Peninsula; a *Sungei Asam Jawa* below the mouth of the Selangor River, etc., etc. One of the chief tribes in Rembau bears the name of *Beduanda Jāwa* (*Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 13, p. 242).

Shê-p'o, i.e. of the Java race, included at the period in question a portion of the Malay Peninsula below the Kraḥ Isthmus, being still known in Ibn Baṭūṭa's time (A.D. 1345) as *Mul-Jāvah*, جاوة مُلّ, for here it is that the country so named by the famous traveller is to be looked for.[1] No doubt the terms *Java*, *Jaba*, *Sava*, *Saba*, *Tuba*, *Toba*, had long before this crossed the Straits with the race that bore them, and established themselves both on the east coast and in the very heart of Sumatra,[2] becoming by Marco Polo's and Ibn Baṭūṭa's time by-names for the whole island, as well as for the more outlying island of Java, on the eastern half of which those terms had taken root in the interval.[3]

I shall now, by way of conclusion to my arguments anent the location of *Shê-p'o* on the Malay Peninsula, draw attention to a passage occurring in the "Kwang-tung

[1] Here is the well-nigh complete proof I have found of this assertion of mine. Speaking of Sulṭan Māliku'l Manṣūr of Sumatra, banished by the king of Pāsei, Ibn Baṭūṭa says he wended his steps towards *Mul-Jāvah*, the country of unbelievers (i.e. Pagans, or Buddhists, Hinduists ("Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah," transl. by Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris, 1858, t. iv, p. 239). Now, the Chronicle of Pāsei ("Histoire des Rois de Pasey," by A. Marre, Paris, 1874, p. 53) states that Māliku'l Manṣūr was transported to the country of *Teming* (? تميڠ, *Tamiyang*, east coast of Sumatra?); whereas the "Ṣejarah Malāyu" most distinctly tells us that he was conveyed to مانجوڠ, *Manjung*, i.e. Pêrak (see Marre, op. cit., p. 121; Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 80; Dulaurier in *Journal Asiatique*, t. ix, Feb. 1847, p. 128), thereby furnishing us the proof that Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Mul-Jāvah* was the Malay Peninsula, Pêrak or *Manjung* being part of it. This observation has escaped both Dulaurier and Van der Lith, who have most absurdly endeavoured to demonstrate that *Mul-Jāvah* was respectively the Island of Java!! (*Journal Asiatique*, fasc. cit., p. 244) and the west coast of Sumatra!! ("Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 237–245). See also *ante*, pp. 432, 444.

[2] Witness Ptolemy's **Iaba** or **Jaba**, **Java**, and **Saba** or **Sava**, in **Iabadiū** or **Sabadiū**, in the first or dawn of the second century A.D.; the *Yava* in the *Prathama-Yava-Bhū* of the Pāgar-rūyung inscription, A.D. 656 (*v. supra*, p. 462 note); Marco Polo's *Java Minor* (A.D. 1295), and Ibn Baṭūṭa's island of *Jāwah*, both = Sumatra. The Battah kingdom of *Tobah* is probably also connected in name with the above set of terms. In Sumatra we have, however, many other instances of similar place-names: *Tānah Jāwa*, a district and tribe near Pānei, east coast, as well as *Si-Jāwi-jāwi*, a settlement in the same neighbourhood; *Jawa* village, two miles up the Achēh River; *Jāwi-jāwi* Island, the north-eastern island of the Bānyak group, off the west coast; etc. N.B. that *Jāwi-jāwi* = *Jejāwi*, *Ara Jejāwi* = *Ficus rhododendrifolia*, a large fig-tree. In Borneo we have a *Jāwa* village in the Kūtei district, east part of the island, etc.

[3] *Vide supra*, p. 459.

T'ung-chih" or "General Topography of Canton" (first published in A.D. 1693), which tends to confirm the result I have arrived at above, although the work in which it occurs being quite modern in date, the views and observations introduced therein by its compiler may in many an instance prove to be the mere guesswork of an uncritical student, insufficiently supported by historical evidence and at times in open contradiction to it. This is the reason why I have reserved the last place to this unsatisfactory authority. In the passage alluded to, then, Malacca is identified with the ancient 哥羅富沙也, *Ko-lo Fu-sha-ye*[1] (*Kala-Fu-sha-ya*

[1] The New History of the T'ang Dynasty and Ma Tuan-lin both have 哥羅富沙羅, *Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo* (*Ka-la-fu-sha-ra*, i.e. *Kola-bedara*, *Kolī-badara*, or *Kola-budara*, as pointed out above, p. 106). See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 241, who interprets the name as '*Kora-besar* or Great Kora'; and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 414. In the novel spelling given above, *Fu-sha-ye* may stand for *Puṣya*, *Phussa*, *Bhojyā*, or something similar, as 富沙 is at times used to transcribe *Puṣya*, etc. (see Eitel's Handbook, 2nd ed., Hongkong, 1888, p. 124). The last character is, however, to all appearance, a clerical slip, and the correct form of the term is, no doubt, that adopted in the New T'ang Annals and Ma Tuan-lin's work. I may point out here that *Biserat*, the present Siāmese headquarters in Jala (6° 32′ N. lat.), with famed caves in its neighbourhood, some of which have been utilised as Buddhist shrines, bears a name strikingly similar to *Fu-sa-la*. Another similar toponymic on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula is *Berserah*, the name of a village, streamlet, and cove (Telok Berserah), above Kwāla Kwāntān, in 3° 54′ N. lat. There is further the village of *Kwāla Besut*, at the mouth (*Kwāla Besut*) of the Besut River, between Kelantan and Tringānu (5° 40′ N. lat.). But any claim that such place-names may possess, on account of similarity of form, to identification with the old *Kolī-badara*, *Kola-budara* (or *bhūdhara*), pales before the statement of the Chinese annalists that the walls of its capital "are built with stones piled upon each other" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 241). Now, so far as I am aware, in the whole of the Malay Peninsula there are no ancient cities except Ligor and Kraḥ that possess either brick or stone walls. Ibn Baṭūṭa, I have already pointed out (*supra*, p. 444, note), says of his *Ḳāḳula*: "le mur, *en pierre de taille*, est assez large pour permettre que trois éléphants y marchent de front" ("Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah," t. iv, p. 244). Ma Tuan-lin, in his turn, says of *Kola* or *Kola-budara* in Hervey de Saint-Denys' translation (op. cit., p. 414): "Sa capitale est entourée de murs construits *en pierre de taille*"—the very same words. As other details tally remarkably well in both accounts, as I have shown above (p. 444), I have not the slightest doubt that the Chinese *Kola* or *Kola-budara* and Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Ḳāḳula*, or *Kākola*, *Kakkola*, are one and the same city (*vide supra*, p. 444), and can hardly be any other place but ancient Ligor (the walls of which have been long ago razed to the ground, those now seen standing belonging to the inner city and merely enclosing, according to local tradition, what were formerly the precincts of the principal Buddhist monastery, *Wat Nā-Phraḥ-thāt*), Kraḥ (the walls seen now are of brickwork), and, more doubtfully, Ptolemy's town of **Kōli** in Kelantan (see *ante*, pp. 105–106; whether

or *Kola Pū-jā-ya*), and its capital is said to lie "near *Shê-p'o*, which is the reason that it is also called 大闍婆, *Ta Shê-p'o* or 'Great Java.' It is now called 重迦羅, *Ch'ung-ka-lo* (Ch'ung-ka-la, Tsung-ka-ra, Jung-ka-la). East of it lies 吉里地閪, *Chi-li Ti-mên*. For this reason this country was a long time not named a kingdom. With a favourable wind it can be reached from 舊江, *Chiu-chiang* (or Kau-kong, Ku-kang = 舊港 = Palembang?), in eight days and nights. Near the sea are only a few mountains and a scanty population."

This, I am bound to say, is a fair example of the geographical hodge-podges so frequently served up in Chinese literature for the mortification of its toiling students, who, if successful in going through the ordeal of unravelling them, may justly be said to have made some strides towards earning for themselves the Kingdom of Heaven. *Ko-lo Fu-sha-ye*, or, more correctly, *Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo*, cannot, of course, have anything to do with Malacca, although its capital may well have stood near *Shê-p'o*, and its territory may have been known as *Ta Shê-p'o*, 'Great Java' (or *Saba*), as the compiler says. It may also have been called *Ch'ung-ka-la* or something similar,[1] and we shall demonstrate directly that it was. But to locate east of it *Chi-li Ti-mên*, which I have unmistakeably identified with *Gili Timor*,

there be remains of any walled cities in this district or not I am unable to say). Now, Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Kāḳula* is stated by him to be in *Mul-Jāvah*, so was, therefore, the Chinese *Kola* or *Kola-budara*. Hence, I think, the reason why the author of the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih" connects the latter with *Shê-p'o*. His identification of it with Malacca is, of course, absurd.

[1] This toponymic, I may point out, strikingly resembles *Suṅkhala* or *Sungkhlā*, the old form for the name of Singora, now better known to the Siāmese as *Songkhlā*, and to the Malays as سغكور, *Saṅgūra, Sanggora, Senggora*. I do not think, however, that this place is implied here, for its name is usually spelled in Chinese literature 孫姑那, *Sun-ku-na* or *Sun-ku-la*, as in the map published by Phillips (*circâ* 1399). Professor Schlegel (in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 298) attempts to connect with it the 宋卑, *Sung-chiau* or *Sung-kŏk* (Sungor?), of the "Hai-kwo Wên-chien-lu" (published 1744, chap. i, fol. 25 *verso*), but I still feel somewhat doubtful about their identity. See, however, Professor Schlegel's remark in the same volume, p. 272.

i.e. the 'Island of Timor,'[1] is to hopelessly confuse it with the other *Ch'ung-ka-la*, or rather *Sung-ka-la*, mentioned in the Chinese records, which I have, despite the blundering vagaries of our Sinologists, identified with Sumbāwā (سمباوا, Sambāwā) and, more precisely, with the *Sangar* district on the north coast of that island.[2] Bar these few little—and, of course, perfectly ingenuous—inaccuracies,

[1] Groeneveldt has here, for once, correctly identified *Chi-li Ti-mên* with Timor (op. cit., p. 236), although unable, of course, to account for the first part of that term. Professor Schlegel, on the contrary, unaware of the vagaries of the compiler of the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih," gets confused through reliance on his correctness, and, believing *Chi-li Ti-mên* to lie eastwards of the treacherous *Ch'ung-ka-la* as stated by him, makes superhuman efforts to explain the term *Chi-li Ti-mên* as *Kiri-Timor*, 'East to the left,' and what not, and to prove that it is not Timor at all, but some place on the east coast of Sumatra, or the island of Tyūman off the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and so forth (see *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, pp. 370–371). All nonsense! Had Groeneveldt or Professor Schlegel any knowledge of the geography and languages of the eastern part of the archipelago where Timor is situated, they would have very quickly grasped the right meaning of *Chi-li Ti-mên* or *Ki-li Ti-mên*. For in those parts an island is called *Gili*, and there are scores of them, from the south coast of Madura to the north coast of Flores and further, in the names of which the term *Gili* occurs as a prefix, e.g., *Gili Dua*, *Gili Pandan*, *Gili Wutak*, *Gili Banta*, *Gili Bodo*, etc. Therefore, *Chi-li Ti-mên* means *Gili Timor*, i.e. the 'Island of Timor,' and nothing more nor less. The solution is, it will be seen, very simple, like all solutions of puzzling questions, after the key has been made known. After writing the above I notice that the "Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao" (A.D. 1618) says: "*Ch'i-mên*, 遲悶 (in Fu-chou pronunciation, *Ti-mung*), is the vulgar name for *Chi-li Ti-mên*, 吉里地門; this country is situated at the east of *Ch'ung-ka-la*," etc. (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 237). And, further on: "*Ch'ih-mên*, 池悶 (in Fu-chou pron. *Tie-mung*), is the farthest of all countries" (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, p. 287, n. 137). What could be more plain?

[2] It is Fei-Hsin who first mentions this *Ch'ung-ka-la* in his "Hsing-ch'a Shêng-lan," A.D. 1436. Groeneveldt (op. cit., p. 182) is at a loss to find some equivalent for it, and timidly suggests Madura! making, however, all due reservations this time for what he meekly calls "our supposition." Professor Schlegel (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, pp. 370–371), blindly relying on the correctness of his text, believes it to be Malacca, and reads *Tangkara*, vainly endeavouring to identify the countries stated by Fei-Hsin to lie at several days' sailing from *Ch'ung-ka-la*. Had, however, either Groeneveldt or Professor Schlegel read W. F. Mayers' paper on "Chinese Explorations of the Indian Ocean," published as early as 1875 in the *China Review*, vol. iv, they would have found (p. 181) sailing directions, extracted from the "Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao," 1618, laying down the route from Gersik or Grissé (east coast of Java, right opposite Madura) to *Ch'ung-ka-la*. The course is explained to be by way of 磨里山, *Moli* Island = Bālī; 郎木, *Lang-mu* or *Lang-muk* = Lombok, beyond which lies 三吧哇, *San-pa-wa* or *Sam-pa-wa* = Sambāwā (Sumbāwā). The next point steered for,

quite characteristic of the Chinese compilers of geographical handbooks, etc., the above passage may be fairly correct; and, if so, it proves interesting as showing that *Shê-p'o* lay near to, or was conterminous with, Malacca; its location thus being on the Malay Peninsula.

Now, a word of explanation on the term *Ch'ung-ka-la* as a name for Malacca. It suggests some form like *Jung-ko-la*, *Jang-ko-la*, or *Jaṅgala* (='Jungle'), *Jāṅgala*. Joan Nieuhoff, writing about the same time (1662) as when the first edition of the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih" appeared (1693), says that the capital city of Malacca was formerly called *Jakola*.[1]

five watches (i.e. twelve hours; or else 600 *li* = about 100–120 miles) distant from Lombok, is *Ch'ung-ka-lo*; and five watches (100–120 miles) further lies 火山, *Hwo Shan*, i.e. 'Volcano Island.' On the strength of these indications Mayers wrongly takes *Ch'ung-ka-lo* to be the island of Flores. But it will be seen that here Lombok means Lombok Bay and city on the east coast of Lombok Island; *Sam-pa-wa* = Sambāwā Bay on the north-west part of Sambāwā Island; *Ch'ung-ka-lo* = Sangar Bay on the north coast of the eastern part of Sambāwā Island, which, being very narrow in the middle, may well have been mistaken for two separate islands; and *Hwo Shan* = Gūnong Āpi, off the north-east extremity of Sambāwā Island. The distances measured on a modern chart are: Lombok Bay to Sangar Bay, 115 miles; Sangar Bay to Gūnong Āpi, 50 miles. It will be seen that the first one is perfectly in accordance with the Chinese itinerary, whereas the second is a good deal over-rated, but this is probably due to the imperfect knowledge as yet possessed by the Chinese of lands to the east of Sambāwā. This is well exemplified in the fact of their mentioning Tīmor as lying to the east of it, without naming any of the islands between the two. Fei-Hsin's *Ch'ung-ka-la* is, therefore, most certainly the eastern part of Sambāwā Island, where Sangar Bay and the Sangar District stand, and should not be confounded with *Ch'ung-ka-la* or *Jakola*, the old name for the Malacca district. Fei-Hsin most distinctly says, in fact, that *Ch'ung-ka-la* borders upon or is a neighbour of 爪哇, *Chao-wa*, i.e. the Island of Java, and not *Shê-p'o* (see Groeneveldt, loc. cit., and *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 368).

[1] "The capital city is likewise called *Malacca*, being the same in former times called *Jakola*" ("Embassy from the East India Company," etc., by Joan Nieuhoff, tr. by J. Ogilby, London, 1673, quoted in Dennys' "Descriptive Dict. of Brit. Malaya," p. 208). I cannot, so far, account for the term *Jakola* otherwise than by connecting it with the *Jugra* district and river, Kwāla *Jugra* and Bukit *Jugra* (far better known to navigators as Parcelar Hill), which lie at some sixty miles north-west of Malacca town, in what is now the Langat district, but was formerly Malacca territory. *Jakola* and *Jugra* are not very dissimilar words, and the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters employed to write the name *Ch'ung-ka-la* is *Jū-ke-ra*, a remarkably close approach to *Jugera* or *Jugra*. Again, the term may be connected with *Johol*, one of the Negri Sembilan States conterminous with that of Malacca and lying immediately

Here, then, we have the *Ch'ung-ka-la* of the Chinese account. Which of the two spellings is the more accurate I am unable to decide; but I should think Nieuhoff's, for it is probable that the form *Jakola* was the cause that enticed the compiler of the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih" into connecting this place with the old *Kola Fushala*. At all events, the original form of the term may safely be said to lie between *Jakola* and *Jaṅgala* or *Jāṅgala*, because Nieuhoff's notation excludes any connection with the *Sangar* series of toponymics.

It is quite possible that the epithet *Ta Shê-p'o*, 'Great Java (*Jaba* or *Saba*),' or *Mahā Java*, *Java Besar* (?), stated in the passage quoted above to have been applied to the territory of Malacca, may have some connection with the place called *Sabah* on the Bernam River, not far to the north of Malacca, as well as with the historical continuation of Ptolemy's mart of **Sabana**, which, we have seen,[1] if not actually *Sabah* itself, must have stood very near it. Indeed, the *Shê-p'o* said in the same passage to be near the capital of Malacca may be this very place *Sabah*. In any case, if this last was no part of *Shê-p'o*, the southern boundary of the country so named cannot have lain very far to the north; for at short distances in that direction existed, on either coast of the Peninsula, the States of *Ho-ling*, and *P'o-ta*, and *Ho-lo-tan*, and *Po-hwang*, which we have seen are in Chinese records either located on *Shê-p'o* territory or closely connected with it.

inland of it*; or with the name of the *Jakūn* tribes inhabiting that territory; or it may have a totally different origin as yet not clear to me. Similar toponymics are: *Seṗaro*, the name of the island otherwise known as Rupat, lying close to the north-west coast of Sumatra right opposite Malacca town; *Jangkul*; *Sekra*; *Sengar* (river, Port Weld); *Sanglar*; *Sungal*; *Singkel*; the *Jung-ya-lu* pepper-producing district of Chao Ju-kua (see p. 451 *ante*), etc. *Jāṅgala* or *Jaṅgala* was the name of one of the most ancient and celebrated kingdoms in Java, of tribes in India and Indo-China, etc.

* "Johol originally included Jempol and the whole watershed of the Moar as far as the Pâlong on one side and Mount Ophir on the other, having on the north and west common boundaries with Jelebu, Sungei Ujong, Rembau, and Nâning (the latter now included Malacca)."—*Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 13, p. 245.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 100–101. From a note by Takakusu (op. cit., p. xlviii) it would appear that Chao Ju-kua also mentions *Ta Shê-p'o* (*Mahā Java* or *Java Besar*?).

There occurs, furthermore, a passage in Sung history which indirectly supplies us with the confirmation as to the boundaries of *Shê-p'o* stretching so far south as *Sabah* or thereabouts. This happens because the passage in question fixes the position of 州眉流, *Chou-mei-liu*, or 丹眉流, *Tan-mei-liu*, in relation to other countries—among them *Shê-p'o*,—giving either the sailing or overland distance to each of them.[1] As, contrary to Sinologists who have never succeeded in pointing out even approximately the location of the State just mentioned, we have in these pages established beyond doubt its identity with the present *Ch'ī-mī-ḷa* and Ptolemy's **Tēmala** within Cape Negrais,[2]

[1] See "Sung-shu," bk. 489, fol. 16; Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 583.

[2] *Vide supra*, pp. 48–52, and note at foot of p. 52 for the identification. Also my articles in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1898, p. 157, and January, 1902, p. 119. The local forms of the name are, as I have shown, *Ch'ī-mī-ḷa*, *Tamāla*, *Timira* (perhaps also *Timirā*, *Ḍāmara*, *Damiḷa* or *Dāmiḷa*, *Tamiḷa* or *Tamira*). There cannot be the least doubt that my identification of this place is correct. N.B. that in the Wên-chou dialect the characters that constitute its name are pronounced *Tsiu-mi-liu*. The country in question is stated in the Sung Annals to produce gold and also the *Yü-shih* (碙石) stone, "very esteemed, although inferior to jade" (Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 584). Anyone will see at once that it is here a question of the jadeite derived from the serpentine-mines on the banks of the Uru River in the northernmost part of Burmā. This is the more certain as we are told ("Gazetteer of Upper Burmā and the Shan States," Rangoon, pt. 1, vol. ii, p. 277) that this kind of stone is called *Yü-shih* by the Chinese who purchase it there. As may be inferred from the above account, the stone must have been also taken down for sale to *Ch'ī-mī-ḷa*, which is quite natural. Through our present identification of the stone and the locality of its provenance, we are enabled to trace the history of the Burmese jade-mines (hitherto stopping short at the thirteenth century, see op. cit., p. 279) still further back to the dawn of the eleventh century, for such is the period the account of *Chow-mei-liu* in Sung history refers to. Again, the same account states that in A.D. 1001 this kingdom sent envoys to China with presents. The names of the principal of these personages are recorded as 打古馬, *Ta-ku-ma* (*Da-kô-ma*); 打臘, *Ta-la* (*Da-la*, *T'a-la*); and 箚皮泥, *Cha-p'i-ni* (*Chap-p'ei-nei*), in which we easily recognize the names of the three cities and districts of Dagun (Mōñ, *Takung* or *Takông*, older form *Tākum*, see Forchhammer's "Notes on the Early Hist. and Geogr. of British Burma," fasc. i, p. 17; now called Rangoon); Dala (Mōñ, *Ta-la*, *Thala*); and Khabeng, anciently *Kappuṅga-nagara* (see *ante*, p. 72), near Twantē, a former seaport, the name of which is spelled *Copini* and *Coponim* in the Summary of Eastern Kingdoms and Peoples translated from the Portuguese by Ramusio ("Delle Navigationi et Viaggi," Venetia, 1563, vol. i, pp. 334 *verso* and 385 *recto*. On the last-named page Dagun appears as *Dogom*). The three envoys from *Chou-mei-liu* were, then, the governors of the districts above mentioned, the names of which they bore as titles, as was

we are in a position to turn to account the data just alluded to for the purpose now in view. Here are the

the custom in Pegu. By the kingdom of *Chou-mei-liu* was doubtless meant the State of Bassein, so designated from the city or mart of *Ch'ī-mī-ḷa*, its seaport. I trust that the foregoing explanations will have established beyond doubt the correctness of my location and identification of *Chou-mei-liu* or *Tan-mei-liu*, so that it can be safely used as a basis for the determination of the position of *Shê-p'o* as proposed above.

Professor Schlegel vainly attempted in the *T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, pp. 291–294, to deal satisfactorily with the foregoing account from Sung history, and concluded by placing *Tan-mei-liu* on the upper course of the Më-nam River, in Central Siam!! (p. 293). He went even so far as to confuse this State with the similarly named one of 登流眉, *Têng-liu-mei*, mentioned by Chao Ju-kua (*circâ* A.D. 1240), and after him by Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 488); and—what seems to have escaped the notice of Professor Schlegel and others—also in Sung history, where its name is spelled 丹流眉, *Tan-liu-mei* (see Dr. Eitel's remarks in the *China Review*, vol. xviii, p. 319). Besides Professor Schlegel, Dr. Eitel and Dr. (now also Professor) Hirth have been at a loss to locate it. Ma Tuan-lin says it lay to the south-west of *Chên-li-fu*, 眞里富, which he places at the south-western limits of *Chên-la* (Kamboja). Chao Ju-kua merely tells us that *Têng-liu-mei* stood westward of *Chên-la* (see F. Hirth's "Aus der Ethnographie des Tschau Ju-kua," in *Sitzungsberichte der k. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, München, 1898, Heft iii, p. 498). Now, I have successfully identified *Chên-li-fu*—which is undoubtedly one and the same with the 占里婆, *Chan-li-p'o*, city mentioned in the "Ling-wai-tai-ta" (A.D. 1178), although it should, of course, be distinguished from the 吞里富, *T'un-li-fu*, introduced almost immediately afterwards by Chao Ju-kua (Hirth, op. cit., p. 497)—with *Candana-pura* or *Chanthabūn*, on the east coast of the Gulf of Siām, the name of which is often spelled *Chantibon* by the early European travellers.

Again, I have identified *Têng-liu-mei* or *Tan-liu-mei* with *Taluma*, an ancient State on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. It is mentioned, along with those of *Bhukām* (Pagān = Upper Burmā), *Rāmañña* (= Pegu), etc., in the Memoirs of Lady Rēvatī Nobamās, one of the oldest Siāmese literary works (part i, ch. 1), dating from the end of the thirteenth century, or the early part of the fourteenth. I am still doubtful as to whether to connect it with *Talung* or *Talum* (P'huttalung), or with the territory watered by the *Telūbin* River further down the coast (below Patāni); or else with the *Talum-p'huk* land spit (incorrectly marked *Lëm Kolam-puk* in the maps), in the Ligor roadstead. But its position assuredly lay within these limits, i.e. between 6° 60′ (mouth of the Telūbin River) and 8° 28′ (northern extremity of the *Talum-p'huk* promontory) N. latitude. This position, it will be noticed, bears S.S.W. from Chanthabūn; that is, approximately as indicated in the Chinese account. *Têng-liu-mei* or *Tan-liu-mei* (*Taluma*) should not therefore be confounded with *Chou-mei-liu* or *Tan-mei-liu* (*Ch'ī-mī-ḷa*, *Tamāla*, or *Timira*). *Tan-liu-mei* or *Taluma* may be Edrīsī's island of تنومه, *Tanūmah*, located by him at five days' sailing from *Ḳmār*, i.e. South Kamboja.

sailing distances we propose to take as a basis for our calculations:—

1. Southwards from *Chou-mei-liu* there are 15 days (or stages) to 羅越, *Lo-yüeh*.
2. South-eastwards from *Chou-mei-liu* there are 45 days (or stages) to *Shê-p'o*.
3. North-eastwards from *Chou-mei-liu* there are 135 days (or stages) to *Kwang-chou* (Canton).

Now, the actual sailing distance from *Ch'ī-mī-ḷa* (mouth of the Bassein River) to Canton, measured along the usual sea-route on a modern chart, is 2,700 miles, which, apportioned among the 135 stages set down in the Chinese account, yields us a ratio of 20 miles a stage, i.e. about the same result we have obtained from the Chinese itineraries previously examined. On the basis of this rate it is easy to calculate by elementary processes the distances we require. These become fixed as follows:—

1. Distance from *Ch'ī-mī-ḷa* to *Lo-yüeh*, 15 stages × 20 miles = 300 miles.
2. Distance from *Ch'ī-mī-ḷa* to *Shê-p'o*, 45 stages × 20 miles = 900 miles.

Setting these measurements on a chart from the mouth of the Bassein River southwards along the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, we obtain for:—

1. *Lo-yüeh*, a location a little above Mergui.[1]
2. *Shê-p'o*, a location about *Sabah* on the Bernam River.

[1] It may be *Letwe-gyun* or *Lakwe* Island, Tavoy district; or even *Lenya* or *Lanyā* below Mergui. The sounds intended may be either *Lo-yüt*, *Lo-yet*, *Loa-wok*, *La-viet*, *Lo-gur*, etc. The map facing p. 7 in Mandelslo (Amsterdam ed., 1727) marks a *Lugor* immediately below *Moro* (Tavoy), which is very probably the place here alluded to. There seem to have been two 羅越, *Lo-yüeh*, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, besides one 羅圭, *Lo-yü* or *Lo-lü*, and a 祿勿, *Lenyü* (*Luk-yū*, *Lôk-vu*), (*vide supra*, pp. 90 and 110). The last one I have suggested (p. 90) may be Ligor, the *Lugor* of João de Barros; but now I should think it may preferably be connected with the Lungu

There is therefore every likelihood, as we surmised, that Sabah is the *Shê-p'o* meant by the Sung annalists in the case at hand; and it becomes evident, at all events, that the *Shê-p'o* they had in view was the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and not at all the island of Java.

I-tsing, we have seen, entirely ignores *Shê-p'o* and merely mentions *Ho-ling* or *Po-ling*, by which term, as pointed out above (p. 481), he very likely means *Gelang* (Galang) or *Puling* Cape, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula (4° N. lat.); and, in any case, the eastern limit of the real *Ho-ling* State, which may have extended to that point or thereabouts. The only full itineraries he gives to and from India, with the sailing distances when recorded, are four, as follows:—

River, usually noted *Lungur* or *Lungar* in the early maps, and *Longur* in De Barros, Decada I, lib. ix, ch. 1. Chao Ju-kua (see Hirth, op. cit., pp. 494, 513) employs a very similar notation, 祿 兀, *Lu-wu* (*Luk-ngat*), for the name of the capital of *Chên-la* (Kamboja), which could not be as yet, in his time, Lawëk, but was still at Angkor (Nagor).

The second *Lo-yüeh* must have stood—if it ever existed—further down the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. On p. 110 *ante* I took it to be the same as the first *Lo-yüeh*, lying at fifteen days' sailing south of *Tan-mei-liu*, a view which, after the above exhaustive inquiry, I am now inclined to reject. The only indication we so far have as to the existence of this second, if any, *Lo-yüeh*, is contained in an already quoted scholium from the *T'ang-shu*, ch. 430, brought to light by Chavannes (op. cit., p. 42, n. 2), which he renders: "To the south of the Malay Peninsula [? no original characters or transliteration given of the term employed for this in the text] one reaches a strait measuring 100 *li* [i.e. 20 to 25 miles] from north to south; on the northern shore is the kingdom of *Lo-yüeh*, and on the southern the kingdom of *Fo-shih* [i.e, as we have shown in the preceding pages, the east coast of Sumatra]." Now, this would point to one of the narrowest parts of the Malacca Strait, the least measurements of which are: (1) between Tanjong Bulus and Pulo Ransang, 30 miles; (2) between Tanjung Tohor and Pulo Bengkalis, 25 miles; between Tanjong Tuan (Cape Rachado) and Pulo Medang, 20 miles. The shortest distance from the west coast of the Malay Peninsula to the east coast of Sumatra occurs between the Jugra River and Tanjong Senebui, 35 miles. However, as we are left in the dark about what is the term in the Chinese text which Chavannes translates by 'Malay Peninsula,' we feel unable to arrive at a precise estimate of the location of the said *Lo-yüeh*; and must remain content with suggesting that it may be either *Lārut*, in Pêrak, or, still better, *Lukut* (Port Dickson), lower down, which is only a few miles north of Cape Rachado, and lies within only 40 miles from the Sumatran coast and 25 from Pulo Medang. Takakusu (op. cit., p. xlv, n. 3) says that this *Lo-yüeh* "is the place where Shinnio Taka-oka, an imperial prince of Japan, died, A.D. 881, on his way to India to search for the Law. He was twenty years in China learning Buddhism, whence he started for the West." The place referred to is instead, very probably, the first *Lo-yüeh* near Mergui. In any case the notice here cited proves the existence of either *Lo-yüeh* as far back as A.D. 881, which is of historical interest to note.

1. Tonkin to *Lang-ka-hsü* (Langkachīu near C'hump'hōn, east coast Malay Peninsula);[1] thence to *Ho-ling*, and onward viâ *Lo-kwo* (Nikobārs)[2] to Tāmraliptī (western part of the Delta of the Ganges).[3]
2. Tonkin to *Shih-li-Fo-shih* (Palembang), 30 days; thence to *Mo-lo-yü*, 15 days, and to *Ka-ch'a*, 15 days; then change of course to westward, making Nāgapaṭṭan in 30 days; thence across to Ceylon, 2 days.[4]
3. Canton to *Fo-shih* (Palembang) with the first monsoon, 20 days; thence to *Mo-lo-yü*; thence, changing direction, to *Ka-ch'a*; thence, taking a northern course, to *Lo-kwo* (Nikobārs), in somewhat more than 10 days; thence, steering north-west, to Tāmraliptī in about 15 days (A.D. 671–672).[5]
4. Return voyage from the last-named seaport: Tāmraliptī, on a south-east course to *Ka-ch'a*, 60 days; thence, in a southerly direction to *Mo-lo-yü*, 30 days; thence to Canton in about 30 days (A.D. 685 and 689).[6]

[1] See for our identification of this place p. 115 *ante*; and, for a more exhaustive discussion, my article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1901, pp. 157, 158.

[2] *Vide supra*, pp. 380 seqq.

[3] Chavannes' "Religieux Éminents," p. 100. *Tāmraliptī* = modern Tamluk, on the west of the Hūghli river near its mouth.

[4] Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 144 and 136, in which latter it is shown that the starting-place was *Shên-wan* on the Tonkin Gulf (for our remarks on which place see pp. 250–251 above). The distance thence to Palembang is about 1,500 miles, which gives an average of some 50 miles a day. That from Palembang to Nāgapaṭṭan, round by the north coast of Sumatra, is about 1,960 miles, which, apportioned over 60 days, the total length of the run, yields some 32 to 33 miles a day on the average. It should be noted, however, that in the Straits, owing to frequent calms and less freedom of navigation, the rate of speed must naturally be less than the above.

[5] Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 119–121, in which the passage from the Nikobārs to Tāmraliptī is put down at over half a lunation; and Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Religion," etc., from I-tsing's work, pp. xxix–xxxi, where it is said "in about half a month's sail," undoubtedly a too mild estimate (see, in fact, next note). The distance from Canton to Palembang varies between 1,700 and 1,800 miles, according to the course taken. This yields an average of 85 to 90 miles a day, which does not surprise, as the passage was made with the first break of the monsoon, usually very violent. The passage from the Nikobārs to Tāmraliptī (real distance 900 to 960 miles) was also a very quick one.

[6] Chavannes, op. cit., p. 125, and Takakusu, op. cit., pp. xxxiii–xxxv. Here, we see, 60 days were spent in reaching *Ka-ch'a* from Tāmraliptī, as against 25 (or perhaps 30) in the outward journey (Itinerary No. 3). In A.D. 1345 it took Ibn Baṭūṭa 40 days to accomplish about the same journey (see above, p. 400). The passage from *Ka-ch'a* to *Mo-lo-yü* is, it will be observed, here put down at

The points of most absorbing interest for us here are the determination of the positions of *Ka-ch'a* and *Mo-lo-yü*, so far only leisurely guessed by our Sinologists. *Ka-ch'a*, 羯茶 (*K'et-ch'ā*, *Kiek-ta*, *Kiet-tra*), I have identified with *Kerti*, anciently *Katrea*,[1] on the homonymous river, a little to the east of Pāsei (north coast of Sumatra). The settlement of this moot point at once clears the ground for the further determination of the site of 末羅瑜, *Mo-lo-yü* (*Mat-lo-yü*, *Mal-la-yu*), or 末羅遊, *Mo-lo-yu* (*Mut-lo-yau*, *Mat-lo-yiu*, *Mal-la-yu*, or *Mar-ra-yu*), as the term is severally spelled in I-tsing's works.[2] For this place, being met with, on his own showing, at about half-way from *Ka-ch'a* (Katrea) to *Fo-shih* or *Shih-li Fo-shih* (Palembang), very likely somewhat nearer to the latter seaport on account of its distance from *Ka-ch'a* being variously given (see above) as 15 and 30 days' sailing, it must be looked for on either shore of the strait between

30 days, or double the time given in Itinerary No. 2. In comparison with this, 30 days from *Mo-lo-yü* to Canton is a very creditable performance, and must have been done, as on the outward journey, with a highly favourable wind. In connection with these singularly quick passages (compared with those set down in other Chinese works and discussed in the preceding pages), it should be observed that they were mostly made in Persian, Arab, or Malay, and not (except in but one or two instances) in Chinese ships. The outward journey from Canton to Palembang was accomplished, as I-tsing himself says, on a Persian vessel (see Takakusu, op. cit., p. xxviii). That from Palembang to *Mo-lo-yü*, and thence onward to *Ka-ch'a* and Bengal, was done in a ship supplied to I-tsing by the King of Palembang (ibid., p. xxx). Similarly, that from *Ka-ch'a* to *Mo-lo-yü*, on the return voyage, was again performed in a vessel from Palembang (ibid., p. xxxiv). This fully explains the discrepancies in the rate of speed noticed in previous itineraries.

[1] The name by which its river is mentioned in the "Sejarah Malāyu" (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 78), whence we learn that on its banks was situated the palace of the Pāsei king. Marre, in his "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," p. 120, spells the name *Katarei*. The late Rev. S. Beal and others have, *more solito*, jumped at once to the conclusion that *Ka-ch'a* is, of course, that hub of the universe, Kedah. So lately, also, Professor Schlegel, in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 290. Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 105–106, has perceived the untenability of such an utterly unjustified identification; and Takakusu, rightly judging that *Ka-ch'a* must be looked for to the south of *Lo-kwo* (the Nikobārs), has vaguely suggested its location "somewhere on the Atchin coast" (op. cit., p. xxx), and in his sketch-map has marked it close to the coast of Achīn. I may here point out, for the guidance of those who connect *Ka-ch'a* with Kedah, that the name of the latter place appears in the Chinese map of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips, wherein it is spelled 吉達, *Chi-ta* (*Kêt-tat*).

[2] See Chavannes, op. cit., p. 119, n. 2.

the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. Measurements taken on a chart lead us on the one side to Tanjong Tuan (Cape Rachado), a little above Malacca,[1] and on the other to Pulo Rupat (or Segaro) and the Sumatran hinterland between Siak and Rakan. This, be it understood, if we adopt the statement as to *Mo-lo-yü* lying at 15 days' sailing from *Ka-ch'a* and at an equal distance from Palembang; that is to say, at exactly half-way from these two points. But the other statement assigning instead 30 days to the passage from *Ka-ch'a* to *Mo-lo-yü* fully justifies us in locating the latter place somewhat lower down Malacca Strait. Such being the case, I am bound to declare right off that on the tract of Sumatran coast under consideration we find no record or sign of a place identically or similarly named ever having existed. On the contrary, we have plenty of evidence that one or more places of such a denomination stood on the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, and precisely on the Old Strait of Singapore and its immediate neighbourhood. The writers who have preceded us in the treatment of this knotty question had nothing to go by but the bare statement of João de Barros mentioning a *Tana-Malayu* along with a number of other petty States on the Island of Sumatra.[2] On the strength of this and of a passage in Alboquerque's Commentaries informing us that, in the language of Java, Palembang is called *Malayo*, they thought to have made an exceedingly clever hit in connecting these names with I-tsing's *Mo-lo-yu* or *Mo-lo-yü*. Truly,

[1] This was probably the site of the lower *Lo-yüeh*, as we have pointed out above, p. 525. Whether the term *Lo-yüeh* here has any connection with *Mo-lo-yü* or *Mo-lo-you*, being a contracted form of it, remains to be seen. It is not altogether impossible.

[2] "Asia," Decada iii, pt. 1, pp. 510–511. The places enumerated—said to be states or kingdoms—are twenty-nine. The list starts from Daya (Dāyā) on the west coast of Sumatra, a little below Achīn, and, following the north and eastern shores of the island, rounds its southern end, and proceeds up the west coast, where it terminates. It seems, however, doubtful if this order is rigorously adhered to in every instance. If it is in the case of Palembang and Tana-Malayu, then the latter, being mentioned next to Palembang, should be looked for to the south of it. But this is absurd, and Tana-Malayu was most certainly the district on the river Malāyu, inland from Palembang, and Alboquerque's *Malayo*, as we shall see directly.

I-tsing himself (according to Takakusu),[1] or an annotator of his during the later Chou period, A.D. 951–960 (according to Chavannes),[2] says that the country of *Mo-lo-yü* or *Mo-lo-yu* "is now called [or 'has become'] *Fo-shih*" (or *Shih-li Fo-shih*).

But it must be remembered that on I-tsing's own evidence *Mo-lo-yü* lay at some 15 days' sailing—or about 300–350 miles[3]—from Palembang, towards Malacca Strait; and thus it could have nothing to do with either De Barros' *Tana-Malayu* or Alboquerque's *Malayo*, which both evidently refer to an ancient district on the Malāyu River, situated within the limits of Palembang itself.[4] Add to this that on I-tsing's own showing, after one had reached *Mo-lo-yü* from Palembang, he had to change direction in order to go to *Ka-ch'a* (Kerti), which would be absolutely unnecessary and absurd if *Mo-lo-yü* were situated on the east coast of Sumatra, for in such a case the same course would have to be steered throughout along that coast of the island. The construction that must be put upon I-tsing's (or his later

[1] Op. cit., pp. xxx, xxxiv, xl, 10.

[2] Op. cit., p. 119, n. 2.

[3] The actual sailing distance from the mouth of the Palembang to that of the Kerti or Katrea (*Ka-ch'a*) River is about 660 miles, which would give 330 miles or thereabouts for *Mo-lo-yü*.

[4] The river in question, *Sungei Malāyu*, is referred to in the "Sejarah Malāyu" (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," pp. 20–21). Therein it is distinctly stated that a king, Damang Lebar Daun by name, reigned in the country of *Paralembang*, now called Palembang. The name of its river was *Muār-Tātang*, into which falls another river known as *Sungei Malāyu*, near the source of which is a mountain named *Sagantang Mahā-Meru*. *Muār-Tātang* means *Tātang*-mouth, and the *Tātang* River may be the one nowadays called Talang, which is one of the outlets of the Musi. The *Malāyu* River may be either the Musi (Palembang River) or one of its principal tributaries. Both the river names now referred to seem to be at present forgotten. From the presence of a stream *Malāyu* in this region and the traditions connected with it, related in the "Sejarah Malāyu" and other Malay semi-historical works, Valentijn argues that the Malays must have derived their first name. This is, of course, absurd; but there can be no doubt that such is the country meant by Alboquerque and De Barros under the denominations, respectively, of *Tana-Malayu* ('Malay Territory, Malay Land') and *Malayo*. *Tānah Malāyu*, as far as local tradition goes, was the name of the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula. If such a name was also applied to part or the whole of the Palembang district, it is because it must have been introduced thither by emigrant Malays from the south of the Malay Peninsula, and not the reverse. That this introduction could hardly have taken place in I-tsing's time or several centuries after him will be demonstrated in the following pages.

commentator's) passage anent *Mo-lo-yü* having in, or shortly before, his time become *Shih-li Fo-shih* is, therefore, that it had been annexed by the latter; that is, became part and parcel of the latter's dominions. This view is perfectly consistent with the early history of Palembang, which, we shall demonstrate further on, was the seat of the potentate so often referred to by Arab writers as the *Mahrāj* (Mahārāja), who ruled over an empire extending all over the northern portion of the Archipelago.

Otherwise, we should have to assume that in I-tsing's time—as in Alboquerque's and De Barros' periods—there were two *Malāyu* countries, of which one comprised part of Palembang and the other the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula. But such does not seem to have been the case either during I-tsing's (A.D. 671–695) or his annotator's (A.D. 951–960) time.[1] The name *Malāyu* had then not as yet, apparently, travelled down so far south or crossed over the Straits to Sumatra, but was still lingering on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, making ready to cross whenever a favourable opportunity should present itself, which was not slow to come.

Having thus disposed of our predecessor's untenable view as to I-tsing's *Mo-lo-yü* being situated on the east coast of Sumatra, and assumed that its location must have been in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, it becomes necessary to demonstrate that a State of such a name existed here of old. Subjoined, then, is our original evidence for it, which goes many a year further back than Alboquerque's and De Barros' time.

1. The 'Koṭ Moṇthīerabān' (*Kaṭa Maṇḍira-pāla*) or 'Palatine Law' of Siām, enacted in A.D. 1360 by the king who had a decade before founded the capital Ayuthia

[1] The distance of thirty days (equal to the whole distance Kerti–Palembang) given in one instance by I-tsing from *Ka-ch'a* to *Mo-lo-yü*, would seem to lend support to the hypothesis of two *Mo-lo-yü* States existing in his time, the second one of which was Palembang itself or part of it. But I think, after all, that such a discrepancy can be satisfactorily explained by the variable state of the weather encountered on the journey, which caused the passage to be at times quick and at others very slow. Of similar discrepancies we have several instances in the itineraries themselves of that pilgrim.

(*Ayuddhyā*), gives full lists of the States then tributary to Siām, both in the north and south. Among the States of the south (Malay Peninsula), one bearing the name of *Malāyū* is mentioned, the order being as follows:—

(1) *Ujong Tānah* (known afterwards as Johor).
(2) *Malākā* (= Malacca).
(3) *Malāyū*.
(4) *Worawārī* (Varavārī = Muār? *vide supra*, p. 495).
Total, four States.[1]

This source of information is authoritative enough to admit of no question. We may accordingly take it as positive that there was in A.D. 1360—and probably far earlier—a State named *Malāyu* or *Malāyū* in the south of the Malay Peninsula.

2. The (Chinese) history of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty states that, in the first year of the Yüan Chêng period—i.e. A.D. 1295—of Ch'êng Tsung's (Tīmūr's) reign the king of 暹 國, *Siem-kwok*, i.e. Siām (the capital of which was then at Sukhôthai), sent a letter written on a golden plate, praying that the Court might send an envoy to his country. As the Siāmese had for a long time lived in feud and war with 麻 里 子 兒, *Ma-li-yü-êrh*, and this country had now returned to allegiance, the Emperor enjoined the Siāmese that they should no longer molest *Ma-li-yü-êrh*, in accordance with their promise.[2]

[1] Laws of Siām, 5th Siāmese edition, Bangkok, 1888, vol. ii, p. 72. A widely different list is given at the outset of the Chronicles of Ayuthia (Siāmese edition, 1863, vol. i, p. 21); but this work having been compiled only recently, from motley materials of not always proved authenticity, pieced up in a somewhat happy-go-lucky way, it cannot be invariably relied upon, especially for the older periods. The list in question runs as follows:—(1) *Malākā*; (2) *C'hawā* (Javā); . . . . (8) *Songkhlā* (Suṅkhalā or Singora). The names left out belong either to States on the north of Siām or on the Malay Peninsula that were governed by viceroys (Tavoy, Tenasserim, Ligor). *C'hawā* stands apparently here for either of the three districts of *Ujong Tānah*, *Malāyu*, and *Varavārī*, or for the whole of them; but this is by no means certain.

[2] *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 289. Professor Schlegel here translates "a letter written in golden characters," which, although it may be a correct rendering of the original, is historically inaccurate. Royal letters of State in Siām have always been written, not in golden characters, but with vermilion, or else engraved, on a golden plate which was afterwards rolled up and put into a casket adapted to the purpose.

Here *Ma-li-yü-êrh*—or, still better, *Malaya-vāra, Malayur*—cannot evidently be aught but the *Malāyū* mentioned above, which, having returned to allegiance on or shortly before A.D. 1295, was still a tributary in 1360. Its existence thus becomes proved for at least another century further back, considering that in 1295 Siām had already long been at feud and war with it.[1]

3. Marco Polo sailed, just two or three years before that, from Champā across to *Locat* or *Lochac* (Legeḥ or Latcha, see above, p. 497), on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, proceeding thence southwards by way of the two islands of *Petam* (Bintang and Batang or Batam, in my opinion), until he reached the island of *Pentam*, where he found a king, with a city named *Malavir* (Malla-vīra ?). Now, the itinerary followed by the great Venetian traveller from Champā to the Straits has never been satisfactorily determined. The identifications of *Locat* and the *Petam* islands given above are entirely my own; and so are those of *Pentam* and *Malavir*, both of which I locate on the north shore of the Old Singapore Strait, this being, in my judgment, the route taken by Marco Polo's junk. An important village named *Bentan* exists on that Strait in long. 103° 53′ E., as well as a river *Malāyu*, only a few miles further to the west (long. 103° 42′ E.); but probably the place our traveller had in view was the opposite island of Singapore, the ancient *Bêtumah*;[2] while *Malavir*, given by him as the name of the king's capital, was more likely that of the realm—evidently the *Ma-li-yü-êrh* and *Malāyū* of the two preceding paragraphs.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that the position of the puzzling State of *Mo-lo-yü, Ma-li-yü-êrh*, or *Malavir*, was at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, and precisely on

[1] I should think this *Ma-li-yü-êrh* is not the Kota *Meligei* or *Meliyei* of the "Sejarah Malāyu" (see above, p. 490), the capital of a State occupying the site where Patāni rose in, or shortly before, A.D. 1500. The way in which the name is spelled in Chinese argues an original form something like *Mālya-vāra, Malaya-vāra*, or *Malayur*; hence it is almost beyond doubt the same place as Marco Polo's *Malavir*.

[2] See above, pp. 199–200.

the north shore of the Old Singapore Strait,[1] where, besides the Malāyu River, time-worn traditions of a *Malaya* or *Malaya-vāra* country and people, of a *Malaya-dvīpa* (Malaya island or continent), and of a *Tānah Malāyu* confront the unbeliever. And, as my predecessors have chosen to ensconce themselves behind Alboquerque and De Barros, I shall also in my turn betake myself to as good a contemporary authority to pit against theirs. The king of Achīn, says Bocarro under date July, A.D. 1613, was met in the Straits by the Portuguese at the head of a great fleet with which he had taken the city of Johor and conquered the kingdom of *Malaio* (Malāyu), capturing the *Rājavaṁsa* (Ratabonço), brother to the king of Johor, the principal warlike personage among the *Malaios* (Malāyūs).[2] This passage plainly shows that at the period the events alluded to occurred the kingdom of *Malāyu* was Johor, the native State in the south of the Malay Peninsula that was the historical continuation of the mediæval Malacca, and,

[1] This narrow passage between the island of Singapore and the mainland was invariably used by western ships bound to the China Sea, until some time after 1615, the date at which the wider and easier passage now known as the Strait of Singapore was discovered. This was at first termed by the Portuguese *Estreito do Governador*, from the fact of Dom João da Silva, the Spanish governor of Manilla, having passed through it on his galleon shortly after its discovery in March of that same year, 1615. This first attempt was not altogether without a hitch, since the governor's galleon grounded on the reef at the point of the strait and was grazed by the top of it, though not sustaining any serious injury. (See Bocarro's "Decada 13 da Historia da India," Lisboa, 1876, p. 428.)

As regards the Old Strait or *Selat Tebrau* (a name queerly transcribed *Salleta de Brew* by Hamilton in 1727), it was still passed in 1599 on his way from Macao to Goa by Carletti, who describes it as so narrow that from the ship one could jump ashore, or reach with the hand the branches of the trees on either side. His vessel struck on a shoal whilst in the channel. ("Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti," Firenze, 1701, p. 209.) As late as 1822 Crawfurd went through the same passage, for curiosity's sake, in a ship of 400 tons, and found the journey tedious but safe. This was, therefore, in the old days the only known route to China, and Marco Polo must have also passed this way on his homeward voyage. I do not think, however, that the credit of the discovery of the new Strait belongs to the Portuguese, for, from an examination of the sea-routes on the Chinese map of *circâ* 1399 published by Phillips, I found out that a course is there laid down through this channel. Hence this must have been well known to the Chinese at that date.

[2] "E chegando aos Estreitos achou o Achem com uma grande armada comque tinha tomado a cidade de Jor, e conquistado o reino de Malaio e captivo o Retabonço, irmão d'elrei de Jor, a principal pessoa de guerra entre os malaios."—*Decada* 13 *da Historia da India*, Lisboa, 1876, p. 165.

through it, of the older realm of Singapore and of the still more ancient one of Malāyu, on the Old Singapore Strait, the name and territory of which it inherited and handed down to later ages.

I might go on but for want of space, quoting other authorities in support of my thesis, and give besides a fair amount of circumstantial evidence. I trust, however, to have already made out a clear case, and shall therefore limit myself to presenting the principal points chronologically arranged in the subjoined synoptical table:—

OUTLINE HISTORY OF *MALĀYU* AS A TOPOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNICAL TERM.

circâ 100–150. **Maleu Kōlon** (Cape) = *Malayākolam*, *Malai-kūṟṟam* (Ptolemy, *supra*, pp. 101–105). On the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, about 4° N. lat. (Tanjung Gelang).

672. Mo-lo-yŭ, Mo-lo-yu, or Mo-lo-you, 末羅瑜 or 末羅遊 (I-tsing).[1] (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 119; Takakusu, op. cit., p. xxxix.) On the southern end of the Malay Peninsula and north side of the Old Singapore Strait, near the Sungei (river) Malāyu. Subject to the domination of *Fo-shih* (Palembang).

1154. Malāī, ملاى, island or peninsula, very extensive, lying twelve days' sail from *Ṣanf* or Champā (Edrīsī), (Jaubert's "Géographie d'Édrisi," pp. 86, 92, 93). Very probably the southern part (if not the whole) of the Malay Peninsula).[2]

circâ 1180. Malaya Country, in which the king of *Rāmañña* (Pegu) imprisoned the Ceylonese envoys sent to Kamboja ("Mahāvaṅsa," ch. lxxvi). This is from the translation of parts of that chapter published by Professor Rhys Davids in the *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xli, pt. 1, p. 198. Wijesiṅha ("The Mahāvaṅsa," Colombo, 1889, p. 229) takes *Malaya* in its literal sense of hill, and thus translates: "he [the Rāmañña

[1] Cf. 末羅, *Mo-lo* = *Malla*, i.e. the Malla people in North India (see Eitel's "Handbook," p. 93), whence the correct reading would appear to be *Mallayu*. The Cantonese pronunciation of the term, *Mut-lo-yau*, faintly suggests some possible connection with *Mul-Jāwah*, *Mul-yava*; but more probably *Malaya-vāra* is meant.

[2] Edrīsī is the first Arab writer to mention the term *Malāi*. Reinaud ("Géographie d'Aboulféda," t. i, p. cdxxii) takes it, without sufficient justification, as the name of a people, the Malays. But it is instead a toponymic, *Malaya* or *Malāyu*, *the land* of the Malays, and not the people.

king] . . . . imprisoned them [the envoys] in a fortress in the hill country." This is manifest nonsense, that specification being in such a case a detail quite unnecessary for the purpose of the narrative. I accordingly agree with Professor Rhys Davids in considering *Malaya* as a proper name, and take it to imply the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, over which Pegu may very likely have acquired some influence at the period, and in some seaport of which the king may easily have had the Ceylonese envoys to Kamboja kidnapped and imprisoned.

1181. MALAYA-DĪPA = 'Malaya Island' (or Peninsula), (Kalyāṇī Inscriptions of Pegu, *vide supra*, p. 81). A Buddhist country. Evidently the same as Edrīsī's Island of *Malāi*.

1274. MALĀYR or MALĀYUR, ملایر, a well-known and frequented district near *Lāmerī*, لامری, in a bay, in about the same longitude as *Kalah* (Ibn Ṣa'īd). (Van der Lith and M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 258.) As Ibn Ṣa'īd's treatise is but an abridgement of Edrīsī's,[1] his *Malāyr* or *Malāyur* is, no doubt, the same as Edrīsī's *Malāi*. However, it is interesting to observe here for the first time the addition of an *r* at the end, which suggests a form *Malaya-vāra*, hereafter almost invariably employed.

1292. MALIUR, MALAVIR City, at 60 + 30 = 90 miles[2] from *Petam* or *Pontain* Islands (Bintang and Batang), on an island named *Pentam* (*Betūmah*, Bentan on north side of the Old Singapore Strait), a notable emporium (Marco Polo, see p. 533). The Malāyu Kingdom, same as in the above entries, on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait, about the mouth of the Sungei Malāyu (Malāyu River).

1292. MU-LAI-YU, 木 來 由 (Cant. *Muk-lai-yau*; N.B. 由 has the same sound as I-tsing's 遊), a State to which Chinese envoys were sent to summon it to submission (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 155). Probably the same country as above.[3]

[1] Reinaud, op. cit., t. i, p. cxliii.

[2] Sixty miles, in my opinion, from the eastern side of Bintang to the entrance to the Old Singapore Strait. Here, says our traveller, there are but two fathoms of water, which leaves no doubt as to the navigation through the Strait commencing here. The other thirty miles were, of course, travelled through the Old Singapore Strait in order to reach either Bentan or the Malāyu River further westwards, in the Malāyu kingdom. N.B. that Ramusio states (vol. ii, f. 51 *verso*) that the city is called *Malaiur*, and the island (i.e. the kingdom) likewise.

[3] Groeneveldt, on what ground I am unable to guess, translates 'Malay States.'

Otherwise it may be *Mūl-Jāwah*, which, according to Wassāf, submitted to China in 1292 ("Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 241–2).

1293. Mu-li or Wu-li, 沒里, 巫里 (*Mut-lei*, *Mon-lei*, *Buri*), a State that sent a letter inscribed on a golden leaf to the Chinese emperor (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 152). Very likely *Wulah* or *Wailah*, west coast of Sumatra, a little above Malabu; although it may be a contracted form of 南巫里, *Nam-bu-ri* = Lambri (see op. cit., p. 155).[1] It possibly is also somehow connected with *Mūl-Jāwah* (see last entry, and also "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 243).

1295. Ma-li-yü-êrh, 麻里子兒 (*Ma-lei-yu-i*, *Ma-li-u-r*), a country which had long been at feud and war with Siām, but had now returned to allegiance (History of the Yüan Dynasty, see p. 532). The same as in the preceding entries except the last two.

1317–18. Malamasmi, Calamak; otherwise *Panthen*, *Pathen*, *Paten*, or *Natem*; an island and kingdom near *Fana* (*Lana*, Java) and Champā (Odoric of Friuli). (Ramusio, op. cit., vol. ii, f. 247 *verso*; and De Backer's "L'Extrême Orient au Moyen-Âge," pp. 107, 454.) In my opinion, the same as Marco Polo's *Malavir* (city) and *Pentam* (island).[2]

1332. Malāyr or Malāyur, ملاير, a city in the country of *Kalah*, in which are also the cities of *Fanṣūr*, *Lāruī* (= *Lo-yüeh*,

[1] 沒來, *Mu-lai*, *Mo-lai* (*Mut-lai*, *Muk-lai*, etc.), is employed in the New History of the T'ang dynasty (compiled eleventh century) to denote *Malaya*, the southernmost kingdom of India, and not precisely *Kaukam-meli* (Kollam-malai), as Phillips thought. (See *China Review*, vol. viii, p. 32, and *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, p. 222.) Hwên-tsang, A.D. 640, uses the forms 摩賴耶 and 秣羅矩吒 for *Malaya* and *Malakūṭa* (= *Malaikkūṟṟam* according to Burnell, p. 127, note) respectively. (See Eitel's "Handbook," p. 93.) Ibn Baṭūṭa (*c.* 1343), it is interesting to notice, writes *Mulaibār* for Malabār (t. iv, p. 71). Tosi (op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 123–129) writes throughout *Mulai* for the Malays (or Chāms) of Kamboja.

[2] The form *Malamasmi* finds, I presume, its explanation in Marco Polo's *Malanir* (for *Malavir*), which occurs in the French text of his book. It is Ramusio who prints *Malamasmi* (op. cit., vol. ii, f. 247 *verso*). *Calamak* may be a *lapsus calami* for *Malamak*, *Malanar*, or something similar. My location of this place on the Old Singapore Strait obtains confirmation, I think, from the fact of Odoric stating that on one side ("towards the south," says Ramusio) of this island there is the sea called the 'Dead (or deadly) Sea,' the waters of which run swiftly towards the south, so that if one falls down in it he can be rescued or found only with the greatest difficulty. This I take to mean the strong currents and tidal streams running through Singapore Strait, which at times attain a velocity of 4 to 4½ miles an hour (see "China Sea Directory," vol. i, 1896, p. 204).

Lārevī, Lārut ?),[1] and *Kalah* (Nowairī). ("Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 258 and 281–2 for text.)

1360. MALĀYŪ, a tributary State of Siām in the south (of the Malay Peninsula). ("Koṭ Moṇthīerabāl," Laws of Siām; see p. 531.) Undoubtedly the same as the preceding ones.

1539. MALLAYO (Coast of). "Being departed from the River of *Parles* [Perlis, see p. 484] . . . . . I reached to the Isles of *Pullo Sambalin* [Pulo Sembilan, abreast of the entrance to the Pêrak River], the first Land on the Coast of *Mallayo*" (Mendez Pinto's "Voyages," etc., London, 1692, p. 24). This again shows that even in Pinto's time the country of Malāyu was in the south of the Malay Peninsula, commencing at the mouth of the Pêrak River, that is to say, in 4° N. lat.

1613. MALAYO (= Malāyu), the name given to the native kingdom of Johor in the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula (Bocarro, op. cit., see p. 534).

1763–1766. MALAYU, a distant island; evidently the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, and same as *Malaya-dīpa* referred to in the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions under the date A.D. 1181.[2] Mentioned in the Burmese inscription of King Singu Min at the Modi monastery, south of Ava. Therein this king states of his father, Sinbyuyin, who reigned A.D. 1763–1766, that "his dominion was so vast that tribute in the shape of spices reached him even from the distant island of *Malayu* in fleets of ships" ("Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava," Rangoon, 1899, p. 167).

1750–1850. WU-LAI, 無萊 (MOU-LAI); or 無來由, WU-LAI-YOU (*Mou-lai-yau*, *Mu-lai-yū*), meaning 'a vagabond,' used as a transcription for 'Malay' ("Hai-kwo T'u-chi," lib. ix, p. 1[3]; and Giles' "Chinese Dictionary," p. 1257, s.v. 12753).

[1] In the text, p. 282, لاروى, *Lāruī* or *Lareuī*, which Van der Lith thinks well to correct into لامرى, *Lāmerī*, so as to elicit the meaning *Lambri*. I need not say that I cannot approve of these alterations, however *bona fide*, of ancient texts. It is thus that hopeless confusion is often brought about. Nawairī's work being an encyclopædic compilation, he very likely got his particulars about *Malāyur* from Edrīsī, Ibn Ṣa'īd, and other Arabic treatises as yet unknown to us or that have been lost.

[2] Spelled *Mallāru-dīpa* and *Malaya-dīpa* in the "Sāsanavaṁsa" (A.D. 1861), Mrs. Bode's ed., London, 1897 (Pāli Text Society), p. 66. The form *Mallāru* of the name here should be compounded with *Melaro*, a place so marked on the "Illa Trapobana" (Sumatra) in the Catalan map of A.D. 1375.

[3] Quoted by De Rosny in his "Peuples Orientaux connus des anciens Chinois," 2nd ed., 1886, p. 127.

The second transcript should be compared with the 木來由, *Mu-lai-yu*, of A.D. 1293, *supra*, with which it has the two last characters in common, while the initial ones in either differ but very slightly in sound. If, therefore, now employed to designate the Malays in general, or Malaya, the region they at present inhabit, it denoted in the past the *Malaya* district in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula.

Having now exhausted the Chinese sources at our disposal as regards the hitherto much debated location of 闍婆, *Shê-p'o*, *Java*, *Jaba*, or *Saba*, we may confidently conclude that there is absolutely no proof, in Chinese literature, of the Chinese having become acquainted with, or ever having made mention of, the Island of Java before the unsuccessful expedition sent thither by Kūblāi Khān in A.D. 1292-93.[1] On the contrary, all evidence that we have before that period invariably points to the part of the Malay Peninsula below the Kraḥ Isthmus as the site of the 'Insular'—read 'Peninsular'—Java; even Sumatra being almost entirely out of the question, in so far as Chinese

[1] The only arguments that can be set against this conclusion of ours are two, and they are of very little weight. One is the belated and unsubstantiated allegation of Ma Huan in his "Ying-yai Shêng-lan" (A.D. 1416), that "The country of 爪哇, *Chau-wa* [i.e. the Island of Java], was formerly called 闍婆, *Shê-p'o*" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 171)—at the best a mere guess, repeated in later compilations, such as encyclopædias and the like, and accepted without question by our Sinologists to this day. (An exception must, however, be made in favour of Professor Schlegel, who says that "the Djavâ (Shay-po) described in the Books of the Sung dynasty was a principality situated [somewhere] upon the Malay Peninsula."—*T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, p. 304. As to the contrary view upheld by other Sinologists, see it confuted by the Chinese writers themselves in the next note.)

The second argument alluded to is the circumstance we have already mentioned (see p. 480) of Fei-Hsin twice making use in his "Hsing-ch'a Shêng-lan" (A.D. 1436) of the spelling 闍婆, *Shê-p'o*, *in lieu* of 爪哇, *Chau-wa*, in speaking of the Island of Java. But this is a mere fortuitous occurrence, caused, no doubt, either by oversight or by a desire to render more closely the local form, *Jâwah*, of the name of that island. On the Chinese map of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips the Island of Java is most distinctly marked 爪哇國, *Chau-wa Kwo*, i.e. the 'Country of Java.'

records are concerned.[1] It is further of the highest importance to note that even as late as A.D. 1378, 闍婆, *Shê-p'o*, whose king was then named 摩那駝喃, *Mo-na-t'o-nan* (Māladhāna, Maṇidhāna, or Māladalam, Maradalam ?), is recorded to have sent envoys to bring tribute; this being the last time that *Shê-p'o* was heard of. This country, in the opinion of the Chinese commentators themselves, is not *Chau-wa* or the Island of Java at all.[2] Hence it is very probable that we have here the last glimmering of Tuba, Jaba, or Saba, on the Malay Peninsula. With this I now bring to a conclusion the present inquiry into the location of the 'Insular' *Shê-p'o* of the Chinese, appending summarized in a synoptical table, for greater facility of reference, the principal facts gathered anent its history and nomenclature from the sources alluded to.

[1] The only instances that could be brought forward as having some degree of probability of applying to Sumatra are Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'o-t'i* (Yabadē of Yabadio), a striking approach to Ptolemy's **Iabadiū**; and Chao Ju-kua's *Shê-p'o* in so far as the pepper-producing districts located there by him are concerned (see above, pp. 450–451). Chao Ju-kua may, however, have been mistaken in saying that such districts were in *Shê-p'o*. Having no access to the full account he has left us of *Shê-p'o*, I am not able to judge how far this conjecture can be maintained. But even admitting he is correct, there would be nothing strange in his mentioning Sumatra under that name at a period (A.D. 1205–1258) not very far distant from those in which Marco Polo, Ibn Batūṭa, and others similarly called that island *Java* or *Jāwah*. And this could never be held as sufficient proof that the *Shê-p'o* of preceding writers meant that Island of Java.

[2] See *T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, pp. 297–298. Here, from the same publication, are reproduced the comments of the editors of the "Pien-i-tien" (which is the section devoted to foreign countries in the "T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng" Encyclopædia, published about A.D. 1700) upon the passage in question, which I heartily recommend to our Javo-spellbound Sinologists for thorough digestion. "In the books of the *Sung*, *Shay-po* [Shê-p'o] is always spoken of, which brought tribute, and then again mention is made in 1378 of its king *Mâna dâlam* (?) sending a letter and offering products of his country. They never came again. Some say that *Djao-oa* [Chau-wa] is the same as *Shay-po*; but no mention is found of this statement in the Books of the Mongol [Yüan] dynasty, in which it is said, besides, 'that their customs and products have not been ascertained.' Now (at once), during the reign of the founder of the *Ming* dynasty, both countries come simultaneously to bring tribute; but the names of their kings are not the same [the king of Central Java who sent embassies in 1377 and 1379 was called *Perdana Prābū*; and those of Eastern and Western Java, who both sent envoys to bring tribute in 1377, were known, respectively, as *Bogindo Bong-kit* and *Mūla-Prābū*; see Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 161]; so that there must have been two [distinct] countries."

RETROSPECTIVE SURVEY OF THE ONOMATOLOGY AND OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE 'INSULAR' *SHE-P'O* AND CONJOINT STATES ON THE MALAY PENINSULA, FROM CHINESE SOURCES.

A.D.

414. YA-P'O-T'I, 耶婆提 (Yabadī, Yavādhi[-rāja?], Yavaday[-a], Yavades, Yavadī[-pa], Yavadīo). A country peopled by Brāhmaṇs and other heretics, where Buddhism is only sparsely practised (Fa-Hsien). The text contains no evidence whatever as to this country being situated on an island or a continent. It must be identified either with the east and north coasts of Sumatra, Ptolemy's **Iabadiū**, or with a portion of the seaboard of the Malay Peninsula on or about Malacca Strait.

420–423. P'O-TA, 婆達 (Vada, Vata, Bāda, Baddha, Bata), a State, sends envoys to Court with tribute ("P'ei-wên Yün-fu"). Probably Tavernier's *Bata* = *Bardia* (Koh Mattrā)? on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, abreast of C'hump'hōn.

420–423. P'O-HWANG, 婆皇 (Bawang, Bahang), a State, sends envoys (ibid.).[1] Not far from the above. May be Pahang, or else its homonym further south on the Endau River (east coast of Malay Peninsula). Other possible equivalents are *Pago*, an ancient place, now disappeared, and district on the River Muār; and *Pinggan*, further down the coast.

424. SHÊ-P'O, 闍婆 (Jaba, Saba, Daba, Java, Sawa), visited by Guṇavarman, grandson of a former king of Kābul, on his way

[1] Both these extracts are culled from the *China Review*, vol. xiii, p. 337. Mr. Parker, the translator, adds that K'ang-hsi's dictionary mentions a 勃達, *P'o-ta* (Put-tat, Pwok-tak, Bud-dat, Pat-tat, or *Baddha*, *Batta*), State existing during the T'ang dynasty, which may be one and the same with the above, although the pronunciation would argue a form *Batta*, *Battak*, thus leading us to identify it with the country of the Batta or Battak in North-Central Sumatra. But this country seems to be referred to severally in Chao Ju-kua's "Chu-fan-shih" (*circâ* 1240) and the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih" (published 1693) as 拔泉, *Pa-t'a* (Pak-tak, Bat-t'ap, Battak?). See *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, p. 135. The Battak, according to Kollecvijn ("Peknopte Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bezittingen"), at the time when Hindūism penetrated to them, formed a State in the north of Sumatra, of which a remnant is still to be found in the little kingdom of *Bakara*, on the Lake of Toba.

from Ceylon to China (Kwai-Yuen catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, compiled in 730 A.D.). (See p. 463.) N.B.—This is the first mention of *Jaba* or *Saba* in this form; see next entry.

430. SHÊ-P'O, 闍婆 (Jaba, Java, Saba, Sawa), an island, according to some versions, and district (*Shê-p'o Chou*), according to others, on which the State of *Ho-lo-tan* (see next entry) was situated ("Sung-shu," bk. 97; Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 505).

430. HO-LO-TAN, 呵羅單 (Goladan, Kulādan, Ḥardālah), a State on the 'Island' of *Shê-p'o*, sends envoys ("Sung-shu," *circâ* A.D. 500–513, bk. 97; and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 505). Possibly *Gurōt* in the Ghirbi district, west coast of the Malay Peninsula (see pp. 95, 97).

433. HO-LO-TAN. Its king, Viśva-varman, sends on a letter with presents. A few years later he is deposed by his son (Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 505–6). The "Sung-shu" appears to place the mission here referred to in the eleventh year *Yüan Chia* = A.D. 434.

433. SHÊ-P'O sends an embassy, according to the "Pien-i-tien" section (ch. 97) of the "T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng" Encyclopædia (compiled towards A.D. 1700). This mission, not being mentioned in the annals of the First Sung dynasty, the statement may be incorrect, or else it is possible that this refers to the very embassy sent by *Ho-lo-tan*, in the *Shê-p'o* country, and by mistake has been attributed to the king of that region itself.

435. SHÊ-P'O-TA or SHE-P'O P'O-TA; 闍婆達, or 闍婆婆達; a State. Its king, Śrī Pāda-dvāra-varman (or Siri Vāṭa-dhānavarman, Śāli-vartivardhana-varman?), sends envoys with presents ("Sung-shu," A.D. 500–513, bk. 97; and "Nan-shih," written about A.D. 650). Here, evidently, as I have explained (*supra*, pp. 463 and 469), it is in reality a question either of two States, *Shê-p'o* and *P'o-ta*, which may have been under the same ruler; or else of a single one, *P'o-ta*, situated in *Shê-p'o*, and accordingly designated *Shê-p'o-P'o-ta*, i.e. the *P'o-ta* [State] of *Shê-p'o*, in order to distinguish it from some other homonymous State in the neighbouring archipelago. Ma Tuan-lin mentions only one mission, which he ascribes to the State of *Shê-p'o* alone (op. cit., p. 499). The editors of the "Pien-i-tien" (1700) state that according to the "Ming-wai-shih" (1459) *Shê-p'o*

was formerly called *Shé-p'o-ta*; that during the T'ang dynasty it was called *Ho-ling* or *Tu-p'o* (Tuba, Dava), the king whereof dwelt in the city of *Shé-p'o* (Saba, Jaba), and so forth in a light way (see *T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, p. 298). These rapprochements should not be taken too literally, although the States named were all neighbours, if not actually conterminous, being all situated on the southern half of the Malay Peninsula. It is interesting to notice in this connection that the third and fourth letters of the ruling king's name, *P'o-ta*, are identical with those employed to write the name of the *P'o-ta* State. This may, however, be merely a coincidence, and the originals of the two transcripts may convey totally different meanings.

436. Ho-lo-tan sends new envoys. It must have been the son of the lately deposed king (see under A.D. 433) who despatched them (Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 506).

449. P'o-ta. Embassy sent by its ruler, Śrī Pulinga-(Bhṛṅga, Bhuliṅga, or Palaṁga)-varman[1] by name, who thus receives investiture (ibid., p. 507).

449. P'o-hwang. King Śrī (or Śāli) Bala-varman despatches a mission to apply for investiture, which he obtains (ibid., p. 507).

449. Ho-lo-tan, P'o-hwang, and P'o-ta, mentioned in one breath in a decree of Emperor Wēn-ti, and praised for their zeal. Honorific titles are conferred upon their rulers, which are sent on in charge of officials of the Chinese Court (ibid., p. 506).

451. P'o-ta renews its homage to the Chinese Emperor (ibid., p. 508). This State is not mentioned after this date.

451. P'o-hwang again sends envoys to Court (ibid., p. 507).

452. Ho-lo-tan. A grandee of this kingdom, Vara-Svāmi (or P'hraḥ Sāmī), appears at Court as ambassador, bringing tribute (ibid., p. 506). From this date no further mention of intercourse with *Ho-lo-tan* occurs in Chinese history.

456.
459.
463.
466. P'o-hwang sends envoys with tribute at each of these dates (loc. cit.). No further embassy is recorded after 466.

[1] 舍利不陵伽跋摩. The term *Puling* or *Bulang* here suggests a connection with *Palaṁga* or **Balongka** (*supra*, pp. 111–115), thus somewhat increasing the probability that *P'o-ta* or *Bata* is really the neighbouring *Bardia* marked abreast of C'hump'hōn Bay in the old maps (probably Mattrā Island or Koḥ Mattrā).

631–640. YEN-MO-NA (or YEN-MO-LO)-Chou Kwo, 閻摩那 (or 羅) 洲國; or *Ye-mei-ni*, 野寐尼. *Yamana*- (Yama, or Yamunā?) *-dvīpa-pura* = the island kingdom of *Yamana* (or Yama); or *Yamani* (Yāmī, Yāminī), an island, or district, lying to the south-west of *Mahā-Campā* (Hwên Tsang, or Yuan-chwang). In my opinion the same as *Yama-dvīpa* of the "Vāyu Purāṇa" (which may be identical with the *Ramaṇaka-dvīpa* of the Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas). Possibly the country and city of *Dharmarāja* (= Yama), i.e. Ligor (see p. 109), east coast of the Malay Peninsula; if not Sumatra (Yabana, Yavani-dvīpa?), the *Prathama-Yava*, or simply *Yava*, of the Pāgar-rūyung inscription of A.D. 656.

647. TU-P'O or SHÊ-P'O, 杜婆, 社婆, 闍婆 (Tuba, Daba, Saba), the alternative name of a State otherwise known as 訶陵, *Ho-ling* (Galing, Garīang), and the name also of its present capital (which formerly was more to the east—or west, according to other versions—at 婆露伽斯, *P'o-lu-ka-sz* = Prakāsai near Ghirbi? see p. 95), latitude 6° 29′ N. This State comes to Court with tribute ("Ch'iu T'ang-shu," bk. 197; and "Hsin T'ang-shu," bk. 222).[1] Probably the tract of west coast of the Malay Peninsula about *Gūnong Gerīang* and abreast of Pulo *Tuba* (Langkāwī group).

664–5. HO-LING or PO-LING; 訶陵 or 波淩 (Gālang, Bālang, Buling). A State between *Lang-ka-hsü*, 郎迦戎 (Langkachiu = C'hump'hōn, see p. 115), and *Mo-lo-yü*, 末羅瑜 (Malāyū), (I-tsing). Probably the east coast of the Malay Peninsula at Tanjong *Gelang* or *Puling*, 4° N. lat.; and perhaps the eastern portion of the country of *Ho-ling* referred to in the preceding entry.

674. HO-LING. Queen Sīmā reigns there; presumably the same as Queen Sīmā-devī, who was at about the same period ruling at Rē (Yay).

767. TU-P'O or SHÊ-P'O (Daba, Saba, Ḍavāka). Its people, conjointly with those of *Ku-lun* (or *K'un-lun*?), invade and plunder the capital of Tonkin (*Kiau-chau* = at that time being, *Long-bien*, the western portion of the present city of Hānôi). Defeated by the Chinese troops at *Chôu-vien*

[1] Although no precise date is given in the account of *Ho-ling*, except an indication of the period — *Chêng-kwan* = A.D. 627–649 — it is added that contemporaneously with the envoys from *Ho-ling* there arrived in China those from *To-p'o-têng*, who, in the account of this State, are said to have been sent in the twenty-first year of the Chêng-kwan period = A.D. 647.

(Des Michels' "Annales Impériales de l'Annam," p. 169). The country here referred to is the highland *Java*, *Dava*, or *Ḍavāka* in Upper Burma (see pp. 55, 467 *ante*), and the expedition seems to have taken place by land. *Ku-lun* or *K'un-lun* here presumably includes both the Great and the Little *K'un-lun*, i.e. the eastern portion of the Peguan coast, and the western seaboard of the Malay Peninsula, as far south as Takôpa or Papra Strait.[1]

774. Shê-p'o? "Very dark and thin men coming from another country in ships" rob the Liṅga of Kauthara, and destroy the temple of the goddess Pô-Nagar (Bhāgavati) at Ñā-trāng (Southern Campā). Pursuing them, King Satyavarman gains a complete naval victory over them (Chām inscription, No. 407). Although the nationality of these robbers is not mentioned, it is probable they came either from the Malay Peninsula or the islands near it. See preceding entry and the one after next.

776–779. Ho-ling. Sends three envoys to China between these two dates ("Hsin T'ang-shu," bk. 222, pt. ii).

787. Java. The armies of *Java*, "arriving in ships" (*nāvāgatair Jjava-valasaṁghaiḥ*), burn the temple of Śiva at Pāṇḍurāṅga. (This temple, dedicated to Bhadrādhipatiśvara, stood at about nine miles westward of Panrang, in Biñ-twõn. It was rebuilt in 799 under the name of Indrabhadreśvara—Chām inscription, No. 397.) Both Prof. Bergaigne and Commandant Aymonier readily take *Java* here to mean the Island of Java (*Journal Asiatique*, 1888, p. 56; and "History of Tchampa," p. 10), an absolutely chimerical assumption for which there is not the slightest foundation. Certainly, either the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra are meant.

802. Javā. Jayavarman II, king of Kamboja, who ascends the throne this year, "came from *Javā*," a dependency (?) of his to which he probably undertook a journey, or led an armed expedition (Khmēr inscription of the Sdok Kok Thom temple,

[1] For *Ta K'un-lun* and *Hsiao K'un-lun* see pp. 89–90; also pp. 103 and 260. The king of Little *K'un-lun* at the period in question is stated to have been called *Mong Ta-liet*, and that of Great *K'un-lun*, *Tu Loi-bak* (see Aymonier's "History of Tchampa," reprinted from the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1893, p. 9 of the reprint). No native characters being given for these names, it becomes impossible to institute any comparison. Aymonier readily fancies this to be "an invasion of Tonkin from the coasts of Southern China [*sic*] by hordes of Malays and Javanese"!! notwithstanding that the native commentators to the Annals add a note clearly explaining that the invaders came from *Dà-bà*, the "*C'hā-wā* of the mountains," also known as *Dôt-la* (i.e. *T'u-lo-shu*, see pp. 31 and 466).

A.D. 1052). Aymonier here again too rashly assumes that it is a question of the Island of Java (*Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 20, p. 283 ; "Actes du XIème Congrès des Orientalistes," 2ème Section, p. 192) ; whereas it is not unlikely—considering the political influence that Kamboja had had for centuries on the Malay Peninsula—that this is the country meant ; or else Sumatra, but never the Island of Java. Besides, this alleged dependency of *Javā* on Kamboja is by no means proved. That the reverse was more likely the case appears from the translation of the Khmēr portion of that inscription which Aymonier has, since I wrote the above, given in his "Cambodge" (vol. ii, Paris, 1901, pp. 263–264). After the statement that H.M. Parameśvara (Jayavarman II) came from *Javā* in order to reign and reside at *Nagara Indrapura*, the document in question goes on to say that during the reign of the same monarch (*circā* A.D. 802–859) Hiraṇyadāma, a learned Brāhman, came from the *Janapada* (probably in India) at the King's own invitation, because the King, desirous of giving up the treatises (ritual books) which evidenced the dependence of Kamboja on *Javā*, wanted him to frame rules for a new ceremonial more suitable to a *cakravartin* (universal emperor). Notwithstanding Aymonier's view that the dependence referred to in the text must thus have been merely 'moral,' it seems to me that the only logical inference that can be drawn is, that prior to that the Kambojan kings had not been independent rulers, but vassals, somehow, of *Javā*, of which they had been compelled to follow the ritual laid down for her tributary princes. It is thus more than probable that we have here an unmistakeable indication of that punitive expedition undertaken against Kamboja by the Mahārāja of *Zābej* of which Abū Zaid left us the record—a tradition, he says, handed down from the old times (*vide supra*, pp. 212–213). As his informant visited the country about A.D. 870–880, the event must have taken place at least one century before, thus being perhaps contemporary with the attack of *Javā* on Panrang in A.D. 787. And as he adds that since that period the kings of *Ḳmār* (Kamboja) used every morning to turn towards *Zābej* and do homage to the Mahārāja, it becomes at once clear what the passage referred to above in the inscription meant about dependency on *Javā*. I am accordingly inclined to take it that in the case in point *Javā* means Sumatra ; for there it was, as we shall demonstrate in due course, that the *Zābej* empire had its centre.

802. Shê-p'o. Sends a mission to the Chinese Court. Her envoys give the Chinese an account of *P'iau* (Lower Burmā). Evidently a country on the Malay Peninsula (see p. 467).

813. Ho-ling. Presents four *Sêng-ch'i* slaves (*lakhōn* actors) and other curiosities ("Hsin T'ang-shu," bk. 222, pt. ii). (See p. 506.)

821. Shê-p'o offers tribute to Emperor Mu Tsung in the tenth month of this year ("Chiu T'ang-shu, Mu Tsung Chi," ch. 16).

827–835. Ho-ling sends envoys with tribute between these dates ("Hsin T'ang-shu," bk. 222, pt. ii).

860–873. Ho-ling despatches an embassy to present female musicians (*lakhōn* girls) (ibid.). From this moment all record about intercourse with this State ends, and the field is occupied by *Shê-p'o* alone.

LATER HISTORY OF *SHÊ-P'O*.

904–5. Shê-p'o. *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang) is stated to lie between *Chên-la* (Kamboja) and *Shê-p'o* ("Sung-shih," bk. 489).

971. Shê-p'o. People from this country come to trade at Canton ("Sung-shih"). (See p. 515.)

990–1. Shê-p'o. Invades *San-fo-ch'i* (east coast of Sumatra, at and to the north of Palembang) (ibid.; and "Pien-i-tien," 98).

992. Shê-p'o. In the twelfth month of this year its king, 穆羅茶, *Mu-lo-ch'a* (Malaja, Mahrāja), sends an embassy headed by a personage, 陀湛, *T'o-chan* (Dacham, Datam), by name, and led by a Chinese shipowner from Chien-ch'i (in Fuh-kien). The envoy mentions that his sovereign bears the title of 夏至馬囉夜, *Hsia-chih-Ma-lo-ye* (Adhi Ma[hā]-rāja or Adhi-Malaya?); and that the kingdom has as a neighbour a country called 婆羅門, *P'o-lo-mên* (Brāhman, *Brāhmaṇa-*[*rāṣṭra*, or *pura*], Prome, Rāmañ-[ña-deśa] = Pegu?), ("Sung-shih," bk. 489).

1015, or earlier. Yava-dvīpa. A famous statue of Dīpaṅkara, the primeval Buddha, is preserved there: it has Avalokiteśvara on the left and Manjuśrī on the right. — Sanskrit MS. from Nepāl, "Additional 1643" of the Cambridge University Library (Foucher's "Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde," Paris, 1900, pp. 79, 189). This is the oldest mention of *Yava-dvīpa* met with in Indian literature, if the somewhat doubtful one in the Rāmāyaṇa be excepted. Foucher, like

all his Indianist colleagues, naturally takes it to be Java; but we must let it follow the lot of Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'o-t'i* (see under A.D. 414 above). Hence, either north and east coasts of Sumatra, or west coast of the Malay Peninsula on or about Malacca Strait.

1109. SHÊ-P'O sends envoys to bring tribute in the sixth month of this year (ibid.).

1129. SHÊ-P'O. The Emperor of China confers investiture upon its ruler with a long title (ib.).

1132. SHÊ-P'O. New honours and benefits bestowed upon its king by the Chinese Court (ib.).

1240. TA SHÊ-P'O (Chao-Ju-kua in Takakusu, op. cit., p. xlviii) = *Mahā Java, Java-besar* = Malacca? (see last entry below).

1279–80. SHÊ-P'O. Troops of *C'hawā* race advance to conquer the southern provinces of Siām (on the Malay Peninsula), subject to Sukhôthai. They are repelled by the Siāmese king, as mentioned before. ("Rājādhirāja," a chronicle of Pegu preserved in Siām, p. 10 of the Siāmese ed.)

1292. MŪL-JĀWAH, جاوة مول (Mūla-Java), an island (or peninsula), 200 parasangs in width and 120 in breadth (600 by 360 miles). As the result of an expedition sent by Kūblāi Khān this year, it submits to him. Its king, Śrī Rāma, does homage and offers presents to the Chinese Court. Kūblāi extends him a courteous welcome, and sets up his son on the throne as a tributary prince (Wassāf[1]). Possibly 木來由, *Mu-lai-yu*, or *Mu-lai-yau*, to which envoys were sent in 1292 to call it to submission (see above, p. 536). Also, perhaps, Ptolemy's *Perimūla* (*-Java*?)= Ligor (see pp. 106–110, 444, 517).[2]

1345–6. MUL-JĀWAH, جاوة مُلّ (= Mūla-Java, or Māla[va], Malla-Jāva?), a non-Muḥammadan country, two months' march in length. Its seaport and capital is *Ḳāḳulah*, or

[1] A Persian historian, translated by Hammer-Purgstall in "Geschichte Wassâf's," i, Wien, 1856, p. 44. Quoted in "Merveilles des Indes," pp. 241–242.

[2] A king *Śrī Rāma Vikrama* reigned on Singapore Island and neighbourhood in about 1320, according to my reckoning, which is, however, only approximate, and can be depended on merely within twenty years or so. Śrī Rāma Vikrama was the grandson of Śrī Tribhuvana (Nila Uttama), the founder of Singapore; and may well be one and the same person with the Śrī Rāma alluded to in the above extract. At all events, there can scarcely be any doubt that both these rulers were contemporaries, or very nearly so.

Kakola, قاقلة, a fine city surrounded by a wall of hewn stones, so wide that three elephants can march abreast on it. There are plenty of elephants, eagle-wood, good camphor, little cotton, and scarcely any ponies (Ibn Baṭūṭa). Undoubtedly the 哥羅 or 哥羅富沙羅, *Ko-lo* or *Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo*, of Chinese records, Han dynasty (206–221) and A.D. 650–656 ("Hsin T'ang-shu," bk. 222*b*). See pp. 432, 444, 518. Mentioned in A.D. 921–922 in Captain Bozorg's "Ajāib" as قاقلة, *Kāḳola*, where merchandise was unshipped and conveyed to another place distant seven days' march from the coast. The people said to be anthropophagous only in so far as they ate their enemies out of revenge ("Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 66, 67, 126). Very probably Ligor, perhaps called *Kakola* from *Koḥ Kraḥ* (Koḥ Kura), *Cara* of old maps, lying abreast of its bay. Otherwise, Kwāla Biserat (in Jala, 6° 30′ N. lat.); Kwāla Berserah (3° 54′ N. lat.); or Kolī, Kolī-badara (Ptolemy's *Kōli*) = Kelantan, further down the coast.

1350. C'HAWĀ (Javā), a State tributary to Siām, on the Malay Peninsula (Chronicles of Ayuthia, vol. i, p. 211). Apparently in the southern part of the Peninsula (see p. 532).

1378. SHÊ-P'O. Its king sends envoys to bring tribute ("Ming-shih," concluded A.D. 1724). His name is 摩那駝喃, *Mo-no-t'o-nan* (Mānah-dālam, Māladhāna, Mala-Donan[1]), ("Pien-i-tien," compiled towards A.D. 1700), Apparently the same State as the preceding (see p. 540).

1436–1693. SHÊ-P'O. Near it is Malacca, which is therefore also called *Ta Shê-p'o*, i.e. 'Great [or Greater] Java [or Saba, Jaba]' = *Mahā Java*, *Java Besar* (?). Another name for it is *Ch'ung-ka-la* (Jaṅgala, Nieuhoff's *Jakola*, 1662), ("Kwang-tung T'ung-chih," pub. 1693). The *Java* or *Saba* (*Shê-p'o*) here alluded to is very likely, as in the case of several of the preceding entries, *Sabah* on the Bernam River, Ptolemy's **Sabana**. (See pp. 517–525.)

[1] May be *Marah-Donan*. *Marah*, مرح = 'a chief,' often occurs as a prefix to names of Malay personages; and *Donan* is a well-known name in Malay fiction, occurring in the popular story of راج دونن, *Rāja Donan*.

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II. *The Arabic Evidence.*

Let us now turn to the information supplied on the subject by Arab writers. As we observed (see p. 462 above), they also, like the Chinese, clearly distinguish between two *Jaba* or *Java* countries, with the difference, however, that they locate one on the island of *Kalah* (central part of the Malay Peninsula), and by the other they seem at times to mean Sumatra and at times the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, in some instances confusing the two latter, in others confusing them with *Kalah*. Owing to this it becomes extremely difficult to unravel their geographical mazes. On the other hand, as regards their equivalent for the Chinese *Shê-p'o* (Java, Daba) of the mountains, they are explicit enough, so that there can be no question that it is their *Ṭafaḳ*, *Ṭāfan*, or *Ṭāban*, طافن, طابن, طافق, as I have demonstrated long before this (see p. 57). With this, however, we are not concerned now, and shall therefore proceed to deal with the statements relating to the former.

Ibn Khurdādbih (A.D. 864) informs us, on the one hand, of the *Jābah* of India [extra-Gangem, i.e. Malay Peninsula], or Indian Prince, to whom belongs the Island (read 'Peninsula') of *Kalah*; and on the other of the island of the *Jābah* [King] of *Shelāheṭ*, whose personal title is *Mahārāja*. "This island is very extensive; the king who owns it is clad in a robe and a head-cover both of gold; he worships Buddha. Productions: cocoanuts, bananas, sugar-cane, sandal-wood, hyacinths, cloves. Near by there is a little mountain throwing up flames for a circuit of one hundred cubits and to the height of a lance. During the daytime only smoke issues forth, and the fire only appears at night. Fifteen days' sailing across the sea beyond it brings one to the country of cotton (another version says 'aromata'). The distance between *Jābah* and *Shelāheṭ* is about . . . . [*lacuna*]."[1]

[1] "Le livre des Routes et des Provinces, par Ibn Khordadbeh," in *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, pp. 288–289. The concluding sentence clearly shows, I think,

Edrīsī (A.D. 1154) similarly states that on the island of *Kalah* dwells a king called the *Jābah*, or 'Indian Prince.' But then he makes two islands out of Ibn Khurdādbih's 'Island of the *Jābah* of *Shelāhet*' (or, perhaps more correctly, 'Island of *Jābah* and *Shelāhet*). He goes on to say, in fact: "In the neighbourhood of this island [*Kalah*] are those of *Jābah*, جابه; *Salāhat*, سلاهط; and *Harīj*, هريج. They lie apart one from the other about two [twenty ?] parasangs, and all obey a single king. This prince is called *Jābah*." And then our author adds that the potentate just referred to has his likeness impressed on his coins; that he worships Buddha, to whom he has erected a temple faced with marble; that to such temples are attached dancing-girls (*devadāsī* ?), etc. (see p. 506). "This island [of *Jābah*]," he remarks further on, "produces in great abundance cocoanuts, excellent bananas, rice, and sugar. In the Island of *Harnaj*, هرنج (or *Harīj*),[1] there exists a large chasm of which nobody has ever been able to fathom the depth; it is a notable peculiarity." As regards the Island of *Salāhat*, he informs us that it produces sandal-wood in plenty, spikenard and cloves. "On the island is a volcano[2] throwing up flames

that it is here a question of two islands (or two districts on the same island), of which one was called *Jabah* and the other *Shelāhet*. Barbier de Meynard seems, therefore, to have been wrong in translating the opening sentence: "Deux fars plus loin est l'île du *Djabah* de Chelahet, nommé *Maharadja*" (op. cit., p. 288). Edrīsī, as will be seen below, makes of it two distinct islands; but Nowairī calls it the "Island of *Jābah* and *Selāhit*," which is, I think, the right interpretation.

Since writing the above I have noticed, in fact, that Professor De Goeje, in his new translation of Ibn Khurdādbih ("Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum," pt. vi, Leiden, 1889, p. 46), takes the same view. He translates: "De là [Kalah or Bālus ?] aux îles de Djâba, de Schalâhit, et de Harladj, 2 Par.," and ascribes to *Shalāhit* the production of sandal-wood, Indian spikenard, and cloves. Then he adds that as regards *Kalah*, Abū Zaid's text reads: "it is the kingdom (belongs to the kingdom) of *Zābej*," thus making it clear that Kalah was not exactly "a dependency," but part and parcel of the *Zābej* empire. See, however, the extract from Yāḳūt below.

[1] Professor De Goeje, loc. cit., reads, in both Ibn Khurdādbih and Edrīsī, *Harlaj*, هرلج; and adds that, according to Ibn Rosteh, the Island of Harlaj came to be so called after the name of one of its governors. If so, I wonder whether *Hiraṇyakṣa* or some similar term is not implied, thus making the form *Harnaj* a fairly probable one. See, however, note 3 on p. 552.

[2] In De Goeje's translation of Ibn Khurdādbih this little volcano is ascribed to *Jāba* island (see loc. cit.).

a hundred cubits high. During the daytime only smoke is seen to issue forth, but at night a very bright fire appears."[1] In the last statement he fairly agrees with Ibn Khurdādbih, except on the location of the volcano, which the latter writer states to lie near the island. *Shelāhet*, or *Salāhaṭ*, we have shown to be (pp. 80, 91), the name of Malacca Strait and its sea (*Śrī Lohit, Selat, Salet*, etc.); the island of *Shelāhet* is therefore, very probably, Sumatra, or, more precisely, some portion of its east coast on Malacca Strait, while the term *Jābah* is to be understood to apply to the race that inhabited that territory, rather than to the territory itself. I may point out, in this connection, that there exist in the north-west portion of the Āru, *Hāru*, or *Ghūri* (غوري هارو) Bay a district, village, and river, called *Salahaji* (4° 10′–15′ N. lat.),[2] which may be somehow traditionally connected with Edrīsī's *Salāhaṭ*. Again, not very far to the south-east of *Salahaji*, in the Bātu-bāra State (3° N. lat.), there is the district of *Tānah Jāwa*, which may well represent Edrīsī's Island (read 'district') of *Jābah*, unless this really be meant for the ancient kingdom of *Yava* or *Prathama Yava*, further down in the central portion of Sumatra (*vide* p. 462 *ante*). *Harīj*, *Harnaj*, or *Harlaj* may be the adjoining Hāru district itself, and if not, a clerical error for *Haranj* (هرنج = هرنج), which latter is, presumably, its correct form.[3] As regards volcanoes, there are known to exist no

[1] "Géographie d'Édrisi," trans. Jaubert, Paris, 1836, t. i, pp. 81–82.

[2] The bar at the mouth of the Salahaji River has a depth of twelve feet at high-water springs, and must have been, therefore, quite accessible to the shipping of the old days. I have no doubt that the Salahaji district is one and the same with the 日羅夏治, *Jih-lo-ha-chih*, country of Ming history, bk. 324, unidentified, *more solito*, by Groeneveldt (op. cit., p. 184). It is therein stated to be near *Chau-wa* (probably here not meant for the Island of Java, but for either *Shê-p'o* or the *Tānah Jāwa* district in Bātu-bāra), and named immediately after 碟里, *Tieh-li* or *Tih-li* = Deli, which lies but at some forty miles south-east of *Salahaji* and Āru. And yet Groeneveldt feels inclined to locate both places on the Island of Bāli!! Dr. Bretschneider has given up them both as unidentifiable in the *China Review*, vol. iv, p. 387.

[3] It is pretty certain that Jaubert's reading *Harnaj* is hopelessly wrong. *Haranj* should be the right form, which we have already met in Serapion (9–10th

less than sixty-seven on Sumatra Island, of which several are still active, e.g., Gūnong Gredong (4° 10′ N. lat., that is, at the same height as Āru Bay); Merapi (0° 25′ S. lat.); Talang or Sulau, etc. Although nearer the west coast than the eastern, they may nevertheless, being over 8,000 and 9,000 feet in height, be visible from several points on the east coast of the island. However, the volcano of Ibn Khurdādbih and Edrīsī may, after all, be that of Krakatoa, further south in Sunda Strait.

YĀḲŪT (A.D. 1218) evidently means the Malay Peninsula when he states (i, 516): "*Ma'bar* is the last part of India; then comes the country of *Ṣīn* (India extra-Gangem and China), the first part of which is *Jāwa*, reached by a difficult and fatal sea." And further: ". . . remotest *Ṣīn* . . . is a far-off land . . . ; only the merchants seek its outlying parts, to wit, the country known as *Jāwa* on the sea-coast, like to India; from it are brought eagle-wood, camphor, and nard, and clove, and mace, and China drugs, and vessels of china-ware" (ibid., iii, p. 445).

IBN SA'ĪD (A.D. 1274), quoted by Abū-l-Fedā,[1] says: "Amongst the islands of the Indian Ocean mention should be made of that of *Jāwah*, a large island famed for the abundance of its spices." He further mentions *Jāwah* as a city situated on the island of *Kalah*, along with the cities of *Lāmerī*, *Fanṣūr*, *Kalah*, and *Malāyur*, which all, he states, are situated on a bay. Here *Jāwah* may be either the Chinese *Shê-p'o* city mentioned in the new T'ang history (perhaps only after the eighth or ninth century A.D.) as being the later capital of *Ho-ling*; the *C'hawā* district below the Kraḥ Isthmus; or *Sabah*, Ptolemy's **Sabana**, on the Bernam River. *Fanṣūr* may, likewise, be *Panchur* on the River Mwār, east of Malacca town. In this case all the

century), (pp. 437–438), as a camphor-producing country. This by itself is sufficient evidence that it cannot be the Island of Java nor any other in its immediate neighbourhood. Serapion, it is true, says *Haranj* is Little (i.e. Southern) China; but he may be mistaken, and some place on either the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra may really be meant. *Haranj*, it will readily be seen, is surprisingly similar to the Chinese *Ho-ling* or *Ha-lang* (Garing, Gerīang, etc.).

[1] "Géographie d'Aboul-Féda," transl. by St. Guyard, t. ii, pt. 2, p. 127.

cities named would turn out to be places on the Malay Peninsula, and would be all situated, as the author says, on a bay, to wit, Malacca Strait, while his island of *Jāwah* would be the same as Ibn Baṭūṭa's, viz. Sumatra. Otherwise we should have to admit that Ibn Ṣa'īd has recklessly confused the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, which would be a grave charge not easily proved.

Dimashkī (A.D. 1300) simply follows Ibn Ṣa'īd when he states that the island of *Kalah* contains the cities of *Fanṣūr*, *Jāwah*, *Helābir* (Malāvīr), *Lāwezi* (Lo-yüeh, Lārut, Lavet), and *Kalah*.[1] *En revanche*, however, he supplies us with some curious particulars about *Shelāheṭ*—which name he spells *Selāmiṭ*—as follows:—"The island of *Selāmiṭ* has a circuit of 300 miles, and is covered with mountains and forests. It produces cocoanuts in plenty; there is to be found a species of animals resembling man and talking an unknown tongue. Their body is hairy; . . . . they dwell on trees like birds, and feed upon fruits; their stature varies from three to four spans. Their hair is red, and their paws resemble those of a bird. Upon perceiving men they take to flight and climb up to the tops of the trees."[2]

Abū-l-Fedā (A.D. 1321) hints beyond doubt, in Van der Lith's opinion,[3] at the Island of Sumatra under the name *Jāwah* when he says: "On the south of the Island of Jāwah one remarks the city of *Fanṣūr*, whence the *Fanṣūrī* camphor derives its name."[4] There can, in fact, scarcely be any question here that Sumatra (its northern half, at all events) is meant, which but a few years earlier Marco Polo termed Java Minor, and a few years later Ibn Baṭūṭa called the Island of *Jāwah*. For the 'south' of the island where

[1] Mehren's "Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen-âge," Copenhagen, 1874, p. 208.

[2] Op. cit., p. 205. Is it here a question of monkeys or of wild tribes? Cf. the description of the *Lo-ch'a* savages (*vide supra*, p. 493): "The inhabitants are very ugly and dark-skinned, with *red hair*, teeth like carnivora, and *claws like birds of prey* . . . . They only show themselves at night; during the daytime they keep themselves hidden" (Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 489).

[3] "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 238.

[4] Guyard, op. cit., t. ii, pt. 2, p. 127.

Fanṣūr is located, we must, of course, understand here, as in Barbosa, its west coast. (See pp. 452–453.)

Ḳazwīnī (A.D. 1330) draws a distinction between *Jāwah*, جاوة, the country of camphor, and the Island of *Jābah*, جابة, with a volcano.[1] In the former we have either the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula or the north and west coasts of Sumatra; while in the latter I am more inclined to recognize Edrīsī's island of *Salāhaṭ* than the Island of Java itself, which appears to have remained unknown to the Arabs.

Nowairī (A.D. 1332) repeats almost word for word Ibn Khurdādbih's account, introducing, however, now and then some not unimportant detail, or some useful variant to the latter's text. Here is what he says:—"Among these islands there is that of *Kalah*, inhabited by Indians [instead of 'by the Indian king who rules over it,' as in Ibn Kh.]. . . . The island of *Nalūsh* [same as I. Kh.'s *Balūs*?] lies on its right [instead of 'left' as in I. Kh.], and at a distance of two days. . . . Next one finds the Island of *Jābah* and *Selāhiṭ*, سلاهيط [instead of 'Island of the *Jābah* (Prince) of *Shelāheṭ*,' as in I. Kh.], with a town. . . . There are cocoanuts, bananas, sugar-cane, . . . sandal-wood, nard, and cloves. Opposite this island there is a mountain; a fire burns on its top. The mountain is 100 ells high; its breadth and width are the same. At night the fire is seen, but during the daytime only smoke. At fifteen days' distance from this mountain one meets the Island of Spices (*Jazyratū-l-Ṭyb*, جزيرة الطيب), producing all sorts of spices."[2] In this extract the position of the volcano is more clearly defined than in Ibn Khurdādbih's and Edrīsī's narratives; thus it seems now almost certain that Krakatoa in Sunda Strait is intended. Fifteen days' sailing thence across the sea brings one to the Island of Spices, which must therefore be the insular group of the Bandas and Moluccas, situated just about that distance from Sunda

[1] "Kazwini's Kosmographie," by F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848, ii, ۱۸, ٥٥, quoted by Van der Lith in "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 238.
[2] "Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 278–279.

Strait. However, of this island or country of spices the Arabs, even in Nowairī's period, seem to have had but a very hazy idea, based on purely hearsay information, for none of them ever appears to have gone there; hence, the distance stated must be taken as merely approximate.

Ibn Baṭūṭa (A.D. 1345–1346) clearly distinguishes, as we have repeatedly observed in the course of our inquiry, between the Island of Jāwah, جاوة, = Sumatra; and *Mul-Jāwah*, مُلْ جاوة, the Infidel Country = Malay Peninsula, southern part. Hence we need not dwell on their respective identities any further.

Ibnū-l-Wardī (A.D. 1349), although repeating, in the main, the statements of his predecessors, adds sundry hints of some importance. After having told us, for instance, that in the extensive island of *Kalah* dwells a king of the *Banū Jāba al Hindī* people,[1] he proceeds to speak of the Island of *Jābah* with a volcano, inhabited by men who have red faces and hair-covered breasts.[2] As such somatic characteristics are nowhere to be met among the inhabitants of the western portion of the Archipelago except in Sumatra, this is, no doubt, the island meant.

It will thus be seen that the Arab writers, like the Chinese, almost unanimously distinguish between two *Jāvas*, with the difference, however, that they place one on the 'Island of *Kalah*' = Malay Peninsula, and the other on

[1] Does *Bānu* stand here for بنوا, *Benua* or *Benūwa*, and if so refer to the *Orang Benua* or wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula? I have not access to the Arabic text of this passage, and cannot therefore judge as to the correctness, if any, of my surmise. Abū-l-Fedā states that in the principal city of the Island of *Kalah* there dwell Musalmān, Indū, and Persians. To which particulars Ḳazwīnī adds that the same city is a meeting-place for learned Brāhmans.

[2] "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 257. The red colour is characteristic of the complexion of the natives of Engano, although it is also found in a lesser degree among the neighbouring Mantawī islanders and other Indonesians (Batta, Kubu, Pasūma), with whom it occurs mixed with brown, the resultant shade thus being a light ruddy brown. Of hairy races, none has so far been found in the Archipelago except in the Kroë (S.W. Sumatra, opposite Engano) and Siak (E. Sumatra) districts. In the former, hairy dwarfs occur; and in the interior of the latter, wild, hairy tribes, as yet not well known (see A. B. Meyer's "Negritos," p. 45). It is easy to see, on the face of this evidence, that the Island of *Jābah* referred to above cannot be Java, but Sumatra.

Sumatra (Islands of *Jābah* and *Shelāhet*); whereas the Chinese locate both on the Malay Peninsula, and although they became early acquainted with the east and north coasts of Sumatra, they seem not to have learned until the thirteenth century (and that very likely through the medium of the Arab or Indian navigators) that this island was also called *Java*. *Per contra*, while the Chinese made the acquaintance of Java through the expedition they undertook thither in A.D. 1292, and recorded its name as *Chau-wa* (in but very rare instances, and that by a mere oversight or slip, as *Shê-p'o*), the Arabs seem never to have visited that island, or if they did they never made mention of it in their literature. This is, I think, the true state of affairs in so far as the Chinese and Arab geographical knowledge respectively of the Indo-Malay Archipelago is concerned.

III. *Location of Zābej.*

It now only remains to attack the last stronghold made by Arabists and Sinologists to protect their Java theory. This stronghold of theirs consists in the argument, which they think unassailable, that the *Zābej* empire mentioned in Arabic literature is, of course—who would not divine it?—Java, or had, at any rate, its seat and centre on that island.[1] Such being their position, I now propose instead to demonstrate that *Zābej* was Sumatra, and had its seat and centre on Sumatra, Java being entirely out of the question, except, perhaps, as a mere dependency of that empire.

SULAIMĀN (A.D. 851) says:—"*Zābej*, الزابج, lies on the right-hand side of the provinces of India: the entire region

[1] Their *Kalimah* on the Java question is thus summed up by Van der Lith in the "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 231: "On sait déjà depuis longtemps que les états du Maharadja de Zabedj étaient situés dans l'Archipel indien, et que l'île de Java en avait été le centre. Il y avait donc grande probabilité que la véritable île de Zabedj n'est autre que l'île de Java. Il restait pourtant encore des doutes. Mais il me semble, d'après ce que nous en dit notre auteur, qu'il n'est plus permis d'hésiter, et qu'il est bien certain que l'île de Zabedj et l'île de Java ne font qu'un . . . . je soutiens que le véritable Zabedj, qui donnait son nom aux états du Maharadja, ne peut être que l'île de Java." Amen!

obeys a single king; *Kalāh-bār*, كلاه بار, is one of its dependencies.[1] Near *Zābej* is a volcano, and at the foot of this a spring of cool and fresh water; there is also a thermal well."[2] Here, it will readily be seen, it is simply a question of Ibn Khurdādbih's Island (islands) of *Jābah* and *Shelāhet*, with its volcano close by, shadowed under the generic name of *Zābej*. This will be confirmed by the extract now following.

Ibn Khurdādbih (A.D. 864) tells us: "The King of *Zābej* is called *Mahārāja*; amongst his possessions there is an island named *Dhūṭāil* which echoes with the sounds of drums and cymbals. According to the reports of sailors, there exists in those parts a horse with a mane so long that it trails on the ground."[3] Here we may notice that *Mahārāja* is the very title recorded by this writer for the king of the Island of *Jābah* and *Shelāhet*, which is, of course, one and the same with that of *Zābej*. *Dhūṭāil* is a faulty spelling for a name correctly written برطايل, *Berṭāyl* or *Barṭayl*, by Ḳazwīnī, which is meant, in my opinion, for the Island of Bintang, otherwise known as Rīau, or Rhio.[4] Rīau, ريو, means, in fact, 'noise, noisy,

[1] This statement seems at first sight to clash with that from Ibn Khurdādbih as to *Kalah* Island belonging to the *Jābah* of India; but the king here alluded to may have been tributary to the potentate ruling over *Zābej*. Professor De Goeje, we have seen, considers that Sulaiman's text shows that *Kalah* was the country of *Zābej* itself, or, at any rate, part and parcel of this empire. *Jāba* and *Zābej*, he adds, are two different pronunciations of the same name, and Ibn Rosteh substitutes *Zābej* for *Jāba* in a passage from Ibn Khurdādbih (op. cit., p. 46, n. 2).

[2] Reinaud, "Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans," etc., pp. 17, 21.

[3] *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, pp. 290–291.

[4] The translator remarks, in a note, that Dimashḳī calls the island طانيل, *Tānyl*, and pretends it is inhabited by a population resembling the Turks. He also explains that the noises noticed by travellers issue forth from a high mountain. According to Mas'ūdī, who describes the island in question without naming it, the Musalmān navigators believed that it was the residence of the *Dajjāl*, or Anti-Christ.

I have noticed, since writing the above, that Professor De Goeje, in his new edition of Ibn Khurdādbih's text, spells the name of the island *Braṭāil*, برطايل (pp. ٦٨ text and 48 transl.), thus confirming the deductions I had independently arrived at above. Ḳazwīnī, he adds, states that there are to be found petrified prawns, a peculiarity ascribed in the Ajāib to an island in the Sea of *Ṣanf* (see "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 171), which may be the same place.

loud sounds.'[1] Hence the legend, and if not, from it the name. The horse with the long mane is, of course, the mythical marine horse, of which we shall hear more anon.

ABŪ ZAID (A.D. 880–916) informs us that [illegible] city, مدينة الزابج (read 'State,' see below), is situated facing China, between it and which country there is a distance of one month's sailing, and even less with a favourable wind (same as recorded by I-tsing, see p. 527).[2] The King of *Zābej* bears the title of مهراج, *Mahrāj* (Mahārāja). His capital (evidently 'State') has an extent (circuit?) of 900 parasangs (2,160 miles).[3] This potentate rules over a large number of islands, stretching for a distance of 1,000 parasangs (2,400 miles) and more. Among his possessions are the islands of—

1. *Sarbaza*, or *Serboza*, سربزة: extent (circuit?), 400 parasangs (960 miles) = *Śrī-Bhoja* = the east coast of Sumatra at, and about, Palembang.
2. *Rāmī*, رامى: extent (circuit?), 800 parasangs (1,920 miles); producing camphor (Sulaimān calls it *Rāmnī*, رامنى, and locates here the *Fanṣūr*, i.e. Bārūs-camphor forests) = *Lambri*, *Lāmerī*, i.e. the north and west coasts of Sumatra.

[1] See *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 22, p. 272, note, where the derivation of the term is suggested as from ريوة, *riyuh* or *riauh*, noise, noisy, loud sounds (of joy or distress); although, in Von de Wall's Malay Dictionary the words are given as quite distinct: ريو, *rijau*, "naam der bekende hoofdplaats"; and ريه, *rijauh*, "luidruchtig; woelig." N.B. that Gūroh, گوره, on the same island, which we have (see p. 514) identified with the Chinese *Ku-lo*, means 'thunder, rolling noise.'

[2] Nicolò Conti very curiously says that Greater and Lesser Java are distant from the continent one month's sail (see Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century," part ii, p. 15).

[3] Here and in the following distances I adopt Ibn Khurdādbih's valuation of 25 parasangs to a degree, based on the Ptolemaic estimate of 20 stadia to the parasang, which seems even later to have been followed by Mas'ūdī and Yāḳūt (see *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, pp. 228–229). Under Khalīfah al-Ma'mūn's reign (A.D. 813–833), two measurements effected of a degree on the earth's surface yielded 56¾ and 57 miles respectively. Much later on the traveller Muḳaddasī (A.D. 985) reckoned the parasang as equal to three miles, an estimate adopted by the cosmographer Dimashḳī (A.D. 1300). I think it, therefore, best to follow the old valuation when dealing with distances recorded by the early Arab travellers.

3. *Kalah*, كلّة: extent, 80 parasangs (1,920 miles) = west coast of the Malay Peninsula between Papra Strait [illegible] the south and Mergui on the north. Over it [illegible]ed, as we are informed by Ibn Khurdādbih, the *Ṭābah* Prince of India (Pegu).

The [illegible]sland on which the *Mahārāja* resides is extremely fertile and populous; the dwellings follow one another without interruption. No waste land exists in this country, nor dwellings in ruin. The palace of the *Mahārāja* fronts a *thalāj*, ثلاج, or estuary (marsh, lagoon),[1] formed by an inlet of the sea. This is invaded by the sea-water at flow-tide, but the water therein turns out fresh at the ebb. A little pond (lagoon) is formed by the water contiguous to the royal residence. In this pond the king threw every morning a brick-shaped ingot of gold; hence it became known as the 'Pond of the gold ingots.'[2] This story,

[1] Van der Lith says ("Merveilles des Indes," p. 195) that *thalāj* is an Indian word meaning *étang*, i.e. marsh, pond. Its Sanskrit form, he adds, is, according to Professor Kern, *talāga*, and the explanation of the word given by Abū Zaid (as 'estuary') seems erroneous. Well, I may observe in my own turn that in such a case the true Sanskrit word is more probably *taḍāka*, Pāli *taḷāka* = a pond, pool, lake. With this the Malay term *teluk* or *telok*, تلق = a bay, a harbour, as well as the Khmēr *tonlī* (*thonlē*, *thalē*) = a river, lake (cf. Persian *darya*, Kitan [Cathayan] *t'é-li-n* = 'lake,' Nü-chên *t'é-li-n* = 'sea,' Manchu *me-derin* = 'sea,' and Greek *thalas*, θαλάσση, which, I think, are all etymologically related), may be connected. The meaning I make out, in any case, to be lagoon. Another Indian-derived Malay word, *Telāga*, means a 'well' or 'reservoir'; this may be the word alluded to by Professor Kern. Towards the end of the fourteenth century Palembang became known to the Chinese as 舊港, *Chiu-chiang* (Kau-kong, Ku-kang), which means 'Old Lagoon,' and not 'Old River' as Groeneveldt pretends (op. cit., p. 195). Now this term, so misunderstood by our Sinologists, clearly indicates that the old city was built on a lagoon, an arm of the sea, or perhaps even an estuary as Abū Zaid states; hence it got the nickname of 'Old Lagoon,' and this 'Old Lagoon' is beyond doubt Abū Zaid's *thalāj*. Thus the two designations, the Chinese and Arabic, confirm each other, as we shall notice in other instances; and the capital of the *Zābej* empire and residence of its ruler, the Mahārāja, turns out to be the old Palembang city. This will even more clearly appear further on, and this determination, which is of the utmost importance for the history of the Archipelago, throws a sidelight on that of Kamboja withal, as it establishes that the punitive expedition led to that country by the Mahārāja of *Zābej*, some time before the middle of the ninth century A.D., proceeded from Palembang.

[2] Reinaud, op. cit., pp. 92–95 and 98.

which I have abridged from the original, winds up with the account of the expedition undertaken by the Mahārāja to punish the King of *Ḳamār*, قمار, or *Kumāra* (Kamboja), for which see pp. 201–205 above. *En passant* the author drops the useful hint that between the two kingdoms (of the *Mahārāja* and of *Ḳamār*) there are ten days' sailing in latitude (i.e. following a given meridian), increasing to as much as twenty when the wind is light. For the Island (or district) of *Zābej* proper, i.e. that on which the Mahārāja resided, we must understand, as will be most conclusively shown further on, that of *Sarbaza*, i.e. the east coast of Sumatra at, and about, Palembang. Now, Kamboja bears due north of Palembang, the 105th meridian of E. longitude (from Greenwich) passing exactly through the mouths of both the Palembang and Hatien Rivers, on the latter of which we have located *Ḳmār*, or *Kumāra*. Abū Zaid's bearing is therefore correct.

Mas'ūdī (A.D. 943) repeats nearly the same statements, only in a more confused order. Here is what he says: "India [extra-Gangem] is conterminous with *Zābej*, which is the empire of the Mahārāj, the ruler of the islands (i, 163).[1] The *Zābej* separates China from India, but is comprised within the region of the last-named country (i, 163). The throne of the King of *Zābej* overlooked the pond surnamed the 'Gold-bars Pond,' a small marsh which communicated with the principal bay (estuary of the river) of *Zābej*. The flow let the sea-water into that bay, and the ebb allowed the fresh water to freely run down (i, 176). Crocodiles are plentiful in the bay of *Zābej* (i, 207). *Serīra*, or *Sarīrah*, سريرة, is an island in the empire of the Mahārāja, situated at about 400 parasangs (960 miles) from the continent (read *Kalah*, see below, p. 564), and entirely cultivated. This prince also owns the islands of *Zānj*, or *Zānej*, زانج, and *Rāmnī*, رامنى,

[1] The Roman figures refer to the number of the volumes, and the Arabic to the number of the page, of Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille's "Prairies d'Or," Paris, 1861–1874.

and many others besides; his sway extends, at the utmost, over the whole of the sixth sea, i.e. that of *Ṣanf* (i, 343). His territories produce all sorts of spices and aromata . . . . ; the exports are camphor, eagle-wood, cloves, sandal-wood, areca-nuts, nutmegs, cardamon, and cubeb. These islands, in the direction of the Chinese Sea, border upon an ocean of unknown limits and extent. In their remotest parts there are mountains inhabited by numerous tribes . . . . ; from these mountains issues a perpetual fire (i, 341–342). In the neighbourhood of *Kalah* and *Serīra* there are gold and silver mines (i, 242). The volcano of *Zābej*, in the Sea of China (Sea of *Ṣanjī*), (iii, 68)." The foregoing extracts plainly demonstrate that the capital of *Zābej* stood on a creek or river outlet subject to tidal influence, which is exactly the case with Palembang. *Zānj*, or *Zānej*, occurring instead of Abū Zaid's *Sarbaza*, has here evidently nothing to do, as Gildemeister thought on meeting the same form in Abū Zaid's relation,[1] with *Zang*, *Zanj*, زنج, or Zanzibar, the country of Negroes; but is undoubtedly a clerical slip for *Zābej*, زابج, a term which, owing to the imperfections of the Arabic alphabet, has given rise to the most extraordinary variants. If, therefore, *Zānj* = *Zābej* Island stands in Mas'ūdī's text for Abū Zaid's *Sarbaza*, it must be one and the same with it. So, we shall demonstrate further on, is also *Serīra*, which is but an alternative name for *Sarbaza*. The mention of gold and silver mines in the vicinity of *Serīra* proves that this so-called 'island,' alias *Sarbaza*, alias *Zābej*, cannot be Java.[2]

[1] See *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, p. 202, where Dulaurier gives other variants from Edrīsī: رانج, رالج, زانج, *Rāneh*, *Rānah*, *Zālej*, *Zānej*.

[2] Radermacher, in his "Sumatra" (in Verhandelingen Batav. Gen. v. K., 1787), p. 11, mentions silver-mines that existed in the interior of the Island of Sumatra, but which were not worked because it was found that they would not pay (see "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 248). Long before him Linschoten stated (c. 1587) of Sumatra: "The Iland is very rich of mynes of Gold, Silver . . . . " etc. ("Voyage of Linschoten," Hakluyt Soc., London, 1885, vol. i, p. 109). As regards gold in Sumatra, its presence is so well known as not to require proof here. The question will be more fully dealt with in the sequel.

In the "Kitāb-al-'Ajāib," ascribed to Mas'ūdī, it is stated that in the Island (or islands?) of *Zābej* there were Chinese settlers who had left their fatherland on account of internecine troubles.[1] The troubles referred to may have been the famous rebellion of Hwang-ch'ao that devastated the whole empire from A.D. 878 to his death in 884, and was followed by other disturbances.[2] All the same, we know very well from I-tsing and other Chinese sources that Sumatra had become known to the ubiquitous John Chinaman long before that time. Basing his statement on another, less clear passage of the same "Kitāb," Reinaud draws the unwarranted inference that at the dawn of the tenth century A.D. *Zābej* and *Sanf* (Campā), which were distinct kingdoms in Sulaimān's time (A.D. 851), had become a single empire through the one having subjugated the other.[3] This, we are now well aware, is untrue, notwithstanding the fact that at earlier periods expeditions may have been undertaken by *Zābej* against certain points of the Chām littoral (A.D. 787) and Kamboja conquered (some time before A.D. 802). (See above, p. 545.)

Captain Bozorg (A.D. 955) has preserved to us several important details about the *Zābej* kingdom and its capital

[1] Reinaud's "Géographie d'Aboulféda," t. i, Introduction, p. 390; Arabic text of Mas'ūdī's "Kitāb-al-'Ajāib" in t. ii of his "Relation des Voyages," etc.; also t. i, p. lxxv.

[2] This famous rebellion is described by Abū Zaid, who names the leader *Ban-ghua* (for Hwang-ch'ao). See Reinaud's "Relation," t. i, pp. 62 et seq.

[3] "Géographie d'Aboulféda," Introduction, p. 416; and "Relations," t. ii, p. 192 of the Arabic text (of the "Kitāb-al-'Ajāib"). Reinaud quotes in support the statement of the Christian monk of Najran who, having travelled through the Archipelago in about A.D. 980, mentions that at such a period the king of *Lūḳīn* (Southern China) had just invaded and conquered *Sanf*. But this event refers, in my opinion, to the expedition which the Tonkinese king Lē-Hang, or Lē-Dāi-Hành (who had then his capital at *Hwā-lü*, 花閭, founded A.D. 968, a little to the westwards of the chef-lieu of the Niñ-bìñ district), undertook in A.D. 982 against Champā, resulting in the conquest of this country and destruction of its capital *Śrī-Bani* in Kwáng-bìñ (see above, p. 229). These facts have therefore nothing to do with *Lukīn* (South China), and much less still with *Zābej*. The mention of *Lūḳīn* as the place of origin of the expedition is a mistake proceeding, I think, from the fact that but a few years before (i.e. in 968) Tonkin was still under the sway of China. Our identification of the event alluded to by the Christian monk of Najran enables us to fix the date of his travels in Far Eastern seas in the year 982 or 983 A.D.

in his "'Ajāib-al-Hind."[1] The city where the Mahārāj of *Zābej* resides, he writes, contains very numerous streets (creeks?)[2] where trade is carried on (p. 137). In the bay of *Serīrah*, سريرة, there are innumerable crocodiles: charmed some time ago, they are now harmless (p. 158). *Serīrah* lies at the extremity of the Island of *Lāmerī* (north and west coasts of Sumatra), and at 120 *zāms* (900 miles, see Mas'ūdī, p. 561) from *Kalah* (west coast of the Malay Peninsula above Junkceylon). The bay (inlet, estuary) of *Serīrah* penetrates, it is stated, for 50 parasangs (120 miles) into the island. It is a river far wider than the Tigris at Basra; its waters are fresh. There is no deeper (i.e. penetrating so far inland) bay in the whole island. Tidal influence makes itself felt at intervals of twelve hours.[3] There are crocodiles, but having been charmed they are now harmless in that neighbourhood. Some dwellings are built on shore, but the majority are floating houses supported by rafts made of timbers (bamboos?) tied together. The houses are built of wood; hence those on shore are liable to frequent fires. The dwellings in the bay are disposed in such a manner as to form something like avenues (creeks?) (p. 176).

This description admirably tallies with the Chinese account of Palembang left us by Ma Huan (A.D. 1416) and reproduced with but little variation in the History of the Ming Dynasty, bk. 324.[4] By comparison of the two extracts from the

[1] See Van der Lith and M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," Leiden, 1883–1886, to the pages of which work the numbers within parentheses in the above extracts refer.

[2] See below; canals are more likely meant. Palembang, as is well known, is intersected by numerous creeks, spanned by many bridges, and it is from the great number of these bridges that the town derives its modern name. Probably at the period we are now concerned with the bridges were very few, or not as yet existent.

[3] "Between the monsoons [in Bangka Strait] flood and ebb succeed each other generally every twelve hours" ("China Sea Directory," vol. i, 4th ed., 1896, p. 395).

[4] See Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 196 and 197. Ma Huan's account runs: "The country is not large. The people exercise themselves much in fighting on the water, and as there is more water than land, only the houses of the chiefs stand on shore, whilst the rest of the people build their houses on rafts, which are attached to piles, so that they rise with the water and cannot be flooded. When they want to go and live in another place they pull up the piles and remove with

'Ajāib (pp. 137 and 176) with the two Chinese versions just referred to, it clearly results that the district or city

their whole house, which is very convenient. The river has two flood-tides every day." The last statement is true of the river only during the south-east monsoon period, from April to October. On the other hand, during the north-west monsoon period freshets prevail, and the influence of the flood is then but rarely, if ever, felt. Sailing-vessels belonging to Palembang do then either remain in port or trade to other places, as it is almost impossible for them at this period to make any progress up the river against the freshets. (See "China Sea Directory," vol. i, p. 399.) The account in Ming history says: "The inhabitants of this country are skilled in fighting on the water, and, therefore, their neighbours fear them. The country is rich in water; only the chiefs live on the land, whilst the common people dwell on the river. For this purpose they build their houses on rafts, which are fastened to poles in such a way that, when the tide rises, the rafts are lifted up without being flooded. When they want to remove to another place they have only to pull up the poles, which does not cost much money or labour. The lower classes call their superiors by the title of 詹 卑, *Chan-pei* (Cham-pi, Ch'ŏm-bai), which means the same as sovereign of the country. Afterwards the place where their first chief lived was called *Chan-pei* (Ch'ŏm-bai) also. The country has changed its old capital [old name?] for *Chiu-chiang* (Kau-kong), (i.e. 'Old Lagoon' = Palembang)." Concerning the king's title *Chan-pei*, the History of the Sung Dynasty, bk. 489, already records it in these words: "The king [of *San-fo-ch'i*] is styled *Chan-pei*, and in his country there are many people whose names begin with *P'u*, 蒲 (lit. whose family name is *P'u*)." Now, we have long ere this demonstrated (*supra*, p. 352) that *P'u* is the Chām title *Pô*. This title, in common with many other Chām words, still survives nowadays in the Achèh district, where it means a 'prince.' *Pô-chut* = 'Little Prince' is the style applied to the son of a princess when she is married to a man of no aristocratic lineage (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1897, p. 98). There can thus be no doubt that at the period in question the title *Pô* was diffused all over Sumatra, or at least as far down as Palembang. This fact throws a new sidelight on Chām-Malay relations at this period. Evidently all linguistic relics like the one here dealt with were swept away from nearly the whole of Sumatra by the Javanese invasions of later periods. As regards *Chan-pei*, it has been a crux to Sinologists. Groeneveldt (op. cit., p. 188) makes so bold as to suggest that this term stands for *Jambi*, the name of the State conterminous on the north with Palembang, and infers that the author of the above account, having heard the name of Rāja Jambi, i.e. the King of Jambi, mistook it for the name of the king of Palembang. Professor Schlegel, with all his highly imaginative powers, can soar no higher than his confrère. And, after having enlightened us (*T'oung-l'ao*, 1901, p. 125) on the meaning of *P'u*, which, he asserts, "stands for *Bu*, which is an abbreviation of the common Arab and Malay appellative *Abu*, 'Father'" [!! this, N.B., in A.D. 960, when the title is mentioned in Sung history], he cannot but agree for the nonce with his colleague on the meaning of *Chan-pei*, and adds that in the language of the Orang Benūa in the Malay Peninsula *Jambi* means a betel-leaf, in Siāmese *Champī* means the *Michelia champaca* [a variety of it; the *M. c.* being known as *Champā*], and so forth. But, he remarks, in Malay names of plants are given to countries, and never, or very rarely, to persons. As regards *Chan-pei*, I hardly think that it stands for Jambi, for from the text it seems to have been a title given, not only to the sovereign, but also to the dignitaries of the State. Hence it was probably a word meaning 'lord,' 'chief,' or something similar. It may have been connected with either the Mŏn *Smŏin*

where the Mahārāj of *Zābej* resided was that called by the Arabs *Serīrah* and *Serboza* or *Sarbaza*, and by the Chinese *Hsien-liu* and *San-fo-ch'i* or *Shih-li Fo-shih*, and later on—that is to say, after 1377—*Chiu-chiang* (Ku-kang) = 'Old Lagoon' (Thalāj). This place has, ere this, been satisfactorily enough identified with *Śrī-Bhoja*, now called

or *Chīa-smöiñ*, ចៅស = a 'ruler,' 'king'; the Khmēr *Sompēa*, Malay *Sambah*, 'to worship,' *Sembayang*, 'to pray' (cf. *Batāra*, the title applied especially to Mājapāhīt rulers, which is derived from the Sanskrit *Chaṭṭāra* = revered, worshipful, noble lord); or even with *Cāmpeya*, meaning 'gold,' as well as the Nāgakeśara and the Campaka trees; and *Campeyyaka* = an inhabitant of *Campā*, a Chām. It is not impossible that some Palembang kings were of Chām descent. Edrīsī (A.D. 1154) states (op. cit., p. 173) that in *Rāneh* (Zābej) kings are termed *Fanjab*, فَنْجَب (*Pan-jau*, *Pô-jau*, *Pāṇḍava*?). *Panambahan* means 'chief,' lit. 'object of veneration,' in Java, from the root *pamba*, *pemba* = 'homage, veneration, to pay homage,' according to Dulaurier (*Journal Asiatique*, 1846, p. 550). *Pandu*, فندو (*Fandu*), means a 'leader,' a 'pilot' in Malay. Chao Ju-kua (*circâ* A.D. 1240) tells us in his turn that the king of *San-fo-ch'i* is commonly called 'Essence of the Snake' (Takakusu, op. cit., p. xliv). No Chinese characters being, *more solito*, given, it is difficult to guess what the original term may have been, whether *Nāga-sāra*, *Sarpa-sāra*, *Pannaga-sāra*, *Bhujaga-* or *Bhujaṅga-sāra*, etc. The last two terms are not very dissimilar from Edrīsī's *Fanjab*, while *Sarpa* somewhat approaches the Chinese *Chan-pi*. The question must be left open until more definite information is forthcoming.

Should, on the contrary, *Chan-pei* ultimately prove to mean Jambi, we should have then to conclude that Jambi, and not Palembang, was the ancient *Śrī-Bhoja*. Of this possible eventuality we shall find other indications in the sequel, and meet also with a second *Chiu-chiang*, or 'Old River,' in the Jambi district itself.

Postscriptum.—I have noticed, since writing the above, that Professor de Goeje, in his new edition of Ibn Khurdādbih's text, restores, on the suggestion of Professor Kern, the title of the king of *Zābej* as *Pati-Jab*, فَتْجَب (pp. 13, 213), meaning the 'Prince of Java' (*Pati-Jaba*). This is ingenious, but not as yet quite convincing to me, because in such a case we should expect to find the traditional Arabic form *Jāba* instead of *Jaba*. I, therefore, still adhere to my own views as expressed above, although ready to agree on a possible *Pati-Jambī*, فَتْجَمبِي, or 'Chief of Jambi,' which would have the advantage of harmonizing with the Chinese title *Chan-pei* in its alternative possible acceptation.

Palembang. However, Van der Lith is mistaken in categorically asserting that *Serīrah*, سريرة, is a clerical slip for *Serboza* or *Sarbaza*, سربزة, سَرْبَزَة, of which the latter is the truly correct form.[1] It is by such dogmatic *pronunciamientos* that our predecessors in the historical geography of the Far East have often made confusion worse confounded. And my proof that *Serīrah* is a distinct term from *Sarbaza* lies in the fact, so far overlooked by Sinologists, that the Chinese records of A.D. 961–962 give us the equivalent for *Serīrah* in *Hsien-liu*, 先留 (*Sen-liu*, *Sen-riu*), which, they state, is an alternative designation for the kingdom of *San-fo-ch'i* (*Serboza*).[2] *Serīrah*, or *Serīrat*, and *Sen-riu*, *Sera-reva* (or *Sera-rava*), may on the one hand represent the term *Siri-raṭṭha*, or *Śrī-rāṣṭra*, and on the other the tribal name *Sarawi* belonging to a nation settled at Palembang;[3] while it may be somehow connected with *Chaleh* and *Saleh*, two branches through which the Musi, or river of Palembang, discharges into the sea.[4]

AL-FARES, or FARAS, in his "Kitāb-al-Āṭwāl," or "Book of Longitudes" (A.D. 950–1000), states that *Sarbaza*, or *Serīrah*, is the island on which the Mahārāja resided.[5] This assertion we shall see confirmed later on by Abū-l-Fedā.

MUḤALLABĪ (*circâ* A.D. 1000) tells us that the island of *Serīrah* is a dependency of China.[6] This is fairly correct, as *Hsien-liu*, or *San-fo-ch'i*, is recorded as having sent tribute to China since A.D. 905.[7]

[1] "Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 248, 250.

[2] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 562.

[3] The mass of the inhabitants of Palembang belong, according to Crawfurd, to a nation distinct from the Malays, called *Sarawi* (see Dennys' "Descript. Dict. of Brit. Malaya," p. 348). Whether this name has been introduced from India, where it denotes a sect of fakirs (see Balfour's "Cyclop. of India," 3rd ed., vol. iii, p. 534), or not, I cannot say, but it would be worth enquiring.

[4] *Saleh* (Ayer Saleh) is one of the eastern mouths, not now navigable, of the Palembang River, the best entrances to which are now the Sungsang and Banju Asin. Chaleh River is a western tributary of the Banju Asin, which it joins near its mouth.

[5] See Dulaurier in *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, pp. 211–212.

[6] Op. cit., p. 212; and Guyard's "Géographie d'Aboulféda," t. ii, pt. 2, p. 132.

[7] Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 188.

AL-BĪRŪNĪ (A.D. 1031), after having spoken of an island of *Ram*, رم, or *Rāmīn*, belonging to Ceylon,[1] which is undoubtedly the one now called *Rameśvaram*, vulgo Ramisseram, lying between Adam's Bridge and the opposite point of Madura, informs us that the island (or islands) of *Zābej* lies in that part of the Indian Ocean turned towards the east and nearing China, and adds that such island (or islands) corresponds to that termed *Surendīb* (*Suvarṇa-dvīpa*), or 'Island of Gold,' in Sanskrit literature[2] (Fragments, 123).

[1] Sachau's "Chronology of Ancient Nations," London, 1879, p. 345. The translator remarks, p. 448: "*Rāmīn*. I do not know an island of this name. Perhaps the author meant the island *Rāmanī*, described by Alḳazwīnī, 'Kosmographie,' i, p. 107. An island *Rāmī*, in the Indian Ocean, is mentioned by Yāḳūt, ii, p. 739." Dulaurier, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, p. 187, writes *Ram*, رم.

[2] Reinaud's Introduction to the "Géographie d'Aboulféda," pp. 390, 408. The term *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* already occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa (*Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa*), but applying, apparently, to the Malay Peninsula (see above, p. 78). On the other hand, in the same book (iv) the Rāmāyaṇa mentions *Java-dvīpa* with seven kingdoms, which is spelled *Jana-dvīpa* in Gorresio's version (vol. ii, p. 254), and said to be rich in silver and gold. May not this be Sumatra, in which case the two spellings *Java* and *Jana* might go some way towards accounting for the form *Zānej* of the term *Zābej* in some of the Arab writers? Along with the above, Gorresio's version also refers to a *Jala-dvīpa* ('Island of waters'), which might be *Jalada* or *Jalaja*, i.e. *Chên-la* or Kamboja (*vide supra*, pp. 167–168). Now, it is evident that it Sumatra is *Java-dvīpa* it cannot be at the same time *Suvarṇa-dvīpa*. Moreover, *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* (or *Svarṇa-dvīpa*) is mentioned in the "Kathā-Sarīt Sāgara" as a country that could be reached by sea, and apparently also by land, from India. In fact, in ch. 57 of that work, we are told of a caravan journeying thereto by way of a town named *Kāñcana-pura* (see Tawney's transl., vol. ii, Calcutta, 1884, pp. 5 et seqq.). So much for all those who have hitherto held it to be Sumatra! From various other passages in the same publication we gather that—

(1) *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* lay on the sea-route from *Kaṭāha* (an island, "the home of all felicities," where jewels are bought and sold, but the people whereof are not acquainted with eagle-wood) to *Tāmraliptā*, a city which may or not be the same as Tāmraliptī or Tamluk westward of the Hūghli river, but which was in any case on the delta of the Ganges. (Op. cit., vol. i, pp. 87, 92, 552; and vol. ii, pp. 44, 598.)

(2) *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* was met with on the following itinerary: *Jalapura* city on the east coast of India—*Nārikela* Island (Nikobārs)—*Kaṭāha* Island—*Karpūra* Island (Telok Kapūr on the Indau River, east coast of the Malay Peninsula; or Bārūs, west coast of Sumatra; or west coast of Borneo?)—*Suvarṇa-dvīpa*—*Siṁhala* (Ceylon). (Op. cit., vol. i, pp. 551–552.)

(3) The king of *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* was brother-in-law to the king of *Kaṭāha* (vol. ii, p. 599), a circumstance arguing that these two countries could not have been very far distant from one another.

(4) *Kalaśapura* was a city on *Suvarṇa-dvīpa*; apparently its capital (vol. i, p. 530). Now, I have scarcely any doubt that the city here referred to is *Kelāsa*, 6ᗡᗡᗡᗡᗡ, near Bīlin in the Shwēgyin district on the Peguan coast, near which rises the famous Kelāsa pagoda, recorded under the name of

EDRĪSĪ (A.D. 1154) does not tell us much that is of value, and his information is, as usual with him, confused

Kelāsabha-pabbala-cetiya in the Kalyānī inscriptions. The capital, *Golamattika-nagara*, was situated, according to these inscriptions, to the north-west of the pagoda. Whether *Kalaśapura* was the same as *Golamattika* or a distinct city nearer to the Kelāsa Peak, it is in the present state of our knowledge difficult to say. But that a city of this name existed in the district in question is certain; for the History of the T'ang Dynasty, bk. 222 (see *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, pp. 282–283; and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 529), mentions a kingdom *Ka-lo-shê-fu*, 迦羅舍弗 (i.e. *Kelāsabha-*, or *Kalaśa-pura*), as lying to the north of *Tu-ho-lo* (which does not seem to be Taik-kulā, i.e. the old Golamattika, but either *Tagala* or *Thagara* on the Tavoy River, see p. 86 *ante*, or *Dvārāvatī* in Siām). A village bearing the name *Kelāsa* exists on the left bank of the Lamaing River above Rē, west coast of the Malay Peninsula; and another Kelāsa pagoda, apparently modern, rises above Pāgat, not far from the confluence of the Gyaing with the Salwīn River; but the site of *Kalaśa-pura* is evidently to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Kelāsa Peak. This district was part of *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, the Golden Region of Buddhist fame; it is accordingly very likely that *Suvarṇa-dvīpa*, if not exactly identical with it, meant the Malay Peninsula, which immediately adjoins it, as we have suggested. *Suvarṇa-bhūmi* is, in fact, separately referred to in the "Kathā-Sarīt Sāgara" (vol. i, p. 510) as an island, which may mean the Thatôn district, or some other deltaic island near by on the coast of the Gulf of Martaban. The Nepālese MS. (Add. 1643, Cambridge), of the eleventh century A.D. or earlier, on which Foucher has based his recent study on the "Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde" (Paris, 1900), mentions a *Kalaśa-vara-pura* (or *Kala-śavara-pura*?) with a sanctuary dating from at least the seventh century (pp. 90, 179), which may well be the *Kalaśapura* of the "Kathā-Sarīt Sāgara," and the *Kilāsabha* of the Kalyānī inscriptions. If not, there is no lack in that neighbourhood of similar toponymics, such as, e.g., Ptolemy's **Sabara** (= Śavara) city and **Sarabaric** Gulf, and Abū Zaid's *Kalah-bār*. The *Suvarṇa-pura* of the same MS. (op. cit., p. 105) may have stood also somewhere that way. *Vijayapura*, therein stated to lay in *Suvarṇa-pura*, may be, not Panyā, which, although bearing that name, was founded only in A.D. 1312, but *Śrī Vijaya* in Lower Siām (*vide supra*, p. 188). *Śrī-Vijapura* is, in fact, the full form of the name given in the MS. referred to. *Suvarṇa-purī* was the later name of Sup'han in the neighbourhood of the latter (see p. 176 *ante*); but we have found (p. 80) evidence of a mountain *Suvarṇa-mālī* in the Tenasserim province. Further, Lieut. Bagge's Map of Tenasserim, 1868, marks the hitherto unexplored regions of an "Ancient city of Thoo-won-na-boom-mee" (*Suvaṇṇabhūmi*) at the headwaters of the Yay (Rē) River near the Siāmese frontier.

As regards the mysterious fairy island of *Kaṭāha*, also mentioned in the Nepālese MS. above referred to (see Foucher, op. cit., pp. 105, 179) as *Kahtāha-dvīpa*, its identity with Cathay, first suggested by Tawney (op. cit., vol. i, p. 86), and recently again put forward by Foucher, is ridiculous; for the term *Kitai*, plural *Kitan*, whence mediæval travellers obtained their *Cathay* and the Russians at the beginning of the seventeenth century their *Kitai*, had scarcely become notorious before the tenth or eleventh century A.D.; whereas the portion of the "Kathā-Sarīt Sāgara" where the name *Kaṭāha* or *Kahtāha* occurs may be considerably older. It would have been far better to suggest instead **Kattigara**. But, as we have seen, *Kaṭāha* could not have lain very far away from *Suvarṇa-dvīpa*, although being apparently situated beyond *Karpūra*, say Sumatra or the southern part of the Malay Peninsula—at the very utmost Borneo, for according to Leyden a Persian treatise "termed 'Seir-ul-Ahlim' . . . . mentions the 'great island of camphor,' probably Borneo" (see "Essays rel. to Indo-China," vol. i, 1st series, p. 124). I should think, accordingly, that *Kaṭāha*

to a degree. He locates the island (or islands) of *Zābej* (which he calls, as we have seen, probably through the carelessness of his copyists, *Zālej*, *Zānej*, *Rāleǰ*, *Rāneǰ*, etc.) in front of the coast of *Zanj*, i.e. Zanjībār and Sufāla, and considers both countries, which lie some 3,000 miles apart, as almost facing one another. Hence, naturally, an inevitable jumble up of facts regarding them in his narrative. Anyhow, he goes on to state that the natives of *Zanj* being unprovided with sea-going vessels, their transoceanic trade is carried on by ships from *Omān* and others, bound for the islands of *Zābej*, which are dependencies of India. The people of *Zābej*, on the other hand, sail to Zanjībār in large and small craft and trade there, an easy task for them, as they can easily understand the language of the natives of that coast. The importance of this statement, on which Reinaud lays such great stress,[1] as proving that commercial intercourse existed between the Archipelago and the east coast of Africa, and that the language spoken in both countries was the same or very nearly so, is marred by the possibility that the islands he calls here *Zālej* and *Rāleǰ* are in reality those of *Rāneǰ*, a term meaning Cocos Islands, which seems to have been the name supplied to the islands lying to the

may be the hitherto unidentified kingdom of *Ch'ü-tu-K'un* or *K'iut-tu-k'wên*, 屈都昆 (*Ku-to-kon*), referred to in the Chinese History of the Liang Dynasty as having been conquered by Fan-man, the gallant king of *Fu-nan* (Kamboja), who reigned between A.D. 200–230 *circâ*. This country must have been either on the Malay Peninsula or in the neighbourhood. A similarly named State, *Ch'ü-tu-ch'ien* or *Ch'ü-tu-kan*, 屈都乾 (*Kut-ta-kan*), is recorded in the "Tsin-shu" among the countries conquered between A.D. 336 and 347 by king Wên of *Lin-i* (Champā); and its name occurs at times under the contracted form 屈都, *Ch'ü-tu*, *K'iut-tu*, or *Kut-to* (see Pelliot in *Bulletin École Française d'Extr. Orient*, t. iii, note 2, April–June, 1903, p. 266). Further, there is Ptolemy's *Kortatha* or *Kiu-tê*, *Kau-têk*, *Ko-tat* to reckon with (*vide ante*, pp. 288 et seqq.), which may be, after all, the most eligible and likely representative of *Kaṭāha*. Kuti or Kutei in East Borneo, the Katrea district on North Sumatra, and other similarly named places in the Archipelago are far less suitable.

[1] Ibid., pp. 390–391.

west of the Maldives, among which Madagascar was presumably included.[1] It is true that among the *Zāleǧ* islands Edrīsī mentions *Sharbūah*, شربوة (also spelled سرندة, *Saranda*), the name of which strikingly resembles شريرة, *Sharīrah* (so written, as we shall see, by Nowaīrī), and سربزة, *Sarbaza*; to which he assigns 1,200 miles in circuit (400 parasangs?—the same as the perimeter ascribed by Abū Zaid to *Sarbaza*, *supra*, p. 559). But along with it he refers to the island of *Anjabah*, انجبة, capital *Anfūjah*, انفوجة, which is, it is alleged, انقوجة, *Anḳūjah*, i.e. Zanzībār Island, till this very day called *Anguya* by the Swahīlis.[2] The other island, *Karmada* or *Karmadat*, كرمدة, which he locates near *Zānej* Island, may, however, if not actually *Karimāta*, كريمات, be Nowaīrī's *Karmūh* or *Karamū*, كرموة, which he places in his *Lārūi* or *Lāravī* Sea (Straits of Malacca), and which I think may be the Great *Kerimūn* or *Krīmūn*, or both it and its smaller homonymous island, opposite Tanjong Būlus, the south-western extremity of the Malay Peninsula.[3] Apart from this medley, Edrīsī mentions a volcano on an islet near his *Zānej* Island, which, from the description he gives of it, is apparently the same as the one he refers to further on as being situated on the island of *Salāhaṭ*.[4] The remainder of his information on *Zānej* (*Zābej*) consists in

[1] See Van der Lith in "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 294. Great affinity has, of course, been traced between the languages of the Archipelago and Malagasy, the tongue spoken all over Madagascar; so great, indeed, as to lead scholars to consider the latter to be affiliated to the Malayo-Polynesian stock, and to suggest the hypothesis that Madagascar was colonized by tribes from the west coast of Sumatra (see "Papers relating to Indo-China," 2nd series, vol. i, p. 270). But this, although proving the expansion of the Malayo-Polynesian (or Melanesian-Negrito (?), see pp. 253–254 above) race to such distant lands, does not completely establish that commercial intercourse existed between the two regions at the time of which Edrīsī speaks. More evidence is required ere we can unreservedly accept his statements.

[2] See Jaubert's "Géographie d'Édrīsī," pp. 58 et seqq.; and Van der Lith in op. cit., pp. 288, 289, 294.

[3] Van der Lith is certainly wrong (op. cit., p. 281) in correcting كرموة into تيومة, *Tyūmah*!! I have several times already animadverted on this maniacal tendency of playing with the geographical nomenclature handed down to us in the old texts.

[4] Jaubert, op. cit., pp. 60 and 82.

a repetition of the statement from Mas'ūdī's (?) "Kitāb-al-'Ajāib" as regards Chinamen having emigrated and settled there owing to the troubled state of their fatherland. With this we take leave of Edrīsī, who has caused so much confusion in Far Eastern geography.

YĀḲŪT (A.D. 1218) tells us that from *Sarbaza*, سَرْبَزَة or سَرْبُزَة, as he spells its name, camphor is exported.[1]

ḲAZWĪNĪ (A.D. 1263–1274), following his predecessors, describes *Zābej* as an extensive island situated not far from the limits of China, but more towards India.[2]

IBN SA'ĪD (A.D. 1274), quoted by Abū-l-Fedā, is pretty explicit in his statements. "The islands of *Rānej*" (Zābej), he writes, "are celebrated in the accounts of merchants and travellers. The largest of them is *Sarīrah*, which is 400 miles long from north to south and about 160 miles in width all over. Several arms of the sea penetrate into it. Its capital, *Sarīrah*, is situated on its middle on an estuary and a river." And further on he adds: "The islands of the *Mahrāj* (Mahārāja) are numerous. Their sovereign is one of the richest monarchs of India and the one who possesses most gold and elephants. The largest of these islands is the seat of his authority."[3] As a little before Ibn Sa'īd has declared that the largest of such islands is *Sarīrah*, there can be no doubt left as to this being the one containing the capital. The mention of elephants entirely excludes Java. Abū Zaid (see p. 559) assigned 900 parasangs (2,160 miles) circuit to the capital (State) of *Zābej*, and 400 parasangs (960 miles) circuit to *Sarbaza* island (district). It will be seen, therefore, that while *Sarbaza* or *Sarīra* denotes the particular portion or district of Sumatra in which stood the capital (viz. Palembang), *Zābej* includes the whole island or nearly so. Sumatra is 1,070 miles long, and has an average breadth of over 200 miles. The 160 miles in width assigned by Ibn Sa'īd to the *Serīrah* territory correspond very closely to the width

[1] "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 248.
[2] *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, p. 205.
[3] Guyard's "Géographie d'Aboulféda," t. ii, pt. 2, pp. 126 and 132.

of the Palembang district from the sea (Bangka Strait) on the north-east to the central mountain range of Sumatra to the south-west.

DIMASHḲĪ (*circâ* A.D. 1300) follows Edrīsī in confusing *Zābej* with the islands off the east coast of Africa; and thus he locates *Anfūjah* (Zanzībār?) close to *Serīrah* and separates both of them from *Ḳamar* or *Ḳomor*, قمر (Madagascar?), by a mere channel or arm of the sea.[1] On *Serīrah*, however, he is pretty well informed. He puts down its circumference at 1,200 miles, says it contains two rivers[2] (the Jambi and Musi?) and many cities, amongst which *Serīrah* is the most celebrated; and adds that the best camphor is derived therefrom.[3] He then passes on to the island of the Mahārāja, which he seems to believe a quite distinct place, and unfolds his lore on it in this strain:—"The island of the Mahārāja is the most extensive, its length is of 12 and its breadth of 5 days' march (or sailing?). At its extremity stands a great volcano which throws up sparks and stones with a thunderlike noise and lightning. Owing to the fire there is no dwelling nor thoroughfare within a distance of one parasang (3 miles). This volcano is the largest in the world, there is not the like of it. The place it occupies is called 'Volcano Island,' and compared to the remainder of the island it stands to it in the same ratio as the foot does to the whole leg. When ships approach the island at the beginning of a squall, tiny black dwarfs, five spans or less in stature, resembling negroes, appear and climb aboard, without harming anyone . . . ."[4] Here we have a repetition (or the original version?) of the Negrito story located by the "Mukhtaṣar-al-'Ajāib" at *Ṣanjī* (see above, p. 245, note). As to the volcano, it is evidently the same as mentioned by preceding authors. Furthermore, Dimashḳī

[1] Mehren, "Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen-âge," Copenhagen, 1874, p. 198.
[2] Ibid., p. 22.
[3] Ibid., pp. 199 and 204. The text has, I suppose, 400 parasangs of circuit, as in Abū Zaid for *Sarbaza*, which calculated at the rate of three miles to a parasang yield the 1,200 miles of the translator.
[4] Ibid., p. 207.

discourses of the islands of *Rāmnī*, circuit 500 miles (as against 800 parasangs=1,920 miles of Abū Zaid); *Selāmiṭ* (=Ibn Khurdādbih's *Shelāheṭ* and Edrīsī's *Salāhaṭ*), circuit 300 miles,[1] already noticed above (p. 554); and *Ḳāmrūn*, near *Serīrah*, so called from the name of its king.[2] This *Ḳāmrūn* is evidently Edrīsī's extensive and fertile island of *Sūmah, Sabarmah, Shūmah*, or *Tanūmah*, سومة, سبرمة, شومة, تنومة, producing eaglewood, cocoanuts, sandalwood, and camphor, a Buddhist country where cremation is practised and the king bears the name (or title) قامرون, *Ḳāmrūn*. It lies at five days' sailing from *Ḳmār* (Kamboja), is surrounded by numerous islands small in size but inhabited, and the depth of the sea round it is about 40 fathoms; its mountains produce camphor superior to that of all other countries.[3] The Ḳāmrūn king has two islands under his

[1] Ibid., p. 205.

[2] Ibid., p. 198.

[3] Jaubert's "Géographie d'Édrīsī," pp. 82, 83, and 88. Dimashḳī, op. cit., p. 207, mentions a king named *Ḳāmrūn*, reigning over *Ḳmār* (Kamboja). Here we have, evidently, the 古 龍, *Ku-lung*, king of *Fu-nan* of Sui history (Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 441) and T'ang annals (ch. 222, *e*); and above either the title *Ku-lung* or *K'un-lun*, 崑 (or 崐) 崙, of dignitaries in the State of *P'an-p'an* (South-West Siām), or that of king *Chulan, Cholan* (or *Kolam*), reigning over the southern part of the Malay Peninsula during the thirteenth or fourteenth century (see p. 261 above). In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1902, p. 135, I have explained the title *Ku-lung* of the Fu-nan king as being the Môn-Khmēr word *Krung*, meaning 'River,' and, metamorphically, the King, State, or Kingdom (from the fact of every Further Indian State being anciently situated on a river which gave access to its capital, the command of which was tantamount to the possession of the whole State). *K'un-lun* in the sense of *Kollam, Cholan*, etc., I have shown (also above, p. 103) to stand for *Kula, Kola, Kollam*, the name of the pioneer Southern Indian settlers on the Malay Peninsula and northern part of the Archipelago, which became afterwards the name for the *Java* race, now equally incorrectly called 'Malays,' from those same *Kulas* or *Kolas*, who came from *Malaya* or *Malaya-vāra*, i.e. Malabār, and gave its first name to the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. As regards *K'un-lun* as a prefix to the name of dignitaries in *P'an-p'an*, I have been hesitating between *Guru, Khlôñ*, and *Khuṇ-lūang* as its equivalents.

Ḳāmrūn, قامرون, is also employed to designate *Kāmarūpa* or *Kamrūp* (Āsām) by Ibn Khurdādbih and other writers that followed after him; but in the case in point there can be no doubt that the king alluded to under this title reigned over a country situated on Singapore Strait, or, at all events, on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. I much doubt even if our Arabists are correct in identifying the *Ḳāmrūn* country with Kamrūp, for the only information that Ibn Khurdādbih and Edrīsī give us thereon is that the States of king *Ḳāmrūn* abound in rhinoceroses and border upon China. Abū Zaid adds that *Ḳāmrūn* produces the best eaglewood of India (Reinaud, op. cit., p. 135).

sway, named respectively *Famūṣā*, فموصا (Ḳamūsā = *Gomūs* or *Gomespola*?), and *Lāsmah*, لاسمه (= *Basma*, *Bhasman*, *vide supra*, p. 440). The natives of these islands are fair (almost white) complexioned; their women are exceedingly handsome. The men are brave and enterprising; they devote themselves to piracy on skiffs of remarkable speed, especially when they are at war with the Chinese, with whom there exists no truce (or respite).[1] *Sūmah* or *Shūmah* cannot be, as was oddly enough suggested, Sumatra,[2] for that name did not as yet exist in Edrīsī's time (A.D. 1154). The term might at best be referred to *Sumah*, *Simara*, or *Samara*, all names for camphor (see above, pp. 439, 440), and through them to *Samarlāng*,[3] or other district on either the north or west coast of Sumatra.[4] However, such conjectures, based on mere phonetic similarities, do not appear to be sufficiently supported by other evidence. The real connection seems to be with Ibn Khurdādbih's island of قيومه, *Ḳyūma* or *Ḳayūmah* (a misspelling for تيومه or تنومه, *Tyūmah* or *Tanūmah*?), which, he also states, produces eaglewood and camphor;[5] as well as with Sulaimān's *Betūmah* or *Bī-Tūmah*, بتومه; and, through both, with *Tumeras* or *Tembrau*, the Old Singapore Strait,

This is, or was, from an Arabian point of view, far more true of Kamboja (Ḳmār), the ruler of which is likewise, as we have noticed, called *Ḳāmrūn* by Dimaṡḳī. The rhinoceroses that our Arabists find so plentiful in Asām must be *Buceros rhinoceroses*, i.e. *hornbills*, for no other kind is known to be indigenous to that country.

[1] Jaubert, op. cit., p. 91. It is possible that Edrīsī may here have mixed up particulars about the warfare with the Chinese with those of the country of the other *Ḳāmrūn* king, whose states bordered upon China.

[2] Jaubert, op. cit., p. 88, note, where the "Précis de la Géogr. Univers." (t. i, p. 379; and t. iv, pp. 255 et seqq.) is also quoted in support. It was probably from such vagaries, or the reproduction of them in some later work, that Mr. E. H. Parker was misled into stating in the *China Review*, vol. xxiii, p. 257, that "the Arabs of the ninth century [*sic*] had already made use of the word *Sumatra*"!!

[3] *Samarlāng*, سمرلغ, however, or, at any rate, the settlement known by this name, did not come into existence until a few years before the foundation of Sumatra and Pātai, that is to say, about A.D. 1280. The term may, however, have sprung up long before that as a name for the district in which that settlement arose (see Marre's "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," pp. 14, 21).

[4] Perhaps to *Sabrang*, one of its nicknames, for which *vide infra*.

[5] *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p. 291. See also "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 253.

the *Tamus* or *Tamarus Promontorium*, afterwards called *Samara*, etc. Here camphor, eaglewood, and sandalwood come down from the neighbouring borders of the Endau district, and all other conditions suit the description given by the Arab writers just quoted.[1] This holds true, especially of the Ḳāmrūn king, for the "Ṣejarah Malāyu" tells us that a *Rāja Chulan* (=Kollam, Ḳāmrūn?) was in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. reigning over the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula, and had a fort of black stone on the Johor River.[2]

Abū-l-Fedā (A.D. 1321) fully confirms the identity of the island of *Sarīrah* with that on which the capital was situated, by heading his paragraph thereon with the words "Island of the *Mahrāj* or of *Sarīrah*."[3] He then follows

[1] See above, pp. 199, 200. The proposed identification by Van der Lith (op. cit., p. 253) and others of *Betūmah*, *Tyūmah*, etc., with Pulo Tyūman, تيومن, off the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, is certainly unfortunate, for that rocky and sparsely inhabited island is surely not fit to become a station on the sea-route to China. Even admitting that the harbour at which the Arab ships called was on the opposite mainland at the mouth of the Endau, near which is—exult, O Arabists and Sinologists!—a mountain bearing also the name of *Tyūman*, and a cove termed the 'Camphor Cove' (see above, p. 436), the position of the place is not to be compared to that of the Tumerau district on the Old Singapore Strait, the very highway through which all the ships bound to China passed in the old days. The products mentioned could easily find their way thither from the upper reaches of the Endau and the Johor borders, where they are mostly to be found. Besides, the Endau district would be of old, as it has been to this day, a dependency of the power that ruled on Singapore Strait, and the produce from the neighbouring districts would naturally flow there where the capital has always stood from the remotest period. There is, of course, the objection about the distance from *Ḳyūma*, *Sh̲ūma*, or *Tanūma*, to *Ḳmār*, which both Ibn Ḵhurdādbih and Edrīsī state to be *five* days' sailing; whereas Sulaimān and Ibnū-l-Fakīh assign *ten* days to the passage from *Betūma* to *Kadranj* (Koh Troh). But this objection would be of little weight, as Ibn Ḵhurdādbih and Edrīsī are too often unreliable in the distances they give, owing to the manuscripts of their works that reached us being either mutilated or corrupt. Edrīsī, for instance, merely puts down at ten days the distance from the same *Sh̲ūma* to *Ṣandafūlāt* (op. cit., p. 84). If the correct spelling really be *Tyūma* or *Tanūma*, so as to argue a distinct place from *Betūma*, I would then be inclined to locate this place, not at *Tyūman* or on the opposite mainland (which would be yet too far from *Ḳmār* if one could get thither in five days), but at *Talūma* (Talūbin?), the Chinese *Têng-liu-mei*, further up the east coast of the Malay Peninsula (see above, p 524), which lies, as may be ascertained from a map, at almost exactly half distance between *Betūma* (Singapore Strait) and *Kadranj* Harbour (Ha-tien). It will thus be seen that Pulo Tyūmān or the opposite mouth of the Endau will not do for our purpose. From its being within but 90 to 100 miles from Singapore Strait, if objection is taken to *Betūma* on the ground above stated, the objection applies to it as well.

[2] Leyden's "Malay Annals," pp. 10, 12, 13.

[3] Guyard's "Géographie d'Aboulféda," t. ii, pt. 2, p. 132.

with the quotations from Ibn Ṣa'īd and Muḥallabī, which have already been noticed above.

Nowaīrī (A.D. 1320–1332) places Sharīrah, شريرة, as he spells its name, in his first sea, i.e. the Sea of *Ṣanjī*, in which he is misled, apparently, to locate also *Anfūjah*, انفوجه (= Zanzībār?).[1] *Zābej*—or as he writes it, زانج, *Rānej*—he correctly puts in his second sea, the Sea of *Ṣenf* or *Ṣanf*, along with other islands he calls *Barkān*, برکان;[2] *Ḳmār* (Kamboja); *Rāḳī* or *Rādī*, راقی, رادی (perhaps for *Rāmī*, رامی);[3] and *Lankālūs* or *Lanjālūs*, لنكالوس, لنجالوس, which may be the island of Bangkalis in front of Siak (east coast of Sumatra), or else that of Langkachīu (*Lang-ya-hsiu* of Chinese records), abreast of C'hump'hŏn Bay (east coast of the Malay Peninsula; see above, p. 115).

Bakuī (*circâ* A.D. 1430), the imitator of Ḳazwīnī, assigns, like the latter, to *Zābej* a position intermediate between China and India, but nearer to the Indian (Malay?) Peninsula.[4]

With him we have about exhausted the list of Arab authorities who left us useful information about *Zābej*. It will be seen that the identity of its capital and principal district with *Sarbaza* or *Serīra*, i.e. *Śrī-Bhoja*, *Hsien-liu*, or Palembang, is vouched for by no less than three respectable writers, viz., al-Faras, Ibn Ṣa'īd, and Abū-l-Fedā, while it is impugned by none of them, and is besides supported by an overwhelming mass of circumstantial evidence. And yet our

[1] "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 281. This oversight of Nowaīrī has thrown Van der Lith off his bearings altogether, for he (p. 249) takes Nowaīrī's Sea of *Ṣanjī* to mean the Sea of *Zanj*, which is absurd, for this author starts from the east in the enumeration of his six seas, and names *Ṣanjī* first, relegating the *Zanj* Sea to the very end of his list. To be candid, I may say that I still feel very reluctant to pin my faith on our Arabists' identification of *Anfūjah* (or Anḳūja?) with Zanzībār; for it seems that some island or district in the Archipelago is meant.

[2] This term *Barkān* looks very similar to *Prakan*, the name of a district on the coast of Annam referred to above, pp. 292–294.

[3] Again, we have here a term very similar to the *Randaiy*, or *Radaiy*, of the Chām inscription, No. 409, A, 2 (Aymonier's "Inscription Tchames," in *Journal Asiatique*, 1891, p. 42), dated Śaka 1092 = A.D. 1170; meant for the *Radē* tribe now settled on the western borders of Biñ-diñ (Campā).

[4] Dulaurier, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, p. 205.

Arabists and Sinologists have somehow managed to make out that *Zābej* was Java, that its capital stood on Java, and that the empire had been founded by the Javanese.[1] And, strange to say, all this aerial castle of fiction they have built rests on a simple misconception, namely, that the term *Java* embodied in the name *Zābej* cannot, or rather could not, designate any other country but that 'Pearl of Islands,' Java. It is sincerely to be hoped, for the sake of that scientific progress our present generation has so much at heart, that such antiquated theories will now be abandoned in view of the evidence to the contrary we have brought together above. However, to omit no point that may prove one's thesis, I may add that I hold one more argument in reserve which, in my humble opinion, conclusively demonstrates the identity of the capital and seat of the kings of *Zābej* with Palembang. This important particular I was fortunate enough to discover in Captain Bozorg's narratives, and it is to the following effect:—

Captain Bozorg's 102nd 'Ajāib story[2] tells us of an Arab navigator who obtained an audience from the then reigning king of *Zābej*, whose name is recorded as سرناتاكله (or سدناتاكله), *Ser-Nātākalah*. Now, by turning to the Chinese

[1] Excusing Reinaud and Dulaurier for having expressed such views (Introduction to the "Géographie d'Aboulféda," pp. 389, 390; "Relation des Voyages," etc., p. lxxiv; *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, pp. 204–208) at a time when these researches—of which they, the learned Reinaud especially, may be regarded as the founders—were as yet in their initial stage, there is no possible excuse for the Java-aberration of later scholars, such as Van der Lith (see above, p. 557), Takakusu ("Record of the Buddhist Religion," pp. xliii–xliv, where he makes *Zābej* = Java), and many others who represent the most recent research. Chavannes is, however, an exception—the only one as far as I am aware. He, in fact, had, among a number of misconceptions, the clear perception, at least, that *Sarbaza* or *Śrī-Bhoja* must have been the famous *Zābej* of Arab travellers. He, nevertheless, threw out the hint as a mere guess, without attempting to substantiate it, and his suggested connection simply rests, I must point out, on a wrong basis, viz., the analogy, as he explains, between the names *Sarbaza* or *Śrī-Bhoja* and *Zābej* ("Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes," p. 37, note). We shall see directly that such supposed analogy is groundless. Takakusu, loc. cit., instead of taking up the sensible hint, preferred to revert to the old Java theory, now obsolete and also a regression in science.

[2] See "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 154.

account of *San-fo-ch'i* given in the History of the Sung Dynasty, we find mentioned a king *Hsi-li Hu-ta-hsia-li-t'an*, 悉利胡大霞里檀, who sent envoys with tribute to China in A.D. 960 and in the Summer of 961. He must have died before the end of the year last referred to, for in the Winter of the same year, 961, tribute was offered by a new king, 室利烏耶 (=Śrī Oja?), who had evidently succeeded him. Groeneveldt transcribes the name in question *Si-ri-hu-ta-hia-li-t'an*;[1] Takakusu interprets it as *Śrī Kūṭa-harit* or *Śrī Gupta-hārīta*;[2] and Prof. Schlegel gives the unlikely rendering *Srī Uda Haritan*.[3]

It is, however, clear to me that this king is unquestionably the one mentioned in the 'Ajāīb quoted above, whose name is restored by Van der Lith as "Śri Nata-kala."[4] By comparison of this form with the Chinese transcript *Hsi-li Hu-ta Hsia-li-t'an*, we may infer that the original correct name must have been something like Śrī Rudraharita, Hutakālada, Hutta-(or Hotra-)hāla (or hālidda), Udāhāra, etc. Accordingly, the Arabic transcript should perhaps be amended into سرقاتاكله.

As regards the synchronism of both the Chinese and Arab records on the subject of the reign of the potentate in question, there can be no doubt. Although Captain Bozorg does not, in this instance, mention any definite date, but vaguely refers the story concerning that king to some time before the compilation of his work (*circâ* A.D. 955), we can judge from the fact that the stories he tells have been mostly collected from the mouth of seamen during the period between A.D. 901–953,[5] that the anecdote relating to King *Śrī Nātā-kalah* presumably belongs to the same interval. As this same ruler, termed *Srī Huta-halidan* in Sung history, must have died in A.D. 960, or even a year before that—for the envoys he sent cannot have taken less

[1] Op. cit., p. 188.
[2] Op. cit., p. xlii.
[3] *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 125–126.
[4] Op. cit., pp. 154, 207, 233.
[5] See preface to "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. ix.

than one year to reach the Chinese capital (then at *Pien-liang*, now K'ai-fêng Fu, in Honan),—it will be seen that he may very likely have begun to reign, say, twenty or thirty years before that event (or A.D. 930–940), thus allowing ample time for the story concerning him to reach Captain Bozorg's ear, so as to find a place in his book by 955 A.D. or thereabouts. There seems, therefore, no shadow of a doubt that the names Śrī Nātā-kalah and Śrī Huta-halidan refer to one and the same personage who was, as the Chinese and Arabic narratives respectively state, king of *San-fo-ch'i* (= *Sarbaza*, *Śrī-Bhoja*, or Palembang) and Mahārāja of *Zābej*. Hence, surely, *Zābej* = Sumatra, with capital at *Sarbaza* = *Serīva* = *Hsien-liu* = Śrī-Bhoja = Palembang.[1]

Having thus, I venture to hope, proved my contention, it only remains for me to challenge the last argument to which Van der Lith clings in order to justify his identification of the *Zābej* empire with the Island of Java. From the fact that Captain Bozorg mentions[2] *Marḳāwand*, مرقاوند, as a city of *Zābej* where amber (ambergris?) is plentiful, he glibly twists that word into Mazafāwīd, مزفاويد, so as to be able to connect it with *Mājapāhīt*, ماجپاهيت, the name of the famous mediæval kingdom in the eastern extremity of Java.[3] His success in name-changing may be judged by comparing his revised reading with the correct form of the toponymic last referred to, as it occurs in the Javanese chronicles.[4] But, apart from this, to hold that the kingdom of *Mājapāhīt* already existed in Captain Bozorg's time, that is to say, from the first half of the tenth century — whereas its foundation

[1] Although, as he has to confess, Van der Lith could not find in the lists of the kings of Java any name approaching in the least to his Śrī Nata-kala, he yet holds a brief for Java as being *Zābej*, the seat of his power (see "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 233). Alas! Javomania is, I am afraid, incurable.

[2] Op. cit., p. 150.

[3] Ibid., pp. 231–232.

[4] See extract from Javanese chronicle printed by Dulaurier in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1846, pp. 545–546, whence I have taken the above form of the name.

is not in the Javanese chronicles themselves put down earlier than A.D. 1233, and from Chinese records it may be inferred to have taken place between A.D. 1280 and 1293,[1]—is an anachronism for which Van der Lith finds but poor justification.[2] There is further the fact to face that no ambergris is, that I am aware of, collected on the Java coast or its immediate neighbourhood; the centre of its collection and trade being of old, as unanimously stated in both Chinese and Arab records, on the north coast of Sumatra.[3] *Marḳāwand* or *Markāwind*, where amber—so says

[1] See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 158, note. The History of the Yüan Dynasty, bk. 131, translated on the same page, explicitly states that in 1293 Raden Vijaya defended himself against his rival (Aji Katang) at Mājapāhīt, "which place *he had founded* as a basis for his resistance."

[2] The argument he brings forward in support of his idea is, that according to Professor Kern, who bases his opinion on documents found on the Island of Java itself, there already existed in A.D. 840 a king *Uttunga-dêva*, who reigned supreme at Mājapāhīt ("Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 232). But, I ask, is this correct? For, according to Lassen's "Indische Alterthumskunde," 1st ed., vol. iv, p. 482, the very same king *Uttungadeva* is mentioned in an inscription of *ascertained date*, viz. A.D. 1294, where he claims to have subjected five kings and to be sovereign of the 'Island of Java'—*Jawa-dvipa*—which geographical expression is to be taken as meaning, of course, merely the eastern part (and perhaps only the eastern end) of the island. More evidence is therefore required to substantiate Van der Lith's standpoint.

[3] Sulaimān (A.D. 851) tells us that ambergris is found in the Sea of *Harkand* (Bay of Bengal) during the south-west monsoon, and that a small quantity of it is bartered for iron by the natives of the *Lanjabalūs* islands (Nikobārs). (See Reinaud's "Relation," etc., pp. 11, 17.) The last particular is confirmed nearly seven centuries later on by Barbosa, who states that in the islands of *Nauacar* (Nikobār) there is very good ambergris, which is conveyed to Malacca and other places. Mandelslo ("Voyages," Amsterdam, 1727, t. i, p. 81) names, as far as Further India is concerned, Pegu and Bengal as places whence the best ambergris comes. Fei Hsin (A.D. 1436) speaks of a *Lung-yên Hsü* or 'Ambergris Island' near the point of Achīn, North-West Sumatra, which Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 222, identifies with Pulo Rondo, but I myself with Pulo Bras or *Lampuyang*—the *Lampian* [= Lung-[pi]-yen] of old maps—where large quantities of ambergris were collected and brought for sale in the market of *Su-mên-ta-la* (Sumatra city). Ming history, book 325, mentions ambergris among the articles sent as tribute by *Su-mên-ta-la* (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 214); and a passage from the "Pien-i-tien" (presumably taken from records of the Ming dynasty) distinctly states that "*Su-mên-ta-la* is the country which yields ambergris." (See *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 338, and 340 for Chinese text.) The *Tung-hsi-yang-k'au* (A.D. 1618) tells us of the price of ambergris on the Achëh (Achīn) market (ibid., p. 215). From this evidence we see that the north coast of Sumatra was the centre of the ambergris trade in mediæval times; Malacca also sharing in it later on.

Van der Lith, however, adduces in corroboration of his theory a passage from the Pāsai Chronicle stating that the tributary countries lying to the east of Java used to bring to Mājapāhīt offerings of their produce, among which was amber. This was, be it noted, after A.D. 1377, the date of conquest of those countries by Mājapāhīt, and has nothing to do with the period (A.D. 900–950) we are concerned

the text, whether rightly or not corrected into 'ambergris' by the translator yet remains to be seen — is plentiful, should consequently be looked for on that coast. If, on the other hand, it is really a question of amber, we must then locate that seaport either on the coast of Annam or on the Gulf of Martaban.[1] Does not, in fact, *Markāwand*, by an almost imperceptible alteration, thus مرتاوند (Martāwand), look for all the world as the very perfect simulachre of *Martawan* or *Martavan*, the usual way in which the name Martaban is spelt by our early travellers? I shall not, however, allow myself, like my predecessors, to be led away by phonetic resemblances, even although in this case the conjecture is, after all, not so improbable.[2] I may, *per contra*,

with. The Pāsai Chronicle mentions the eastern countries referred to as being Bandān, Sīrān (Ceram), and Larantuka (east portion of Flores); and names, among other articles, nutmegs, cloves, and musk (see Marre's "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," p. 98). This clearly shows that the amber, or rather ambergris, must have come from the Moluccas (Tidore, etc.), which are, with Timor, the nearest places on the east of Java where the spermaceti whale and its product, ambergris, occur. Sonnerat (vol. ii, p. 118) mentions amber as being found in *Yolo* (Sūlū). But prior to that period, i.e. A.D. 1377, when the Island of Java was probably still a *terra incognita* even in the Archipelago and Van der Lith's *Mazafawid* did not yet exist, except retrospectively in his imagination, it is very unlikely that ambergris flowed thither and found there a market.

[1] Amber is spoken of by Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 421) as being, apparently from a very early period, obtained from mines in *Lin-i* (Upper Champā); and, indeed, a certain amount seems to be extracted thence (Annamese territory) to this day. It is said to be derived also from Kamboja (?) and Yün-nan (Li-kiang and Yung-ch'ang districts). Williams ("Middle Kingdom," 1883 ed., vol. ii, p. 398) vaguely states it is found "in the Indian Islands (?) and localities in Annam and Yunnan." The chief source of supply in Indo-China has, however, been for centuries Upper Burmā, where the Hū-Kōng valley in which the *Payen-taung* or 'Amber Hills' are situated (in about 26° 15′ N. lat. and 96° 30′ E. long.) has long become famous for the golden resin. This was worked at Ava, as more recently at Mandalay, into beads for rosaries, various trinkets, and even statuettes and boxes such as were found in the late king of Burmā's treasure and are now kept in the South Kensington Museum. The output of the Hū-Kōng mines was, in 1896-97, about 14 cwts., valued at 2,330 rupees. It has, besides, been noticed in other places in Burmā (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. i, vol. ii, 1900, pp. 294–295). Marini ("Delle Missioni," etc., Rome, 1663, pp. 69, 448) tells us how red amber was carried across from the kingdom of Ava to Eastern Lāos (Wieng Chan), and thence forwarded, always overland, to Tonkin. There is, in conclusion, nothing strange that there should be a market for it, as well as for ambergris (see preceding note), on the Gulf of Martaban. I may here venture to notice how modern works of reference, even the most recent, are sadly deficient in information about this and similar important products of Further India, the particulars about whose history one is left to ferret out for himself in the original literature.

[2] Martaban (see p. 71 above) is recorded to have existed, as a city, since A.D. 576; and as a name of a district it may be even older.

point out that scarcely more than two and a half centuries before Captain Bozorg, I-tsing (A.D. 671–695) tells us of a State or district named *Mo-chia-man*, 末 迦 漫 (=*Makkaban*, *Markaban*, *Markawan*), hitherto unidentified,[1] which may very well be the same place as the *Marḳāwand* of the 'Ajāib. As this last is distinctly stated to be a city on the Island of *Zābej*, i.e. Sumatra, it is evidently only logical to look for it there, and preferably on the north coast. Unfortunately, however, I could not, so far, discover in that tract any place-name resembling the one under consideration, although lower down, on the east coast of the island, there exists a settlement *Makapan* (on the west shore of Brouwer Strait or Selat Panjang, just below the 1st parallel of N. lat.) that may well represent I-tsing's *Makkaban*, but scarcely, I am afraid, the ambergris trading centre *Marḳāwand* of the 'Ajāib. In any case, I trust to have conclusively demonstrated that the proper site for the latter is to be fixed in the northern portion of Sumatra, and not on the Island of Java.[2] And, to meet Van der Lith on his own ground, I may point out that if the 'Ajāib toponymic under discussion is really to be read *Mazaḍāwid* or *Mājapāhīt*, such a name does just as well occur on the east coast of Sumatra, where, in the Langsar district not far south of Perlaḳ, we have a *Mājapāhīt* or *Mānjapāhīt* River (450 yards wide, and at least six feet deep in the entrance, but deeper within) with a village of the same name.[3]

[1] See Takakusu, op. cit., pp. xxxix and l.

[2] The other nearest toponymics, that I am aware of, would be *Bakawan*, a village about 8 miles up the Kateman River, Berhala Strait (*circâ* 0° 16′ N. lat.); and *Mangoman*, an islet lying a little northward of Lagundi harbour, near the southern coast of Sumatra. Professor Schlegel, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 121, suggests that *Mat-ka-man* (Mo-chia-man) may be a transcript of *Marga-man*, and cites Von de Wall's Malay Dictionary to show that in Malay *Marga* means 'tribe' or 'district'; but this is of very little help, even admitting there existed a district *Marga-Mante* (so-called from the Mante tribe in Achēh), of which there is no record. *Marga-Mante* would, of course, very closely represent the Arabic *Marḳāwand* (*Marḳāmant*); but until more evidence is forthcoming we cannot accept such fanciful etymologies. In my opinion *Marḳāwand* argues some form like *Makavan*, *Margavan*, *Martavan*, of which there are closely related examples in the Archipelago; e.g., the *Makapan* alluded to above, *Martapura* in extreme south-east Borneo (north of which, however, we have also a *Margasari*), etc.

[3] It may be objected that this place-name may have been introduced here from the famous *Mājapāhīt* kingdom of Java; but who can tell that the reverse did not happen, the name in question being transplanted from here to Java?

To wind up with the list of the place-names recorded by ancient writers and supposed by modern scholars to represent localities in Java, it only remains to mention *Fo-shih-pu-lo*, 佛逝補羅 (*Bhoja-pura*?), occurring in I-tsing's list of countries in the Southern Sea. Takakusu[1] considers this place as distinct from *Śrī-Bhoja* (Palembang), and—unmindful of the fact that I-tsing never mentions the Island of Java, not even its supposed famous equivalent *Shê-p'o*, and never visited it in the course of his journeys to the south—he attempts to connect it with the *Boja* district and *Boja-nagara* settlement in East Java. Not content with this, he even boldly surmises that "we have here perhaps the origin of the name *Śrī-Bhoja*, for Palembang was certainly a colony of Java." The last dogmatic assertion is only true in so far as concerns the period following A.D. 1377, or thereabouts; and as regards the name *Śrī-Bhoja*, we shall see that, like many others, it is more likely to have been introduced into Java from Sumatra than *vice versa*.[2] In any case, for Sumatra we have the proof in I-tsing that *Śrī-Bhoja* existed on Sumatra as a name for Palembang at least since A.D. 671, it being further recorded under the form *Sarbaza* by Sulaimān in A.D. 851; whereas as regards Java evidence has still to be forthcoming for a still greater antiquity of the term *Bhoja* or *Śrī-Bhoja* there. To me *Fo-shih-pu-lo* or *Bhoja-pura* 'Island,' as I-tsing terms it, is merely the name of the district, or particular township in which the capital *Bhoja* of the *Śrī-Bhoja*—or simply *Bhoja*—State was situated; and it is only by a misconstruction of I-tsing's words that Takakusu is led on to draw such a subtle distinction between the two names.[3]

[1] Op. cit., p. l.

[2] We have a *Bojo* island off the south coast of Tānah-Bāla, on Si-berut Strait, west coast of Sumatra; a *Bojur* islet off the east coast of Bangka; a *Bajur* Bay (Koninginne) on the west coast of Sumatra; a *Baju* village on its north coast (on Meraksa River, Telok Semāwi), etc.; besides a *Si-Boga* city and district down the west coast of the same island (Ta-pian-na-uli Bay).

[3] The only passage in which the term *Fo-shih-pu-lo* occurs is on p. 10 of Takakusu's translation. Therein I-tsing enumerates the 'islands' (in reality

All the above, I feel sure, do away with the mistaken ideas by which Arabists and Sinologists alike have always

states or districts) of the Southern Sea, counting, as he says, from the west, in the following order (the identifications appended are my own) :—

(1) *P'o-lu-shi* island = *Bārūs* district, W. Sumatra.,
(2) *Mo-lo-yu* country (which is now the country of *Śrī-Bhoja*) = *Malāyū* State, south end of Malay Peninsula.
(3) *Mo-ho-sin* island (Bokkasin) = *Pakersang*, N. Sumatra (see Marre's "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," p. 27).
(4) *Ho-ling* island = *Geriang*, west coast of Malay Peninsula.
(5) *Tan-tan* (more correctly *T'a-t'a*) = either Pulo *Terutau* or *Trotto*, Langkāwī group; or *Datu* Point, entrance of Pānei River, east coast of Sumatra; or *Datu* Point, or Baru, on the equator, east coast of Sumatra.
(6) *P'ên-p'ên* island = either *Berba* islet and river, Jambi district, east coast of Sumatra; or *Bemban*, on north-east extremity of Bātang Island, Singapore Strait.
(7) *P'o-li* island = either the *Prai* or the *Pulai* district, west coast of Malay Peninsula.
(8) *K'u-lun* island = either *Kundur* island, off east coast of Sumatra, below Gelam Strait (0° 40′ to 0° 50′ N. lat.), or Pulo *Gālang*, farther to the east.
(9) *Fo-shih-pulo* island = *Bhojapura* district of *Śrī-Bhoja* (Palembang).
(10) *A-shan* or *O-shan* island = either *Āsāhan* district, east coast of Sumatra (3° N. lat.), or *Banju-Asin* (or simply *Asin*) River, close by the north of the Palembang River; or *Asāhan* district, south-east end of Sumatra, 5° 31′ S. lat.
(11) *Mo-chia-man* island = either *Makapan* on Brouwer Strait, *Bakawan* on Kateman River, or *Mangoman* (Magaman ?) island at the southern end of Sumatra.

As may be seen from the list just transcribed, I-tsing follows but casually the order he proposed himself; but at all events he begins at the westernmost point, i.e. Bārūs, ending at about the easternmost, i.e. *Fo-shih-pu-lo* (Palembang) and *Mo-shia-man* (may be Mangoman); his general course being from N.W. to S.E. And yet Takakusu has managed to drag in Pulo Condore and Java! A glance at Professor Schlegel's later attempts to identify the above places in the *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, pp. 109–121, will show that the equivalents he suggests are likewise untenable on some one or other ground. But to revert to our subject. In the above list I-tsing does not at all mean, by No. 2, *Śrī-Bhoja*, as Takakusu would have us to believe; but merely intends to refer to *Malāyū*, which, during his time, or at some later date, became part of *Śrī-Bhoja* (Palembang). Malāyū, we have seen, was 15 days' sail from Palembang, and stood on the southern extreme of the Malay Peninsula, i.e. westward, according to I-tsing's notion, of Palembang; hence, why should he, in alluding to it, include with it Palembang, which should come at about the end of his list among the easternmost countries? This point settled, it will be evident that the real *Śrī-Bhoja* I-tsing had in mind is No. 9, i.e. *Fo-shih-pu-lo* or *Bhoja-pura* (Palembang). This was the capital, the principal district of the sovereign State; *Mo-lo-yu* was but a dependency of it. The distinction that Takakusu is so anxious to draw between *Śrī-Bhoja* and *Bhoja-pura* as being two entirely separate localities (in order that he may drag in some little bit of the Java of his heart) is, therefore, utterly absurd, and in absolute contradiction with both the tenour and spirit of I-tsing's text.

sought to connect *Zābej* and *Shê-p'o* with Java, and unimpeachable evidence will be required to the contrary to prove their pet, but I am afraid now hopeless, thesis. From the fact of its lying so far away in the southern seas, Java evidently remained completely ignored, or but vaguely known to the Chinese and Arabs, until well-nigh the end of the thirteenth century A.D.; while as regards Javanese domination it did not spread beyond the limits of the island itself until about A.D. 1377, the approximate date of the Javanese conquest of Palembang and other neighbouring insular States in the Archipelago. It is therefore idle to talk of Javanese transoceanic empires before that date. For all evidence to hand concurs in showing that the power which was supreme in the Archipelago at an earlier period and became famous in Arabic literature under the name of Zābej had its centre in Sumatra, and precisely at Palembang, at least as far back as the date of I-tsing's arrival there (A.D. 671). Prior to that the seat of power may have stood further to the north, as would appear from the Pāgar-rūyung inscription of A.D. 656 already referred to, and from some circumstantial evidence tending to show that the paramount ruler may have resided somewhere in the Jambi or even Indragiri district. In A.D. 631–640 we get from Yüan-chwang dim echoes of his *Yamana-*, or *Yabana-*, *dvīpa*, which may be one and the same with the *Yava* or *Prathama-Yava* State of the inscription just referred to. Before that, again, we have a Chinese tradition, or rather legend, which shall be referred to further on, according to which the eastern limit of the Sumatran empire was at *San-fo-ch'i*, viz. Palembang, while the western extended to India (extra-Gangem, i.e. Peninsula), thus inducing one to infer that its centre must have stood on the northern part of Sumatra. Still retracing our footsteps into the remote past, and taking note *en passant* of Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'o-t'i*, *Jaba-dē*(śa ?), or *Yabadiŭ*, we reach our goal in Ptolemy's **Iabadiū** or **Sabadiū** at the very dawn of the first century of our era. The sequel is perfectly consistent throughout with historical as well as geographical and ethnological evidence, as will

now appear, after the field has been cleared of all imaginary resemblances which have been set up by our predecessors. We may therefore now proceed unhampered on our way to discuss his data and turn them into useful building material.

IV. *Ptolemy's* Iabadiũ.

According to Ptolemy's geographical data, rectified as shown in our tables, the position of the transverse axis of **Iabadiũ** or **Sabadiũ** becomes fixed between long. 104° 21′ E. and lat. 1° 51′ S. on the west; and long. 105° 48′ E. and lat. 1° 33′ S. on the east; thus embracing the area intervening between the eastern seaboard of the Jambi district abreast of Pulo Bedawang, and the north coast of Bangka until a little beyond the eastern point of entrance to Kelabat Bay. Allowing for a slight error in excess of longitude, we may shift these two extremities of the axis of **Iabadiũ** a little back until the eastern one coincides with the eastern seaboard of the Jambi district in lat. 1° 33′ S. as indicated, when the western one will fall on the Tambesi River (the principal tributary, from the right, of the Jambi); and we shall then have pretty nearly the whole width of the Jambi district included within the limits of the Ptolemaic **Iabadiũ**. How far this island extended, in the conception of our author, northwards and southwards of the axial line just now determined, he left us no data to judge by. All the same, from the oldest available reproductions—or imitations—of his maps, it may be argued that the axis above referred to was the major one, i.e., that it represented, according to his notions, the length of the island, its width being reckoned by him about one-half of that. There can thus be no doubt that his conception of the extent of the island was far short of reality; although it may be pleaded in extenuation of his shortcomings in this respect that if, as we have suggested, the insular groups of the **Barusai**, **Sabadeibai**, and **Sindai** scattered, according to him, off the west coast of his **Iabadiũ**, both on the north and south, really represent portions of the west coast of Sumatra

(i.e. respectively the Bārūs, Padang, and Indrapura districts) mapped separately by him under the impression that they were distinct islands, and not contiguous parts of a single whole, of which his Iabadiū was but the mutilated torso, his share of responsibility in the matter would then be considerably reduced. For his error would then merely consist in his having handed down to us the tradition of these *disjecta membra* instead of a compact, connected whole. In thus proceeding he was naturally misled by his informants, who were not as yet sufficiently acquainted with Sumatra to perceive that its coast stretched in an unbroken line for 960 miles from north to south.[1] And this ignorance of the real extent of the island continued, as we have seen, for over eleven centuries after him, ending, as far as the European world was concerned, with Marco Polo—who, first of all known travellers, no longer spoke of those portions of

[1] As regards those informants, they were, like the later travellers, Arab and Chinese, misled in their own turn by the peculiar style of nomenclature followed by the natives in designating the various portions of the southern Asiatic continent and Archipelago. It is important to remember that Orientals—I speak especially of those of Further India—have no generic terms, nor ever thought or felt the necessity of inventing them, not only for the great divisions of the earth's surface (continents, regions, peninsulas, etc.), but even for the less extensive tracts of land (such as e.g. large islands, isthmuses, etc.). The only words their scanty vocabulary supplies them with for denoting the multifarious features just referred to are at the very outside three, viz., one meaning 'land' (*sthāna, thāna, tānah*, etc.); the second meaning 'country' or 'kingdom' (*rāṣṭra, rattha, rē*, etc., in some instances, and in others *nagara, negri, nagor, nakhōn*, etc., which signifies at the same time the capital); the third meaning 'island' (*dvīpa, dīpa, dīv, dīu, pulo, t'koḥ, koḥ*, etc.), which is, however, applied to the smallest islands only. The Chinese have very ambiguous terms: (1) *chou*, 州, = an islet, a department or political division, province, district; (2) *chou*, 洲, an islet, a continent; (3) *shan*, 山, meaning a mountain, a hill, a mountain range, as well as an island; and (4) *hsü*, 嶼, meaning an island, generally of small size. In the Archipelago the terms almost exclusively used are: *tānaḥ*, for country, land, territory; and *pulo* (replaced in some parts by *nusa, gili*, etc.), for island (of a small size). The term *negri* = country, region, territory, state, nation, capital, city, is but seldom used. It is with this very limited linguistical stock-in-trade that the populations of Further India have to meet all exigencies of geographical nomenclature in so far as the designation of parts of the earth's surface are concerned. But for the largest of these parts they have not, as I remarked, generic names: they simply rest content by calling each of their smaller divisions (country, realm, district) by a certain specific name, leaving the whole to go down nameless to *Ewigkeit*, quite unconcerned. Who has ever heard, for instance, that Orientals ever devised a name for, say, Asia; that Indūs ever had a comprehensive name for the Indian Peninsula, or the Chinese for

Sumatra as separate islands, but as of contiguous kingdoms —whereas it continued for some time to be handed down in both Arabic and Chinese literature. One redeeming

China; that native designations ever existed for the whole of, say, Indo-China, or the Malay Peninsula, or the Archipelago and its various sections? Nor is this all. When we come to islands (except of the very smallest size) we find no one collective name for them as a whole, but distinct designations for each distinct ethnographical or political division of them. When speaking of Ceylon (see pp. 380–382) I have shown that *Nāga-dīpa*, which has been taken by some writers as a quite distinct island, was really a portion of Ceylon; and from this example I am led to doubt as to whether there really was a comprehensive name for the whole island, those hitherto believed to be such (*Sīhala*, *Tambapaṇṇī*, *Maṇidīpa*, *Ratnadvīpa*, etc.) being but, perchance, specific designations for distinct portions (or districts) of the island. But reverting to the Archipelago, it is of the greatest importance to point out that no island of any considerable size ever had a comprehensive name denoting the whole of it. It is with Europeans, and with Europeans alone, that originated the terms Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Madura, Bāli, Lombok, Sumbāwa, Flores, Celebes, etc., as comprehensive names for those considerable islands. The natives never thought of inventing a comprehensive designation for each of them, but merely denoted each particular district of them by a specific name of '*Tānah* so and so,' i.e. 'So-and-so's Land.' It would be too long to give here examples; the respectable list of names sometimes belonging to a single island (mistaken by many of our geographers for alternative designations for *the whole* of that particular island, whereas they merely denote *distinct portions* of it) are sufficient proof of my assertion. To give but two instances, take e.g. Flores, variously known as *Endē*, *Mangerai*, *Lavantuka*; and Lombok, known besides as *Salapārang* (or Selāpāran), *Tānah Sīsak*. etc.—all names of particular districts or ethnographical sections of them! And these are but medium-sized islands. Just think, now, what would happen with large islands like Sumatra, Java, and Borneo. The names the foreign traveller would hear would be as many as the sections of the island where he would happen to land. And in the event of his not being sufficiently acquainted with the entire coast of each section so as to know that all are part and parcel of one and the same island, he would be led to infer that it is a question of a group of distinct islands and not of a single one. On the other hand, should the foreign traveller alluded to chance to land at a single point of a certain island and learn the name by which that particular section of the island is called by the natives, he would be led to think this to be the denomination applied to the whole of that island. This is exactly what occurred with the early Western travellers, to whom the whole of the islands of Sumatra and Borneo became so known from a single district on either of them; while, on the contrary, Java and Sunda struck them as two separate islands (though being both districts of Java), because they happened to land at places situated on either of these districts. The same occurred to the early Chinese navigators, who, as we have seen, thought Sumbāwa and Sangar (both on Sumbāwa Island) to be two distinct islands, and took many a district on the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Borneo to be all islands. Absolutely identical was the case with the Arabs, who likewise regarded *Bāmnī* (Lambri), *Sarbaza* (Palembang), and other places (all parts of Sumatra), as so many islands. It may therefore be argued with sufficient reason that Ptolemy's informants were under the same impression, whence his mistake, as referred to above. And it will be seen furthermore that those modern writers who translate *Tānah Malāyū* by 'Malay Peninsula,' *P'o-lo* by Borneo, and so forth, meaning, of course, the whole of such great territorial entities as actually understood by us under such names, are not only showing ignorance of the nature and spirit of native geographical terminology, but unconsciously misleading the unwary reader.

feature with Ptolemy is, however, the fact of his having handed down to us from so remote a period the record of so many districts of Sumatra Island (Bārūs, Saba, Sinda or Sunda or Indrapura), and last, but not least, of the capital of its paramount kingdom, **Argyrē**, which, corresponding, as we shall see, to the present Achëḥ, demonstrates at any rate that he had some idea as to the extent of the island so far westward.

But passing on now to a more minute investigation of the nature and purport of the term **Iabadiū** or **Sabadiū**, he has recorded as the (in reality, only middle and northern portions) Island of Sumatra, we at once find ourselves puzzled by the derivation he gives of its name. For his statement is most explicit on this point: the term in question means, he tells us, 'Island of Barley': "*Ἰαβαδίου* (*ἡ Σαβαδίου*), *ὅ σημαίνει χριθῆς, νῆσος.*"[1] This apparent crux need not, however, disconcert us. He here again repeats what his informants were told on the subject by the early Indū traders. And we know from experience gained during the course of the present inquiry that genuine scientific etymology, as now understood by us, is not, or at least was not in the old days, the forte of Oriental peoples, no more, indeed, than it was even about a century ago with ourselves. When the origin of a particular term was obstinately puzzling and could not readily be detected, the course adopted by those good people was to invent one to suit their taste and fancy. Throughout the preceding pages we have met with many an example of such amusing etymologies, concocted on the lines laid down in the "Diversions of Purley" by some Oriental Horne Tooke. In the case in point, then, it is not difficult to guess what actually did happen. The early Indū traders, being at a loss to account for the meaning of the racial term *Java* or *Cʿhawā* they found applied to a certain section —the most enterprising and progressive—of the native population of Northern and Eastern Sumatra, somewhat

[1] "Geographia," lib. vii, ch. 2, § 29.

misled, as we shall see directly, by the chance coincidence of a peculiarly large kind of millet growing there, evolved *ipso facto* a derivation from *Yava*, 'barley,'[1] corroborating it, moreover, with a legend which we give below, invented *ad hoc* as their kinsmen and followers have done for other ethnonymics or toponymics in various parts of Further India.[2] And it goes without saying that the rude and ignorant natives—dazzled by the many-sided lore possessed by some of those early traders and emigrants, and by the Brāhmans and Buddhist monks, who naturally in the course of time followed in their wake—accepted all they were told as gospel, just as we had occasion to notice in other countries of the same region.[3] Ignorant of their own origin, owing to the absence as yet of written records, they gladly accepted those which the cultured foreigners had fabricated for them —exactly as many a Western parvenu accepted the pedigree that some shrewd genealogist had traced back for him to the Crusades, to Charlemagne, or to the knights of the Round Table.

And now to the legend above referred to. I must preface it, however, with the remark that it comes to us, clad in poetic garb, from the Island of Java, although there is scarcely any doubt that it has migrated thither from Sumatra, together with the term *Java* or *Yava* with which it is indissolubly connected. Perhaps it may be yet possible to trace it in the last-mentioned island. It is to the following effect:—[4]

A king of Hastināpura (on the Ganges), by the name of Aji-Śaka, was the first Indū adventurer who reached Java,

[1] The Sung History (bk. 489) positively states of *San-fo-ch'i* (*Sarbaza* or Palembang), under the date A.D. 905, that "the country *does not produce barley*, but rice and green and yellow peas" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 187).

[2] The form *Yavana*, another *lucus a non lucendo* derived from the same words *Java* or *C'hawā*, in the north of Indo-China (see above, pp. 128, 150), was probably also circulating in the south, if it were the real prototype of Hwên-tsang's *Yen-mo-na* (*Yabanā* (?); see pp. 463–464).

[3] See e.g. p. 266 above, as regards the legend about king Sagara in Southern Campā.

[4] See Winter & Roorda's "Adji Saka," Amsterdam, 1857; *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, Paris, 1880, t. ii, p. 293, etc.

then called *Nusa Mendang*[1] and peopled by Rākṣasas. Finding there an edible kind of grain called *Yava* or *Java*, he changed the name of the island into *Nusa Java*. Having in due course subdued the cannibal Rākṣasas, he founded cities, taught the people to write, and established the Śaka Era, so called after him, in A.D. 78.[2]

To prove that all this is mere invention, it will suffice to point out that the allusion is to the mythical Indū king Śālivāhana, the fabled founder in India of the so-called Śaka or Śālivāhana Era, which does not seem to have come into use until several centuries later than the initial year of that era.[3] The only scintilla of truth embodied in the legend just referred to lies apparently in the reference made to the grain found growing on the island, which,

[1] Java is alleged to have been known, at a still more remote period than when the Indū immigration took place, as *Nusa Horo-horo*, or 'Desert Island,' and *Nusa Kendeng*, or 'Island of the mountain-ranges' (see Dulaurier in *Journal Asiatique*, 1847, p. 244). Its capitals are said to have been successively at *Kuripan*, *Jangola* (or Jaṅgālā), *Mendang Kamulan*, *Astina* (Hastina?), *Giling Wesi*, *Pajajaran* (in the vicinity of the present Buitenzorg, south of Batavia; A.D. 1280–1356?), *Mājapāhit* (A.D. 1356–1475, or 1280–1475?), and *Demak* (1475–1478?). There can be no doubt, however, that several of these cities coexisted contemporaneously as capitals of separate states.

[2] The Javanese Śaka era has not for several centuries corresponded with the original, owing to the defective lunar calendar adopted there, it is said, in A.D. 1633. The divergence from the Indū Śaka amounts at present to four years in excess. This led some writers to infer that the Javanese era began in A.D. 74, which does not seem to be the case. The Javanese envoys to China are related in Ming history (bk. 324) to have presented "a letter stating that their kingdom had been founded 1376 years before, that is, in the first year of the period Yüan-k'ang of the Emperor Hsüan of the Han dynasty (B.C. 65)" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 165). However, 1432–1376 = A.D. 56, a discrepancy which Groeneveldt, loc. cit., is at a loss to account for. Probably there is an error of 100 in excess in the number of years stated as having elapsed from the foundation of the kingdom, which should in this case be read 1276 instead of 1376, when we should obtain 1432–1276 = A.D. 156. But the error may be of several hundreds of years as far as we know; and evidently not only the Javanese who did the reckoning, but also the Chinese who went on comparing dates with their own chronology, were not mathematicians.

[3] "In Northern India the earliest inscription which is avowedly dated in the Śaka era is that dated Śaka 784 at Deogarh in the Lalitpur subdivision of the Jhānsī District" (Vincent A. Smith in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for January, 1903, pp. 36–37). Earlier inscriptions in Western India may be dated in the same era, but this is by no means certain just yet. In Kamboja, however, the Śaka era appears on inscriptions as early as A.D. 629; in Champā even earlier (A.D. 479–577); and in Burmā in A.D. 610 (Kuzeik pagoda inscription at Pagān).

though not barley, but being presumably of a size similar to barley, was nevertheless called *Yava*, i.e. 'barley' (this being its Sanskrit name),[1] by the Indū immigrants (and not by the natives) in order, as we pointed out, evidently to obtain a source from which to trace the derivation of the name *Java* or *C'hawā* borne by the population of the island. Ptolemy's mention of the meaning currently ascribed in his time to the term *Java* or *C'hawā* proves two things, and very important withal, viz.: (1) that in his time Indū immigrants had already settled on the island and concocted the etymology, with very probably also the accompanying legend in a similar form to that referred to above; and (2) that the island in which these events occurred was Sumatra (the northern half of it corresponding to his **Iabadiū**), and not Java. It follows, therefore, that both etymology and legend must have originated in Sumatra, whence they were in the course of time introduced into Java as I have shown.

But there is yet one more clue to show that the cradle of those linguistic and myth-making feats was really Sumatra. Such a clue is, in my opinion, to be found in the account of the voyage, seemingly not so fabulous as has hitherto been thought, of the Greek traveller and writer Iambulus, preserved to us by Diodorus Siculus at the end of the second book of his Universal History.[2] Therein it is stated in the words of Iambulus himself, whose account Diodorus has transcribed at some length, that Iambulus, having been made a slave by the Æthiopians, was sent away by his captors with a companion in a boat which carried them to a happy island in the Eastern seas. After seven years' stay in this island they were ejected by the natives, whereupon having fitted a skiff they set sail, and after a voyage of four months reached the sandy shallows of India (Sunderbands ?). Thence Iambulus alone (his companion

[1] *Java* is the Telugu name for *Hordeum hexastichum* (see Forbes Watson's "Index to Indian Plants," p. 219, s.v.); and everywhere else in India *Jav*, *Yava*, or *Yavala* mean some variety of barley.

[2] "Bibliothēkē," lib. ii, ch. 57.

having got drowned while attempting to land) was carried away by the inhabitants to *Polibothra* (Pāṭaliputra), many a day's journey from the sea. At length, after several incidents, he safely arrived in Greece, where he committed all his adventures to writing.

The happy island in the Eastern seas on which Iambulus had made so lengthy a stay has been supposed by some to be Ceylon, despite the fact that the space of four months stated to have been occupied in the passage thence to the Gangetic Delta well argues that it must have lain far more remote from the shores of India, and should therefore be sought for in the Eastern Archipelago. The description given of it suits remarkably well with Sumatra, especially in the particular points of thermal springs,[1] of the sun shining straight overhead and the polar star becoming invisible,[2] of the natives having their ears bored,[3] of a deadly grass,[4] etc. The circuit of the mysterious island is stated to be but 5,000 stadia, equal to about 500 miles, which would be, of course, far too short for Sumatra; but as it is added that there are seven more islands close by of the same size, it is very probable that these islands are, as in other instances inquired into by us, merely adjoining districts of Sumatra.

[1] Sulaimān (see Reinaud, op. cit., p. 21) mentions a hot well at the foot of the volcanic mountain near *Zābej*.

[2] Marco Polo notices the same fact of Java Minor (Sumatra) in general, and of the State of *Samara* (Sumatra) on its north coast in particular, adding when he reached *Comari* (the country about Cape Komorin, in the extreme south of India) that something could be seen there of the North Star, which he had not been able to see since reaching Lesser Java. Odoric records, when speaking of *Lamori* (Lambri, N.W. Sumatra), that he had lost sight of the North Star. As regards the sun being straight overhead, I-tsing mentions (Takakusu, op. cit., pp. 143–144) that no shadow is cast at midday by the gnomon at Śrī-Bhoja during the equinoctial periods.

[3] Nicolò Conti says of Taprobana or *Sciamuthera* (Sumatra): "The ears both of the men and women are very large, in which they wear earrings ornamented with precious stones" (Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century," pt. ii, p. 8). He does not in the slightest refer to this custom when speaking of the Greater Java, i.e. Java proper.

[4] *Ipoh* or *Upas* tree. Odoric speaks of trees bearing a terrible poison in *Natem*, *Panthen*, or *Calamak* (*Malāyu* kingdom on Old Singapore Strait, see p. 537). Fei-hsin (A.D. 1436) says of Āru or Hāru, east coast of Sumatra: "Every man carries a bow and poisoned arrows to protect himself" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 217).

In such a case, the coastline of these districts joined together would give us a total not much inferior to the circuit of Sumatra.

The truthfulness of the above description appealed before this to a Portuguese gentleman alluded to by Ramusio as well acquainted with the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, who had no hesitation in identifying as Sumatra the happy island that had hospitated Iambulus.[1]

But there is more yet. The alphabet in use among the natives of that elysium is described as consisting of seven characters, each of which is capable of undergoing four different transformations, so as to produce in the aggregate twenty-eight letters or logograms. The important information is moreover added that the order followed by the writing is from top to bottom—all features that stamp that system of graphology as peculiar to Sumatra. The Battak there have, in fact, and from time immemorial, a system of writing disposed in vertical columns from top to bottom and then from left to right.[2]

[1] Ramusio's "Navigationi et Viaggi," 1563 ed., vol. i, pp. 174 seqq. Lassen understood the island of Iambulus to be Bāli; but Colonel Wilford declared for Sumatra. And yet Lucian, in his "Verae Historiae" (i, 3), summarily pilloried Iambulus along with Ktēsias as a writer of fables. But the same happened with Marco Polo, Mendez Pinto, and other travellers, whose generally veracious stories the Western world would not believe until very recently, when they could be verified.

[2] Lacouperie rashly argued on this sole ground that Batta writing "is undoubtedly a degraded type of Indian descent, through the old Kawi of Java" ("Beginnings of Writing," London, 1894, p. 93). But how did he know that the famous Kāwi originated in Java, and was not on the contrary introduced thither from Sumatra, undoubtedly the stepping-stone through which Indū civilization reached Java? Batta writing may therefore be, not the degenerate type, but the fossilized prototype of the Kāwi which afterwards attained so perfect a development in Java (and perhaps, before that, in Sumatra itself). What survived in the mountain fastnesses of the Batta country is very likely the embryonic form of that writing, as employed in the remotest days all over Sumatra. This, owing to the comparatively isolated condition of the Battas, could continue to be handed down unchanged, from generation to generation, amongst them, whilst undergoing steady improvement in the lowlands nearer the seaboard. As to the Battak being acquainted with this system of writing from a very early period, there can be no doubt, for their magic-books, written on bark and recording various stories and events, are very ancient. A system of writing similar to theirs seems to have been in favour all over the Archipelago. The Tagals in the Philippines employed fifteen characters, of which twelve were consonants and three vowels, that served as five, and wrote from top to bottom "on canes [bamboos]." (See De Morga's "Philippine Islands," London, Hakluyt Soc.,

And now we come to the most essential point for us. Diodorus refers, always following Iambulus, to a large kind of grain growing on the island where the latter resided. This grain Ramusio's Portuguese informant thought to be either Indian corn or a large variety of millet used as an article of food in the East Indies. We thus have, I think, in Iambulus' statement, the oldest link — dating from the end of the second century B.C. — in the chain connecting the notion as to the existence of a large kind of grain on Sumatra with the spurious etymology contrived in order to account for the name *Java* or *C'hawā* of the race that inhabited it, and with Ptolemy's consequent explanation of the term **Iabadiū** or *Javā*, *Yava-dvīpa*, as 'Island of Barley.' The falsity of that derivation is clearly shown from the fact of Ptolemy having also put on record the alternative designation **Sabadiū**, from which we may legitimately infer that although the fictitious etymology *Yava-dvīpa*, with the legend attached to it, was already current in his time, the real name *Java*, *C'hawā*, of the island (derived from that of the race that held supremacy over it) was, on the other hand, by no means unknown.

I trust, therefore, to have conclusively proved that the names *Java*, *Yava*, etc., with the various stories, partly genuine and partly invented, connected with them, were peculiar to Sumatra (especially its northern part) long before they became localized in Java, whither they were imported from the former island. Sumatran civilization, brought about by Indū influence, is, beyond doubt, far older than the Javanese. Not only is there evidence as to Sumatra having been already known, and perhaps settled, by the early Phœnician traders at a no less remote epoch

1868, pp. 294–5.) The Bhīmas of Sambāwa wrote, it appears, likewise. Prinsep (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1837, vol. vi, p. 476) found Iambulus' description of the writing in his mysterious island exact and true. Lacouperie ("Beginnings of Writing"), who at first (p. 94) doubtfully suggested Ceylon as its location, inclined in the end (p. 197) "in favour of Sumatra-Java, which, as known at present, were not separated in antiquity" [?!]. And he winds up by declaring that "at the end of the second century B.C. the Greek Iambulus described rather accurately, as a writing of that island, the Kawi syllabary originally from India."

than five, if not more, centuries before the Christian era;[1] but all indications concur in showing that the civilization

[1] See Park Harrison's note on "'Phœnician Characters from Sumatra" in the *Journal Anthropological Institute*, April, 1875 (vol. iv, No. 2), pp. 387-388, where the writer compares Rejang writing on ancient bamboo tablets, such as is still in use in the districts of Rejang, Lemba, and Pasūmah, with Phœnician characters, finding an identity in form in nearly the whole of the letters. Both in Java and Sumatra—he proceeds to say, on the authority of Raffles ("History of Java," p. 85) and Marsden ("Sumatra," p. 3, note, 2nd ed.)—"written traditions, mixed with fable, refer to the arrival of ships in remote times, and at two different epochs, from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf—in the one case at a time when vessels still coasted round the Bay of Bengal; in the other, in the age of Alexander, who is said to have built a bridge 'in the sea,' which may mean that ships commanded by some of his officers arrived direct from India. Three of his descendants are also said to have become kings of Palembang, etc. The ships would have been manned principally by Phœnician sailors." Lacouperie ("Beginnings of Writing," p. 77) did not seem to believe in a connection between Rejang and Phœnician characters. The question, however, was revived almost immediately after his death, in "Archæologia Oxoniensis," part vi (1895), pp. 297–303, where the Rejang characters are declared, on the evidence of specialists such as Rénan and Professor Sayce, to be not only clearly Phœnician in form, but presenting marks of adaptation that point to Greek influence, such as might have been exerted on Tyrian epigraphy during the course of Nearchus' voyages. Dr. Neubauer is stated, in fact, to consider the shapes of the letters as those of the fourth or fifth century B.C., which would synchronize closely with the destruction of Tyre and the deportation of the Tyrian sailors to India. Some of the vessels built by the Phœnician shipwrights who were deported to the Indus for that purpose, it is surmised, may have proceeded southwards, in which case it would seem not unlikely that the Tyrian crews of some of them may have seized the opportunity of regaining their freedom, and either themselves have followed the old trade-route to the East, or, if they arrived there in ships commanded by Greek officers, may have deserted and acquired a new home in Sumatra; and so the Phœnician characters would have been introduced in the districts now perhaps inhabited by their Malayo-Polynesian descendants. It is further urged that after the successful voyage of Nearchus and Onesicritus in ships built by those Phœnician shipwrights, from the Indus to the mouth of the Tigris, and the narration by the former of his adventures to Alexander at Susa (end of February, B.C. 324), a long interval elapsed (15 months), during which both captains disappear entirely from the scene. They are heard of again shortly before the death of Alexander, who, according to Plutarch (confirmed by Quintus Curtius), was met by Nearchus on his approach to Babylon, and on the second day of his fatal illness heard from him the history of his voyage on the ocean, from which, it is said, he had returned. Quintus Curtius writes, in fact (lib. x, ch. 1), in a brief allusion to the meeting, that Alexander had ordered Nearchus and Onesicritus to proceed on a more distant voyage, and this is what Nearchus, or both of them, related to their sovereign just before he died (June, 323 B.C.). Although Dean Vincent supposed this to refer to the coasting voyage, it is possible that a second voyage is alluded to, the inducement to which may have been supplied by an account of an Arab pilot, met with, as we know, by Nearchus on the coast of Gedrosia, and who rendered him important services in navigating his ships.

See also *Geographical Journal*, 1896, p. 659; and *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1896, pp. 202–3, for reviews and notices. Burnell's "South Indian Paleography," 2nd ed., pp. 3, 7, 9; *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, January, 1897, p. 60; etc., for sundry remarks and allusions.

I am, however, of opinion that Phœnician navigators were acquainted with the north coast, at least, of Sumatra even long before the time of Alexander,

introduced into the Archipelago from Southern India travelled on to Java by way of Sumatra, so that this latter was, so to speak, its first centre,[1] and acted as a stepping-stone to its further progress towards the more outlying islands. Even as regards the Kāwi (or Kāvi) alphabet, acknowledged on all sides to have originated from Southern India, its Sumatran types have been recognized to be slightly archaic as compared with those of Java,[2] a fact arguing that they must have been adopted in Sumatra before reaching Java.

The "San-ts'ai T'u-hwei" (by Wang K'i, pub. 1607) has preserved to us an account of a Sumatran State called

although the characters in question (which include Cypriote forms found in inscriptions at Citium, their introduction being accounted for from the fact of there having been Cypriotes among the crews of Nearchus' fleet) may have really reached Sumatra later on through some one or other cause. Burnell (op. cit., p. 3) is disposed to concede that the Phœnicians who voyaged for Solomon came to Southern India at least, and dates their commercial intercourse with India from the seventeenth century B.C. (p. 9), adding that it must have ceased, in a direct way, full five hundred years B.C., if not more (p. 9). I go still further, and have good reason to maintain that *Achëḥ* or *Dachëḥ*, the *Ta-shih* of the Chinese, so often confounded by them with *Tājika* or Arabia, was almost undoubtedly, if not exactly the Biblical *Tarshish*, at any rate a Phœnician settlement named after it; the famous *Ophir* lying not very far away, to wit, on the Malay Peninsula (**Khrysē**), or near the northern shore of the Gulf of Martaban (**Khrysē Khōra**, with its city **Sabara**, the *Suvarṇabhūmi* of Buddhist fame). Again, in the name of *Pāni* or *Pānei*, east coast of Sumatra, we may have a relic of the terms *Punt*, *Punit*, *Pœni*, *Puni*, *φοῖνιξ*, transplanted here by the *Puni* or Phœnicians themselves. I cannot afford space to enter here on the long discussion that the treatment of such a question would entail; hence I propose to deal with it separately elsewhere. Suffice, however, to have thrown out the hint and foreshadowed a novel probable solution for the Ophir problem. *Jobab*, *Javan*, and *Sheba*, or at all events counterparts of them created by the Phœnician settlers in Further India, can easily be detected in *Jaba* (North Sumatra) and *Sabaḍ* or *Shê-p'o* (Malay Peninsula and Burmā), while in Malacca, if the name, as we have previously noticed, is really ancient as it seems, we may have the toponomastic indication of an ancient Phœnician settlement named after (or for the same reasons as) *Malaca* on the coast of Spain. And with this we must stop for the present.

[1] Skinner in his "Eastern Geography" says: "It was by the great rivers of Palembang, Jambi, Indragiri, and Kampar, before whose embouchures these islands [of the Johor Archipelago] lie, that the Hindus of Ceylon and Southern India must have gradually carried civilization into the interior of Southern Sumatra. The Indragiri, in particular, appears to have been crowded with Hindu-Malay settlements" (quoted by Dennys, op. cit., p. 221). However, neither the author here nor indeed anyone else who has so far treated of these matters has ever understood the part played by the north coast of Sumatra, especially the Achëḥ district, in the transmission of that civilization. See the sequel of the text above, and the section devoted to Ptolemy's **Argyrē** following next.

[2] See Burnell's "South Indian Palæography," 2nd ed., London, 1878, p. 134.

Fo-lo-an, 佛囉安, which could be reached by sea in four days' and nights' sailing from *Lin-ya-sz*, 凌牙斯, and also by land.[1] In this country were two brass statues of divinities which had arrived there by flying (probably aboard some ship), one having six arms (Avalokiteśvara ?) and the other four (Viṣṇu ?), and whose birthday took place on the 15th of the sixth month. Whenever outlanders wished to come in order to steal the pearls and jewels in the temple of these divinities, a violent storm and waves arose as soon as they arrived at the mouth of the river, so that their ships could not enter it.[2]

Professor Schlegel identifies the two statues with *Kwan-yin*, the *Avalokiteśvara* of India, till this day represented with

[1] Mentioned also by Chao Ju-kua; see *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, p. 130, and *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1896, p. 478. Its neighbours were, according to Chao Ju-kua:—

(1) *P'êng-fêng*, 蓬豐 (Bungbung, Bung-gung), very likely the *Monggong* of the Pāsai chronicle (Marre, op. cit., p. 75) on North Sumatra, although the Chinese spelling suggests something like *Bangong* or *Bung-gung*. The Chinese map of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, 1885) has a *P'ing-fêng* mountain, 屏風山, a little east of *Nan-wu-li* (*Lambri*), north coast of Sumatra, which may be the same place as *P'êng-fêng*; for, although the spelling differs, the pronunciation is practically identical.

(2) *Têng-ya-nêng*, 登牙儂, identified by me with absolute certainty with *Trieng-gading*, north coast of Sumatra, a little to the west of Samalangan.

(3) *Chia-chi-lan-tan* (Kākilantan), 加吉蘭舟, may be *Gigieng*, between Beureuleung and Trieng-gading; but more likely some toponymic (such as Kāki-lontar, Kāki-lintang, Kāki-lintar) that has disappeared, or is not recorded on the as yet incomplete maps of North Sumatra.

[2] See *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 402. Here we gather the important information that *Fo-lo-an* stood on the banks of a navigable river, which it is well to remember. Professor Schlegel appears to have forgotten this fact when he (op. cit., p. 404) suggests two insignificant places named *Puluan*, lying very far inland (one in the southern portion of Palembang, and the other in the Semangka district, near the southern extreme of Sumatra), which sea-going vessels could certainly not reach except by flying, like the statues in the legend related above. Our identification of *Fo-lo-an* is, it will be seen, far more justified, it being besides corroborated by that of its neighbouring district *Têng-ya-nêng*, which is undisputably *Trieng-gading* as suggested above.

a triple head. His birthday tallies exactly with that of *Ma-tsu-p'o*, "Our Lady of Births," the Chinese patroness of sailors, "who herself is again identified with *Kwan-yin*, the legend of whose birth in the southern seas is thereby strikingly confirmed. According to this legend . . . the father of Kwan-yin had a kingdom extending westwards to India, northward to *Siem-lo* (Siam), eastwards to *Fo-ch'i* [*Bhoja* or Palembang, if not Pāsai], and southward to *T'ien-chên*, 天 眞 [Indrapura?]"—in other words, including the northern half, if not the whole, of Sumatra.[1]

Kwan-yin is often represented with a horse-head surmounting the triple crown he wears; and in the form of a magic horse is fabled to have saved Siṁhala, said to have been the original king of Ceylon, from shipwreck when he first sailed thereto from Southern India. Kwan-yin's birthplace is further located at *Fo-ch'i* (Bhoja),[2] whence we may infer that this divinity must be connected with the sea-horse of the Arabic legend, as well as with the hippocephalic form assumed by Viṣṇu in the sea of the Archipelago of Indū myth.[3]

Professor Schlegel is at a loss to identify *Fo-lo-an*, and suggests a few unacceptable equivalents. But I have scarcely any doubt that it is *Berūan* or *Barwān*, mentioned in the chronicle of Pāsai[4] as lying on the north

[1] *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, pp. 403–404.

[2] See De Groot's "Fêtes annuelles," vol. i, pp. 188–189, and *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, p. 177; also Eitel's "Handbook," 2nd ed., pp. 23 and 154, for the legend.

[3] See below, in the section treating of **Argyrē**. As regards the marine horse of Arabic legend, see p. 558, where Ibn Khurdādbih (A.D. 864) is cited as locating it in the neighbourhood of the island of *Dhūṭāil*, which we have shown to be very likely Rīau or Bintang. Ḳazwīnī (1263–75) again describes it (see *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, pp. 290–291, note). In the Malay Chronicles it is called *Pars-el-Baḥrī* (Farasū-l-Baḥrī), and represented as the progenitor of that marvellous steed named *Semberāni*, which, both in the "Sejarah Malāyu" and the chronicle of Pāsei, is represented as a universal Pegasus, fit for either aerial, terrestrial, or marine journeys (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 17, and Marre's "Hist. des Rois de Pasey," p. 69). Evidently the myth has been derived from the above legends of the marine horse, current from the remotest times in the Archipelago, and not from Arabic sources, for it does not appear to occur in Arabic folklore.

[4] See Marre, op. cit., p. 21.

coast of Sumatra towards Achëh. It is now probably represented by Beureuleung in the Segli-Pedir territory.[1]

As regards statues of Indian provenance or imitated from Indū models, it should be pointed out that there is no lack of them in Sumatra, and more will come to light when the country is thoroughly explored.[2]

Further, as to the antiquity of Sumatran civilization. The annals of the Chinese Liang dynasty ("Liang-shu," bk. 54, compiled early during the seventh century and embracing the period 502–556 A.D.) tell us of a State

[1] There is also a *Belawan* River, with an island and a promontory (Ujong Belawan) near the mouth of the Deli River, east coast of Sumatra, a little below 4° N. lat. Further, a Kota *Benuwang* (ruined) on the Rakan River, 1° 33′ N. lat.; and a *Pelalawan* River and village on Kampar River. As, however, *Lin-ya-sz* (which I make out to be *Langsar* or *Langksa* River below *Perlak*, although it may be also *Langkat* near Deli, 4° N. lat., or even *Ringat* in Indragiri, 0° 30′ S. lat.) is located at four days' and nights' sailing from *Fo-lo-an*, I think the identification I have suggested in the text is the most probable; also because *Lin-ya-sz* is stated to lie at six days' sailing from *Tan-ma-ling*, 單馬令, which may be the *Tambilang* River on the east coast of Sumatra, lat. 2° S., just above the Palembang River. We would thus get the distances:—

(1) From Beureuleung (= *Fo-lo-an* = *Berūan*) to *Lin-ya-sz* (Langksa River), four days' and nights' sailing, actual distance 180 miles, or about 45 miles a day.

(2) From *Lin-ya-sz* (Langksa River) to *Tan-ma-ling* (Tambilang River), six days' sailing, actual distance 580 miles, or about 95 miles a day, which would seem excessive, although not improbable.

However, it is possible that *Tan-ma-ling* may have been some other place further to the north of the location assumed by us, of which there is now no record. On the other hand, the discrepancy in the rate of sailing per day between the places above referred to may be due to some slip on the part of the writer who recorded it, or to the fact of two separate estimates having been adopted, based on the rate of sailing speed of differently rigged crafts. The name *Tan-ma-ling* certainly suggests, rather more forcibly, either *Temiling* or *Tembeling* Cape at the mouth of the Kwāntān River above Pahang, or the *Tembeling* River itself (also called *Temelin*, and *Tembelang* in various Malay works) in Pahang territory; in which case *Lin-ya-sz* might be even *Langat* on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula above Malacca, and the distances Bereuleung–Langat and Langat–Tembeling (or Temiling, *alias* Tembeling, Cape) would be about equal, viz. 380 miles. But Chao Ju-kua appears to say that communication between *Fo-lo-an*, *Lin-ya-sz*, and *Tan-ma-ling* existed also by land, which statement, if correct, prevents us from locating the last two places away from Sumatra. He, on the other hand, tells us that *Tan-ma-ling* could be reached in ten days' sailing from *Chén-la* (Kamboja), a peculiarity that would suit well the territory about *Temeling* or *Tembeling* Cape in the northern part of Pahang.

[2] "In the State of Jambi, which borders on Palembang, Hindu images, identical with those of Java in all respects, except that the material is granite instead of trachyte, have been discovered" (Dennys' "Dictionary of British Malaya," p. 219).

called *Kan-t'o-li*, 干 陁 利, situated on an island in the southern sea, whose kings, devoutly Buddhist, sent envoys with presents to China as early as A.D. 455 to the then First Sung Emperor Hsiao-wu, and renewed their homage in 502, 519, and 520. The history of the First Sung dynasty also mentions the earliest embassy of A.D. 455, spelling the name of the State 斤 陁 利, *Chin-* [or *Kin-*] *t'o-li*.[1] Neither T'ang nor Later Sung annals breathe a word about the now forgotten State, and so on until the Ming dynasty, when all of a sudden the historiographers of that period burst forth with the discovery that the old *Kan-t'o-li* of the First Sung and Liang was no other than the *San-fo-ch'i* (i.e. *Sarbaza* or Palembang) of their days. This late identification looks, I need not say, exceedingly suspicious, especially in view of the fact that we have more than once caught Chinese authors at fault in this sort of game; and last, but not least, because there was and still exists a *Khanthulī* or *Kanturi* district on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula,[2] which may very well be the old *Kan-t'o-li*

[1] See Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 185–187 and 192; *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, pp. 122–125; and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 451–453.

The names recorded for the kings who sent these various missions are:— A.D. 455, *Shih-p'o-lo-na-lin-t'o* = Śrī Pāla (or Bala?)-narendra; A.D. 502, *Ch'ü-t'an Hsiu-pa-t'o-lo* = Gotama Subhadra; A.D. 519, *P'i-chên-hsie Pa-mo* = Viśāṁsu-(or Vaiśya- ?) Varman, son and successor of the preceding, who was still living in 520, when he sent a new mission.

[2] At some 15 miles above C'haiyā (Jayā) as the crow flies, and 14½ northwards from Lĕm Sai (the Lem Sie of the Admiralty charts), the northern extremity of Bāndōn Bight. There is no mention of it in the "China Sea Directory," 4th ed., 1899, vol. ii; and in Admiralty chart No. 989 the term has been perverted into *Kantre*, "Lem Kantre" (meant for Khanthulī Promontory), being the only name marked there. However, the mouth of the stream debouching here is more correctly entered as *Pak Kantoolee* in the Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society's map of the Malay Peninsula, 1887; while it is mutilated into *Pak-nam Tu-lee* in the new edition of that map published in 1898, and the stream marked *Klg. Kantre* (for Khlŏng Khanthulī). In McCarthy's map nothing but *Paknam Tuli* appears, taken, of course, from older sources. The *Kanturi* Hills are first mentioned in an article initialled H. A. (= Henry Alabaster) in the *Bangkok Calendar* for 1873, p. 114. The correct name is, as I found out on inquiry, *Khanthulī* (*Gaṇḍulī*, so written in Siāmese), which is applied to the river, to a village near its mouth, and to the hill range running closely parallel to the coast at that point. The original name may have been Malay: *Kanduri* = 'rat' in that language (in Khmĕr, *Kundur*, *Kondŏr*); although the way it is spelled in Siāmese suggests a derivation from the Sanskrit *Gaṇḍulī* (through *Gaṇḍula* = 'bent,' 'crooked'), a qualification probably applied to the river, which thus may have become known as *Gaṇḍulī-nadī*. *Kandulī* is the Bengali name for *Commelina nudiflora*, called *Kendru* in other districts. *Kandarī*, meaning a grotto or cave, is another possible etymology.

of First Sung and Liang periods.[1] The idea that any such confusing of historical geography had taken place would, of course, be dispelled if we could certainly know that the Ming historians had something substantial to go on in the shape of trustworthy old records or traditions for asserting the identity of the two places; or at least if it could be shown that their *Kan-t'o-li* or *Kin-t'o-li* is etymologically connected in name with *Andalas* or *Indalas*, اندلس, the ancient denomination borne, according to the "Ṣejarah Malāyu," by the *Paralembang*, now Palembang, district in south-eastern Sumatra.[2] But who can tell that the same mistake did not happen in this case as with the old name *Jakola* of Malacca, which led the Chinese literati to connect it with *Ch'ung-ka-la* or Sangar in Sumbāwā?[3] That is to say, may not the historiographers of the Ming period, on hearing from their seafaring countrymen that Palembang had been known at an earlier date as *Andalas* or *Indalas*, have jumped to the conclusion, on the mere ground of similarity in names, that

[1] Since writing the above I notice, in Mr. Parker's paper in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, p. 128, two more references to *Kan-t'o-li* belonging to later dates. One is an allusion to certain *Kan-t'o-li* cures or drugs occurring in a Chinese medical work during the seventh century, found by Dr. Bretschneider (i.e. the "Kan-t'o-li Chi-kui-fang," of the Sui period, 589–618; see *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xvi, 1881, p. 93). The other reference is still more direct and positive. A celebrated anti-Buddhist statesman, Han Yü, exiled to serve at the modern Swatow as penance for his iconoclastic zeal, mentions in a private letter, dated about 820, Mr. Parker tells us, the fact that "Champā, Kamboja, and *Kan-t'o-li* are amongst the countless States beyond the seas." This, I am afraid, finally disposes of the theory that *Kan-t'o-li* was the old *San-fo-ch'i* territory. For if *Kan-t'o-li* was still the name of a State in A.D. 820, it could not be the same as Palembang, then called, for at least 150 years, *Shih-li Fo-shih* or Śrī-Bhoja. *Kan-t'o-li* must then be *Khanthulī* on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, as we have suggested.

[2] See Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 20. Valentijn, who misspells the name *Andelis*, and Dulaurier (*Journal Asiatique*, 1847, p. 125) took this as an ancient designation for the *whole* of the island of Sumatra! Even if the form *Pulo Indalas* occurs in Malay literature, as Dulaurier seems to imply, this 'Indalas Island' would merely mean the tract of the Sumatran coast comprised within the limits of Palembang territory, and nothing more.

[3] See p. 519. It is interesting to notice that the author of the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih" (published 1693), of *Ch'ung-ka-la* memory, states precisely that the *San-fo-ch'i* or *Sarbaza* kingdom *is* the old *Kan-t'o-li* (see *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, p. 125), whence we infer that it is probably from this dilettante of historical geography that the identification emanated and was adopted in Ming history (which was not concluded until A.D. 1724). If such is the case, then the identity of Palembang with the ancient *Kan-t'o-li* territory may be rejected at once as unworthy of credence.

this was the ancient *Kan-t'o-li* referred to in the records of the First Sung and Liang dynasties? As a matter of fact, we shall see presently that the term *Andalas* had such origin as to preclude almost every possibility of its connection with the name *Kan-t'o-li*; and other reasons militate against such a name ever having existed for the territory of Palembang.[1] We are, therefore, unable, until further evidence is forthcoming, to accept the identification hit upon at the last hour by the Ming annalists.

However, we can do very well without the highly suspicious and scanty details about *Kan-t'o-li*, and turn to a far more trustworthy and older source — I mean the account left us by Fa-Hsien. Of course, after our conclusive demonstration of the identity of the Ptolemaic Iabadiũ or Sabadiũ, as well as of the Arabic *Zābej*, with Sumatra, it would be the height of absurdity to maintain any further that Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'o-t'i* (*Jabadîv* or *Yava-dêś*) is the island of Java, as has been hitherto almost unanimously asserted. And independently of the reasons that have led us to establish that undisputable identity, there is the fact that the itinerary itself described by Fa-Hsien, when examined in the light of sound judgment, and not wilfully perverted and misconstrued as has hitherto been done, leads to the conclusion that the *Ya-p'o-t'i* he touched at in the early days of the year A.D. 415 was the east coast of Sumatra, and not Java at all. Let us take a glance at it.

Fa-Hsien left Ceylon, according to what can be gathered from his account, in either September or October, 414, bound for China by the usual route through the Archipelago.[2]

[1] Although Buddhism flourished in Palembang during I-tsing's time (A.D. 671–695), the glowing description drawn of the prosperity of that faith in *Kan-t'o-li* appears to suit better a State on the Malay Peninsula. Compare, in fact, the similar accounts in Chinese records that relate to *P'an-p'an*, *Lan-ya-hsiu*, and *P'o-li*, which—significant particular—Ma Tuan-lin enumerates in a course with *Kan-t'o-li*.

[2] This was rather late in the season, and the ship on which Fa-Hsien took passage must have been one of the most belated among those which usually did that journey. Mas'ūdī speaks of vessels leaving the coast of Omān for the East even as late as the month of Tirmah (21st June to 20th July), but adds that these were but of little value, and chanced it, so to speak, against the risks of navigation at that season.

Astern of the large merchant vessel on which he took passage, a small one was fastened as a provision in case of distress. With such an arrangement progress must have evidently been slow; say, two miles an hour or fifty miles a day on the average. Having got a fair wind they sailed *eastward* — mark this well, as it shows the unmistakable direction of their course straight for the Nikobārs—for two or three days (say 100–150 miles),[1] when they encountered a cyclone, and the ship sprang a leak. This untoward accident compelled them to jettison a part of their cargo and personal effects. The storm lasted thirteen days and nights, when they arrived at the shore of an island (unnamed), and, on the tide going out, they found the place of the leak. Having forthwith stopped it, they resumed their voyage. Owing, however, to the weather keeping yet cloudy, they could not take bearings for many a day. At last they were once more able to shape a correct course [*eastward*, naturally, see above], and went on, reaching *Ya-p'o-t'i* after about 90 days' sailing [say, early in January, 415]. Here, having stayed five months, Fa-Hsien took passage on another large merchantman for China [i.e. in May, with the setting of the south-west monsoon], reaching at last the coast of Shan-tung, after having weathered a violent storm, in three months [i.e. probably in August, 415].

It will be seen from the foregoing epitome that the island where Fa-Hsien's ship tarried to stop the leak, after 15 or 16 days' jolting and tossing at the mercy of the elements, cannot have been very far remote from Ceylon or the coast of India.[2] In September and October south-westerly winds

[1] Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 131, has *two* days; but Legge ("Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms," Oxford, 1886, p. 111) says *three*. Even taking the last figure as the correct one, the distance travelled during this interval cannot have been anything above 150 miles.

[2] It cannot certainly have been one of the Nikobārs; firstly, on account of the cyclone travelling in the opposite direction to Fa-Hsien's route; and secondly, because even with favourable weather those islands could not have been reached in 15 or 16 days. It took, according to I-tsing, 30 days from *Ka-ch'a* on the north coast of Sumatra, and therefore very close to (almost within sight of) the Nikobārs, to reach Nāgapaṭṭan under favourable weather (see p. 527). Even in the middle of the fourteenth century, when navigation was far speedier, it took Ibn Baṭūṭa as much as 40 days to go from Sumatra (city) harbour to

prevail, it is true, between Ceylon and the north coast of Sumatra, which would favour the passage from the former to the latter; but at the same time cyclones are frequent, especially about October, in the southern half of the Bay of Bengal, which move either westward or north-westward. In such cases the ships exposed to their influence experience very bad weather and sea, with rain and wind of hurricane force.[1] Now, this is exactly the weather Fa-Hsien's ship encountered; the storm he describes as a 大風, *Ta-fêng*, i.e. a typhoon, and moreover he speaks of rain, a characteristic of the October cyclones in those parts.[2] There can consequently be no doubt that his ship was blown back on the east coast of either Ceylon or India, and the island at which the leak was stopped may have been some sandy islet on that coast. The mention of pirates in the sea thereabouts[3] may help to better fix the locality. Thence Fa-Hsien's ship must have proceeded eastward to Malacca Strait by the usual route at that season, passing southward of the Great Nikobār Island, thence through Bengal passage, sighting Pulo Butong, and proceeding about midway between the Sembilan Islands and Pulo Jarak; then by the Aroas and the Great Kerīmūn[4] to either Sābong or Durian Strait, through which it would easily reach either the Indragiri, Jambi, or Palembang Rivers, according to the site then occupied by the capital of the Java or Yava kingdom. Here, changing ship—as his countryman I-tsing did two and three-quarter centuries later at Śrī-Bhoja when proceeding from India to China—Fa-Hsien would, in due course, resume his homeward voyage.

Koilum or Quilon. Chao Ju-kua (*circâ* A.D. 1240) states the distance from *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang) to *Nan-p'i* (Malabar) to be a little more than a month with the monsoon. (See *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1896, p. 483.)

[1] See the "Bay of Bengal Pilot," 3rd ed., London, 1901, p. 41.

[2] See Legge's "Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms," Oxford, 1886, p. 112.

[3] Ibid.

[4] This is the course also laid down in the "Muhiṭ" (A.D. 1554), founded upon Arab, Persian, and Indū documents of older dates. After having passed the Nikobārs, the Sembilan group was sighted; then, working along the Malay coast, the Aroas and Parcelar Hill were passed in succession. See Reinaud's Introduction to the Geography of Abulfeda, p. 437.

It would manifestly be absurd that Fa-Hsien, in order to go to China, should take the roundabout route by way of Java, especially as there is no evidence whatever as to such a remote and difficult route, requiring considerable skill in seamanship, ever having been used until the advent of European navigators in the Archipelago. I-tsing, who mentions several itineraries to and fro between India and China, never speaks of passages through Sunda Strait, nor does any Arab or Chinese author or traveller, even up to the days of Chao Ju-kua and Ibn Baṭūṭa.[1] It is only when we come to the oft-quoted Chinese chart of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips, that we find a route marked through Sunda Strait and thence along the whole length of the west coast of Sumatra to Achëḥ or Lambri, unaccompanied, however, by any sailing directions, which is a proof that it was as yet but imperfectly known and seldom used. On the contrary, the real and only route from India and Ceylon to China is laid down on the same map through Malacca Strait. I have accordingly come to the conclusion that no ship ever proceeded from India to China *viâ* Sunda Strait until the advent of the Portuguese in the eastern seas. Ptolemy's route from Ceylon to the China coast is, more or less, the one that was followed for fully thirteen centuries after him by either Arab, Persian, or Chinese vessels, with the exception that with further improved methods of navigation it became possible to

[1] And, I should have added in so far as Arab navigation is concerned, of the "Muhiṭ" (A.D. 1554). The Turkish admiral who is the author of that work on mediæval navigation of the Indian seas, based upon Arab, Persian, and Indū writings, cites many itineraries; but the only one he gives for Further India, the twenty-seventh in his list, is laid through Malacca Strait, and the route he describes turns to E.N.E. after Ceylon, advancing considerably into the Bay of Bengal, when a course is steered for one of the Nikobārs called *Sarjal*, probably Ptolemy's **Khalinē** or **Salinē** (see p. 406), and thence for the Sembilan group in Malacca Strait (see Reinaud's Introduction to the Geography of Abulfeda, pp. 436–437). Reinaud, probably misled by his contemporary Sinologists' identification of Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'o-t'i* with Java, seems to have conceived an idea of great superiority of Chinese navigation over that of the Arabs, and understood the Chinese junks to have followed the Sunda Strait route from a very early period, for in the same work, p. 413, he states that "les navires Arabes, à la différence des jonques chinoises, passaient au nord de Sumatra et traversaient le détroit de Malaka." Such blindness to facts has wrought much mischief and retarded our knowledge of historical and geographical science.

cross the Bay of Bengal *viâ* the Nikobārs, instead of farther to the north between the mouth of the Ganjam and the Arakanese coast. It may, therefore, be safely held that the identification of Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'o-t'i* with Java is but the outcome of imagination such as we have encountered so frequently in the preceding pages.[1]

As regards the length of the passage, 90 days, it should be remembered that the weather was far from favourable, and that the cyclone encountered during the first part of the journey may have blown Fa-Hsien's ship far into the Bay of Bengal, thus increasing the distance to be travelled. It is well, moreover, to remark that I-tsing records 15 + 15 + 30 + 2 = 62 days for the passage

[1] In my age of faith in Sinology as applied to the historical geography of the Further Indian regions, that is to say, when I still innocently believed that our Sinologists really had discovered or identified something in the chaos of the early Chinese geographical literature relating to the countries in question, I was misled into the absurd belief that Fa-Hsien had really called on his homeward journey, as they declared, at Java. Accordingly I ventured to think, from Ptolemy's knowledge of several islands or districts on the west coast of Sumatra, that the Sundra Strait route might have been known even in his time, and thus I was rash enough to enter it in my map and tables published with the first part of the present work. That was in 1896, the publication taking place in the year next following. Since those days of blind reliance on the results of the labours of Sinology in the direction stated, however, seven years have elapsed, during which I have had better opportunities of examining to my satisfaction the material they had worked out. The outcome of such study is well enough apparent in the preceding pages. Scarcely one out of a score or two of their identifications turned out anything like acceptable, and when it did so it proved, except in very rare instances, only approximately correct as regards either the meaning or the real location of the toponymic implied. This, be it understood, only refers to toponymics of the earlier periods, down to the thirteenth century or thereabouts, after which the accounts of European travellers as well as the local records of the countries in question rendered the task far easier for the new place-names that then came into use, and the work of our Sinologists met with a fairer measure of success, though as yet far from brilliant. For this achievement full credit is due to them, as well as for their labours in collecting not easily accessible texts and, what is of still higher importance, translating them, thus placing them within reach of the many who are unacquainted with the Chinese language. Had these good people stopped here, leaving the work of identification of the toponymics occurring in the older texts to better qualified hands, instead of suggesting haphazard equivalents, which on close inquiry prove for the most part wrong, they would have done a far greater service to science, and laid its votaries under far deeper obligations, sparing them also many a disappointment. Under such circumstances as above described, I need not say that now I entirely reject the opinion I had at first formed as regards Fa-Hsien's route through the Archipelago, and accordingly withdraw the reference to it in the Tables, and with it the surmise that the route through Sunda Strait might have been known in Ptolemy's time, which I do not at present think possible.

from *Shih-li Fo-shih* (Palembang) to Ceylon, passing by Nāgapaṭṭan, under favourable weather.[1] And further that it took the embassy from *Chu-lien* (*Chola* or Koromandel)[2] to China in A.D. 1015, 209 days, or nearly seven months, to get from thence to *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang).

The information that Fa-Hsien gives us of *Ya-p'o-t'i* is tantalizingly meagre, such as we would never expect from one who, like him, had resided in that country for fully five months. It does not amount to as much as two lines: "In this country heretical Brahmans flourish, but Buddhism hardly deserves mentioning."[3] From this we may gather that Buddhism was already practised there, although it may have been by a few people only. This is exactly what seems to have been the case in Sumatra at the period in question, judging from the ruins so far explored, and from the traditions connecting its

[1] See p. 527.

[2] Here, again, I regret having to point out, by the way, that the identification of *Chu-lien* with Orissa, suggested by Dr. Hirth in the *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* for 1896, pp. 489 seqq., is hopelessly wrong. I cannot afford to enter here into a detailed discussion of the subject, but while reserving the full demonstration of my contention for an early opportunity, I shall merely point out that *Chu-lien*, according to the result of my inquiry, so far from being Orissa, the empire of the Kesari dynasty, as Hirth thought, is incontestably and far more properly *Chola*, the *Chulya* country, of which Orissa became a mere dependency on or about A.D. 1015–1020. This, I may add, is made absolutely certain from the fact that I have identified the *Chu-lien* king *Lo-ch'a-lo-cha*, 羅茶羅作, named by Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 574) as having sent an embassy which reached China in A.D. 1015, with Rājarāja the Great, or Rājakesarivarman, of Chola, said to have reigned from 985 to 1002. The mission was probably sent by his son, Rājendra-Cola I or Parakesarivarman, who may also, though not so far as known, have borne the title *Rājarāja*; otherwise the Chinese historiographers may, through some misunderstanding, have mistaken the deceased father's name for that of the reigning son. Further, the king who sent a mission in A.D. 1033, whom Hirth was unable to identify, is Rājendradeva or Śrī Rājendra Cola; and that named *Ti-wa-ka-lo* in 1077 is Kulottunga Codadeva, or *Kula-deva*, his name being anagrammatized into *Deva-Kula* (Ti-wa-ka-lo) by the Sung annalists. Inability to grasp these matters has misled Dr. Hirth into vainly looking for the capital of the kingdom and its thirty-two districts all over Orissa, whereas the territory of Chola proper and that of the countries immediately adjoining it would have better rewarded his efforts.

[3] Literally, "Buddha's Law not sufficient to speak of" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 132). Dr. Legge translates (op. cit., p. 113), "various forms of errors and Brahmanism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of."

territory with Vishnavite myths, and its original colonizers with descendants of the Indū Yādavas. It is true that two and three-quarter centuries later on (A.D. 671–695) I-tsing speaks of Buddhism being then flourishing at *Śrī-Bhoja* (Palembang), the king whereof, as well as those of the neighbouring States, favoured it. But then he tells us of the Ārya-mahāsaṅghika school having been but very shortly before his time introduced into the country, which is a sign that the latter was still passing through a phase of transition as regards the adoption of the various Buddhist tenets, which had probably begun not long before, and was just in its initial stage at the time of Fa-Hsien's visit.[1]

It is difficult to guess with anything like precision where the capital or principal seaport of *Ya-p'o-t'i* stood at the time of Fa-Hsien's visit. It may have been on either the Jambi or Indragiri river, or even further up the east coast of Sumatra, judging from the fact that the Pāgar-rūyung inscription, where the *Yava* kingdom is mentioned in A.D. 656, occurs at the headwaters of the Indragiri, and that a district bearing the name *Tānah Jāwa* exists to this day in the upland part of Bātu-bāra (3° N. lat.). I am little disposed to think that the centre of power was then already so far south as Palembang, for until I-tsing's time we do not find its ancient name, *Śrī-Bhoja*, mentioned in any document or record, which fact is probably an indication that although the name may have

[1] The course of religious evolution in Java seems to have run in a contrary direction. Javanese ruins are, in fact, well-nigh entirely Buddhist, and it is only in the central part of the island, to the north of Pekalongan and at an altitude of 6,500 feet on the slope of the mountain Prahu, that remains of Śaiva temples have been discovered, dating at the very best not later than the seventh or eighth century. These, in Groeneveldt's opinion, point to a settlement of Śaivas in that neighbourhood on the northern coast of the island (op. cit., p. 134). On Sunda Land, the western part of the island, on the contrary, Sanskrit inscriptions, Vaiṣṇava in character, have been found which are considered to date from A.D. 450 to 600. They are, in my opinion, a connecting link with ancient Vishnavite worship in Sumatra, from which the territory where they rise is merely separated by Sunda Strait. Perhaps they may be due to the earliest Indū or Indianized settlers who first crossed the strait from Sumatra and put their foot on Sundanese soil. Those who followed a century or two later on, when Buddhism had already acquired a firm footing in Sumatra, evidently brought that faith to the northern coast of the island, which has thus remained principally Buddhist ever since.

been introduced into that district from a very early period, it had not as yet attained any prominence so as to attract attention. It must have been only shortly before the time of I-tsing's first visit to it (A.D. 671) that *Śrī-Bhoja* became the capital of the *Java* or *Zābej* empire; for from his account it follows quite plainly that Bārūs (*P'o-lu-sz*) on the west coast of Sumatra was part of Śrī-Bhojan territory, so that the latter must have comprised the whole or nearly so of the tract north from the Palembang River, corresponding practically to Ptolemy's **Iabadiū**.

Having thus finally disposed of the questions connected with the location of those two difficult geographical puzzles — Ptolemy's **Iabadiū** and Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'o-t'i* — we must for a moment turn our attention to the no less perplexing meaning and derivation of the terms *Fo-shih* or *Shih-li Fo-shih* and *San-fo-ch'i*, employed at different periods in the Chinese records to designate the kingdom, as well as its principal district and capital. The equivalent *Bhoja* or *Śrī-Bhoja* suggested by our predecessors in this line of research for the first term is very probably correct, although no plausible explanation as to why such a name came to be given to the country in question has been, within my knowledge, so far given; while all attempts to grapple with the meaning of the second term, *San-fo-ch'i*, have completely failed. We shall try to throw further light on both from the evidence we have collected.

As regards the term first mentioned in point of time, *Bhoja* or *Śrī-Bhoja*, it has already been traced by us in the Andāmāns in connection with Ptolemy's mention of them under the name **Bazakata**, which, we have pointed out, very probably represents the Sanskrit toponymic *Bhojakaṭa*, originally a city near the Narmadā River, founded by a brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa. We have not omitted on that occasion to call attention to the possible connection between the name *Bōjig-*[*ngịịda*] or *Bōjin-*[*gịịi*] of one of the most prominent Andāmānese tribes with *Bhoja* and *Bhojaka*, both well-known tribal names of

Western India; and to suggest that a kinship may have existed between the so far unsatisfactorily explained term *Andāmān*—which we have found in at least one instance spelled *Anthōman* (Andhāman)—and *Andhaka*, the name of another Western India tribe closely related to the *Bhojas*. We then also hinted that such *Bhoja* and *Andhaka* tribes are doubtless those from whom the adventurers and colonists who first introduced the names *Bhojakaṭa* and *Andhāman* into the Andāmān group issued, and the names *Bhoja* and *Andhalās* or *Andalas* (probably a corruption of Andharāṣṭra?) into the territory of Palembang.[1] They must have been a great seafaring race, as were afterwards the natives of Palembang civilized by them; for we can probably trace relics of their name all the way from India to the remotest parts of the Archipelago, through the *Bōjigs* of the Andāmāns, the *Bhojas* of Palembang, and the *Bajau* or *Baju* of Borneo, Billiton, and extreme *Waju* in Celebes.[2] Likewise we probably have the name borne by the *Jarawa* tribe in Little Andāmān repeated in succession in the *Sarawa* or *Sarawi* nation of Western Palembang—which, we have seen, the Chinese called *Hsien-liu* or *Ser-rīu*—the *Sarawak* district in Borneo, and the *Charau* or *Chrāu* savages of South Cochin-China. That these are not haphazard coincidences in nomenclature is evidenced by the fact of such names occurring together in different places situated along the sea-route to the Far East. I have, therefore, no doubt that if Palembang territory was called *Bhoja* and *Andhalās* or *Andalas*, it must have been for the reason that it was first colonized by settlers from those Western Indian tribes.[3] An important point

[1] *Vide* p. 393, note 3, and p. 395, note 1.

[2] See also p. 229 for another *Fo-shih* or *Bhoja* country on the Annamese coast in A.D. 1007. It might have been originally a foundation of Palembang. For the *Bajaus* and their connections see pp. 366, 395, 503.

[3] The *Bhojas*, *Andhakas*, *Vṛṣṇis*, and *Kukuras* are all branches of the Yādavas and kindred tribes originally settled in the Indus Valley and, later on, on the Gujarāt peninsula at and about Dvārakā, whence they dispersed all over India owing to the destruction of part of them by Kṛṣṇa. They are to be found even on the Ganges and in the Dakhan, but with greater frequency along the Vindhya chain. The Rāmāyaṇa mentions them among the nations of the

not to be lost sight of is that while *Bhoja* in *Bojakaṭa* is rendered *Baza* in Ptolemy's **Bazakata**, so is *Bhoja* in *Śrī-Bhoja* transcribed *Baza* in *Sarbaza* by the Arabs. Hence we may rest perfectly assured that *Sarbaza* really represents *Śrī-Bhoja* (i.e. Palembang) and nothing else. As regards *Shih-li Fo-shih*, the second part of it, sounding *Föt-shai*, *Föt-ch'i*, and *Fut-sei* or *Futsz-zei* in the various dialects, may represent some form (perhaps *Bhojaka* or *Bhojik*, *Bhojika*) of the term *Bhoja* more closely approaching to its Andāmānese corruption *Bojig*. I cannot, however, get behind the impression that *Fo-shih* is, as likely as not, a transcript of *Vasāi* or *Basai*, a toponymic which we find surviving to this day, in the slightly modified form *Pāsei* or *Pāsai*, in its very territory.[1] I-tsing's spelling *Shih-li*

south (see Professor Hall's ed. of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, pp. 158–159; vol. iv, p. 19; and vol. v, pp. 150, 159). The *Bhojakas*, to whom we shall presently refer, were descendants of the *Bhojas*.

[1] The origin of the name *Pāsai*, فاسى (*Pāsī*) or فاسي (*Fāsy*), is explained in Malay literature by one of those absurd legends we have often met with in analogous cases. The شجرة ملايو, "Ṣejarah Malāyu," relates that Sultan Maliku-l-Sāleh (quondam Marah Silu), the founder of Sumatra city, upon Perlaḳ being conquered by enemies from the opposite coast (Malay Peninsula), and its population having taken refuge in Sumatra, determined to found another settlement for his sons. In the course of a hunting match across the river (i.e. the Katrea or Kerti River, and, if not, the stream to the west of it now called the Krung Pāsei), his dog, named *Si-Pāsei* (Śrī-Pāsai), gave tongue, and the Sultan quickly flew to it. He found an elevated ground, very fine and smooth as if it had been levelled. There he ordered a *nagara*, or fortified city, to be founded, a palace erected, and the whole to be named *Pāsei*, after the Prince's dog (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 71). The حكاية راج٢ فاسي, "Hikāyat Rāja-rāja Fāsy (Pāsai)," gives a similar story, but slightly different in detail, and adds that upon the building of the new city being completed the dog Si-Pāsai died. Hence the Sultan had its carcase buried there, and called the city after the name of the dog (see Marre's "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," pp. 43–44). The event may have taken place after Marco Polo's visit to Perlaḳ (A.D. 1292), when this place was still an independent kingdom; and before A.D. 1309, the date at which *Pah-sih* (very likely *Fāsy*, Pāsei) is first mentioned along with *Puh-lin-pa* (probably Palembang) in the history of the Yüan dynasty (see Parker in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, p. 132). Say, A.D. 1300, or shortly before. If, however, Pāsei be Marco Polo's *Basma*, which would appear somewhat doubtful on account of the conquest of Perlaḳ referred to above, its foundation must be placed at a date slightly earlier than 1292, say at about 1290. What most concerns us in this matter is, however, the term *Si-Pāsei*, the alleged name of the Sultan's dog after which the new

Fo-yu, 室利佛逝 (*Fŏt-yau*, *Fŏt-yiu*), which he sometimes employs, points to some corrupted form *Bhoya* or *Bayu*, *Bayau* (Baju, Bajau).

After the first half of the eighth century the name *Shih-li Fo-shih* disappears from T'ang history, to reappear in the second half of the tenth in the annals of the Sungs under the form *San-fo-ch'i* (*San-Fŏt-ts'ai*, *San-fut-zai*), which has, in its turn, proved a crux to our predecessors. However, no corresponding change appears to take place in

foundation was christened. There can be no doubt, I think, that in *Si-Pāsei* or *Śrī-Pāsai* we have a revival, or survival, of *Śrī-Bhoja*, *Śrī-Bhojik* (Bhojika), or *Śrī-Basai* (or *Vasāi*)?, the ancient name of the famous kingdom on the Eastern Sumatran coast. The anecdote about the king's dog and its name would thus appear to be merely one of those usual yarns invented *ad hoc* in order to explain toponymics the origin of which proved puzzling to the later native inhabitants of this region. It would be interesting to find out whether the place-name *Vasāi*, now better known under the form *Bassein*, on the west coast of India near Bombay, is etymologically traceable to the *Bhoja* nation. We have already noticed its transplantation thence, undoubtedly through the agency of Indŭ traders and colonists, to the neighbourhood of Cape Negrais in the Bassein there (*supra*, pp. 48–49); and here we have very likely a repetition of the process in *Pāsai* or *Bāsi*, that becomes *Pacem* (a close approach to *Bassein*) with the Portuguese, and, may be, *Basma* with Marco Polo. The moot point still remaining is, whether this term *Pāsai* or *Vasāi* was transplanted here from India directly, or else indirectly, through its older prototype *Bhoja*, *Bhojik*, *Bhojai* of the Śrī-Bhoja kingdom. I need not say that, in view of the evidence adduced above, I am in favour of the latter alternative. For even the form *Pāsi* or *Vāsi* itself of the term seems to be very old, apart from the probable *Vasi* of the Chinese transcript *Fo-shih*. We have, in fact, a place or State *Po-ch'i*, 波婆 (Basei, Vasāi), in the "Southern Ocean," mentioned as early as A.D. 655–700 in Chinese literature (see *Journal R.A.S.* for April, 1903, p. 370).

The only early reference to Pāsei in Chinese history seems to be that mentioned above (A.D. 1309, Chronicles of the Yüan dynasty). A very possible one, much later, is that pointed out by Parker in the *China Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 102, where it is stated that, according to Ming history (325, 20, 24), "in 1521 *Pieh-tu-lu* (Pestrello), having failed in China, 'went for' 巴西 [*Pa-hsi*, in Cant. *Pa-sai*]. Again, from *Pa-si*, Malacca, to Luzon, they swept the seas," etc. The *Pieh-tu-lu* alluded to here may be Botelho, Peteira, or any other Portuguese ship-captain of the time; but more likely Prestrelo or Perestrello (Rafael), who is known to have had connections with China from 1516 to at least 1520. He had even been for a time a prisoner there in 1516. In 1521 he sailed from Cochin bound to China, but stopped on the way at Pedir, and took part in the subsequent 'demonstration' on Pāsei, where he loaded pepper (see Correa's "Lendas da India," vol. ii, pp. 474, 643, 645).

contemporary Arabic literature; for Edrīsī, as we have seen (p. 571), in A.D. 1154, still writes *Sarbaza*, and so later on does Yāḳūt (A.D. 1218). Of course, Arab authors are, on such matters, doing little more than servilely copying each other from the ninth and tenth centuries downwards; but all the same, since their seafaring men kept up an active intercourse with the Far East until at least the twelfth century, it seems passing strange that they should have ignored a change in terminology that the Chinese had not failed to notice and to duly put on record. The inference is that either no change at all took place in the name *Śrī-Bhoja* for Palembang, the Chinese variant *San-fo-ch'i* being due entirely to a freak or a misunderstanding of the right pronunciation of the term *Śrī-Bhoja* on the part of later Chinese writers; or else that a change really occurred, but so slight as to be scarcely noticeable. On the latter supposition I would submit that the name of the State was changed into, or replaced at times as an alternative, by the term *Svayaṁbhoja*, which in time-honoured Indū tradition is held to be synonymous with, or, better still, a mere variant of, *Bhoja* and *Bhojaka*.[1] In such a case the contracted form *Saṁbhoja* of *Svayaṁbhoja* may have come into use, and in the course of time it may have gained favour over its prototype as well as over *Śrī-Bhoja*, the original name of the country.

On the other hand, if a radical change really did take place, then it consisted in the adoption of the term *Śaṁbhu*, a name of Śiva, as a basis for a compositum of the form *Śaṁbhu-jā*, 'the race of *Śaṁbhu*,' or *Śaṁbhujay* (Śaṁbhujaya), 'the victory of Śaṁbhu,' on the lines of *Kambu-jā* (Kamboja), which is held to mean 'the race of Kambu,'[2] and *Kambu-jay* (Kambu-jaya), 'the victory of Kambu,' applied to Indo-Chinese Kamboja.[3] The late Rev. S. Beal's suggested form

[1] See Professor Hall's ed. of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. iv, p. 99.

[2] See p. 204.

[3] The form *Kambujay* or *Kambujaya* may be deduced from the spelling 柬埔寨, *Chien-p'u-chai* (in Cantonese, *Kan-pou-ch'ai*), made use of from the Wan-li period (A.D. 1573-1619) to designate Kamboja. Several chronicles and encyclopædias have inadvertently printed the first character in the name

Saṁbhoja, which would mean 'the united Bhojas,' as well as the quite untenable explanation by the well-known Professor Schlegel to the effect that the derivation of the term is from *Semboja*, the Malay word for the *Plumeria acutifolia*, which in the modified form *Kemboja* also gave the name to Kamboja,[1] are, of course, all guesswork; as,

東, *tung*, instead of 柬, *chien*, *Kan*, thus giving rise to a teratological form, *Tung-p'u-chai* or *Tumbujaya*, which has never existed in reality (see *China Review*, vol. iv, p. 64, and *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, Hanoi, 1902, t. ii, pp. 126–127). I have, nevertheless, often thought that *Tung-p'u-chai* (in Annamese *Dông-p'hũ-trãi*) might be a clumsy transcription of *Udong-mean-chei* (*Uttama-mān-jaya*), the name of the city that became the capital of Kamboja in A.D. 1618. If references to *Tung-p'u-chai* in Chinese literature do not occur further back than this date, my conjecture is likely to prove correct.

[1] See "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 174, and *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, pp. 175–176. Crawfurd tells us ("History of the Indian Archipelago," vol. i, p. 438) that it is in Java that the *Kamboja* plant (*Plumeria obtusa*) is called *Samboja*. Forbes Watson, in his "Index to the Names of Indian Plants," London, 1868, does in fact give *Kamboja* as the Malay and *Samboja* as the Sundanese names for *Plumeria acutifolia*. Such being the facts of the case, how does the highly imaginative Professor explain that, *Kamboja* being the local Palembang name for the *Plumeria acutifolia*, the natives should style their country *Samboja* after the Sundanese name of the plant? This could only happen through subjugation of Palembang at the hands of the Sundanese or Javanese in the tenth century or earlier, an event of which there is not the slightest evidence. The same authority (absolutely worthless as a rule in matters concerning the ancient geography and history of the Archipelago and Further India) again uniquely draws upon his inexhaustible imagination when he tells us (op. cit., p. 176): "Now we know that the latter form of *Kembodja* or *Kambodja* [*sic*] was *given by the Malays* [!!] to the well-known country between Annam and Siam." How and from what sources he came to know this, the worthy Professor does not, of course, choose to disclose. What *we really do know* for certain is, on the contrary, that the claim to descent from a *Kambu Svāyambhuva* was put forward by the kings of Kamboja since A.D. 947, and at that pretty early date the country is said to have been named 'Land of *Kambu*' after him (see p. 204). And note that such a descent is claimed retrospectively for kings of the country reigning since about A.D. 600 or earlier, so that the tradition as to the derivation of the name of the country from *Kambu* must go back to at least the period just stated. (See the more probable derivation of the term that I have suggested on pp. 156–157.) Further, the name *Kambuja*—more frequently spelled *Kamvuja*—appears in both Chām and Khmēr inscriptions since the ninth century. It has been traced as far back as A.D. 817 in that of Pô-Nagar at Ñā-trāng; and it may yet be discovered in still older dated epigraphic monuments by and bye. Under such circumstances, we must argue that Professor Schlegel must be the unique depositary of some as yet unknown documentary evidence, earlier than, say, the eighth century A.D., proving that '*the Malays*' have given the name '*Kembodja*' to the country we now call '*Cambodja*.' If so, the Professor would do well to at once produce such evidence before the public, otherwise this latter will be entitled to take it, as many, including my humble self, already have done, that the evidence in question only

indeed, it is as a rule what has dropped from the pen of both these hard-working Sinologists anent the geography of Farther India and the Archipelago. Guesswork like this without the slightest shadow of evidence is bound to bewilder by its boldness, though convincing nobody.

Here is, then, my proof for the derivation from *Saṁbhu*. The Chinese chart of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips[1] marks an island 三 佛 嶼, *San-fo Hsü*, i.e. '*San-fo* [or Śaṁbhu] Islet,' opposite the mouths of the Jambi River, and between these and *Lung-ya Mên* (Linga Strait and Island). This *San-fo* islet, left, naturally, unidentified by Phillips, may be the island now called *Singkep*, from a village on its eastern shore, but more likely the far smaller one to the south of it, known as Pulo Berhala, which gives its name to Berhala Strait between it and the Sumatran coast of the Jambi district.[2] No doubt the form that the

exists in the Professor's imagination. In the meantime I may refer him to Leclère's "Cambodge, Contes et Légendes," Paris, 1895, where he will find, pp. 301–305, that the advent of the Malays in Kamboja is first recorded to have taken place on its west coast at Kampōt, some 500 years ago; say, about A.D. 1400. They hailed from Sumatra.

[1] *Journal of the China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi, 1886.

[2] I infer this from the fact that on the coast of Sumatra, opposite *San-fo* Islet, the chart shows a river marked 百 必, *Pê-pi* (Pak-pit, Ba-bi, etc.), which can be naught else than the *Berba* or *Jambi* River (a corruption of the Sanskrit *Pūrva* = 'old'). Below it is noted the name 舊 港, *Chiu-chiang* ('Old River,' or lagoon), which Mr. Phillips, perhaps too rashly, has taken to mean Palembang. This may be correct in the sense that Jambi was part of Palembang territory, but not certainly in the sense that Palembang city is meant to be represented here, for further to the right (i.e. southwards) we find three branches of a single river shown, marked respectively *Hsi-kiang* or 'Western River,' *Chiu-kiang* or 'Old River,' and *Tung-kiang* or 'Eastern River.' These seem to be the principal arms of the Palembang River, now known as the Asin (or Pontiang), the Sungsang, and the Upang (or Saleh). The one after which Palembang became best known in later times to the Chinese was therefore the central of them, i.e. the *Chiu-chiang*, *Ku-kang*, or 'Old River,' corresponding to the actual Sungsang (or to either of its lateral branches, the Talang and Upang). We may gather from the above that the old local name of this river was probably *Berba*, of which *Chiu-chiang* is but the Chinese translation. It is not clear, in fact, whether the name *Chiu-chiang* marked below the *Pê-pi* or *Berba* (Jambi) River in the map is meant as a translation of the common name of this stream, or else as a hint that here commences the jurisdiction of the other *Chiu-chiang* State, which is Palembang. In the first case, we would have two districts equally called *Chiu-chiang*, i.e. 'Old River,' by the Chinese, viz., one on the Berba or Jambi River, and the other on a deltaic branch of the Palembang River, which branch was probably known also as *Berba*, *Tĭua*, *Lāma*, or something

term *Śaṁbhu* or *San-fo* locally assumed was, as usual, *Śambhor*.[1] Originally some liṅga or other monument dedicated to Śaṁbhu, i.e. Śiva, may have stood there, whence the island became afterwards known by the generic designation Pulo Berhala. But its specific name was unquestionably *Śambhor*, for the strait or straits near it and leading from it to the Rhio-Linga Archipelago were styled, as put on record in the "Ṣejarah Malāyu," the 'Straits of *Sambor*.'[2] Though this term has disappeared, unless still represented partially and in a corrupt form in the strait now called *Sabayoro*, west of Singkep Island, the record of it is quite sufficient to prove that *Śambhu* or *Śambhor*, the old designation of the straits leading to Palembang from the north, must have come to them from the name of their southern terminus, i.e. the Palembang district itself, which name must therefore have been *Śambhu*, *Śambhor*, or a derivative of it; say, *Śambhu-jaya* or *Śambhujā*. Through this the Chinese term *San-fo-ch'i* or *Sam-bud-zai* (Śam-bhor-jay) becomes thoroughly explained, for it must be remembered that the first two

to that effect (i.e. a word meaning 'old'). If so, the homonymy in question must have led to some confusion in the later Chinese records, although the mischief may perhaps not have been very considerable, owing to Jambi being then part of Palembang territory.

[1] So e.g. in Kamboja, where there is an old city commonly called *Śambhor* or *Sambor*, but in the inscriptions *Śaṁbhu-pura*. I am at a loss to understand why Aymonier ("Le Cambodge," vol. i, Paris, 1900, pp. 308–309) also accepts the alternative reading *Śambhapura*, which is defective, and entirely due to an oversight on the part of the lapicide in omitting the sign for the vowel *u* below the *bh*. In Khmēr it is faultily written *Sambūr* (= Sampūr), thus making it look like a contraction of *Śaṁbhu-pura*. But such is not the case, for, as shown by several inscriptions in Kamboja, *Śambhor* is a mere modification or inflection of the name *Śaṁbhu*.

[2] See Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 34, where it is recounted that King Sangsapurba, having left Java, "set sail and traversed the sea till he arrived at a strait, when, enquiring the name of a hill which he saw in view, one of the guides answered, the hill of Lingga, and that the galley had now arrived at the straits of *Sambor*. The news quickly reached Bentan [Bintang] that the raja . . . . had now arrived at the straits of *Sambor*." Devic, in "Légendes et Traditions historiques de l'Archipel Indien," Paris, 1878, p. 47, prints *Sambou* (= *Śaṁbhu*) in his translation of the same story. This is a proof as to the correctness of the view we have expressed. The strait may have been called both *Sambor* and *Sambu*.

characters with which it is written are absolutely identical with those making up the name of *San-fo* Island. The truth of the whole matter may, after all, be that *Śri-Bhoja* did not change its name at all, but that the Chinese navigators, accustomed to reach it through *Śambhor* or *San-fo* Straits, as they called them, came gradually to completely confuse this name with that of *Shih-li Fo-shih* borne by Palembang, thus perverting the latter into *San-fo-ch'i*. At all events, I trust to have made it sufficiently evident that the explanation of this puzzling term must be sought for in either of the two alternatives here set down. The second one has in its favour the fact, already noticed, that the Arabs always called that country *Sarbaza* down to the thirteenth century, thus giving us reason to infer that it never changed its old name *Śrī-Bhoja*.

Having now cleared up the mystery that has so far hung upon the onomatology of the Palembang State employed in both Arabic and Chinese sources, we are enabled to reconstruct, in its main lines, its history down to the period when it became a dependency of the Javanese empire of Mājapāhīt. Such a reconstruction, possible only after the results attained through the foregoing inquiry, we offer in the subjoined sketch.

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE PALEMBANG KINGDOM.

A.D.

671. Fo-shih or Shih-li Fo-shih kingdom = *Bhoja* or *Śrī-Bhoja*. Its capital, *Bhoja*, situated on the *Bhoja* (Musi) River, is the chief trading port with China, a regular navigation between it and Canton being conducted by a Persian merchant. Large sea-going vessels anchor at the mouth of the river. The king of *Bhoja* owns ships, probably for commerce, sailing between India and *Bhoja*. He favours Buddhism, and his capital is a centre of Buddhist learning in the Archipelago; there are more than a thousand *bhikṣus*. Gold is fairly abundant. Dependencies of the kingdom are: (1) *P'o-lu-shih* (Bārūs, west coast of Sumatra); and (2) *Mo-lu-yo*, 15 days' sail away (*Malāyu* kingdom, on the Old Strait of Singapore and southern end of the Malay Peninsula). I-tsing (Takakusu, op. cit., pp. xxxiv, xl, xli).

670–673. King *Ho-mi-to*, 呵蜜多 (Gomeda, Harimedhas), of *Shih-li Fo-shih*, sends envoys to China ("Nan-Mān Chuan").[1] There can be no doubt this personage is the patron of I-tsing, whom he assisted by forwarding him on to Malāyu in A.D. 672 on his own ship.

672. One of the king's ships, with I-tsing on board, sails to India *viâ* Malāyu, Kerti (north-east Sumatra), and the Nikobārs, reaching Tāmraliptī (Tamluk) in the spring of next year (673), after prolonged stays at Malāyu (two months) and Kerti.

688–695. I-tsing is staying at Bhoja, except for a brief period of six months in A.D. 689, when he takes a trip to China. (Takakusu, op. cit., pp. xxxiii–xxxvii.)

713–741. At some time between these two dates King *Ho-mi-to* sends new envoys, presenting two dwarfs and two *Séng-chih* slaves (dancing-girls), as also singing and dancing masters ("T'ang-shu").[2]

?700–800. At some time between these two dates, perhaps not many years before A.D. 802,[3] the mahārāja of *Zābej* (Javaja or Javaka, residing at or near Palembang) leads an armed expedition against *Ḳmār* (south-west Kamboja), seizing and beheading the king thereof, as a punishment for some slight inflicted upon him. (Ibn Vahab, *circâ* A.D. 880, *apud* Abū Zaid; Reinaud's "Relation," t. i, pp. 97–104.) As a consequence of this expedition Kamboja seems to have remained dependent (perhaps more nominally than *de facto*) on Śrī-Bhoja until A.D. 802 or thereabouts (see p. 546).

851. Kalāh-bār (west coast of the Malay Peninsula) is a dependency (or part of the empire) of *Zabej* (Palembang). Sulaimān (see p. 558).

864. Amongst the possessions of the mahārāja there is also *Dhūṭāil* or *Berṭāyl* Island (= Bintang or Rīau). *Kalah* Island (west coast of Malay Peninsula) belongs to the Indian *Jābah* prince. Ibn Khurdādbih (pp. 556–558). The last

[1] Quoted in *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, p. 179. The date given is the period *Hsien-héng*, which corresponds to A.D. 670–673.

[2] *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 278. The clue as to the king who sent the embassy being *Ho-mi-to* is supplied us by the "Nan-Mānchuan" (see preceding note), which states that this ruler also sent envoys during the period *K'ai-yüan* = A.D. 713–741. Such being the case, the event just alluded to must have taken place in or soon after A.D. 713, for the king must have been already pretty old then (he having been already reigning in 670–673, or fully forty years before this).

[3] See p. 546.

statement seems to mean that *Kalah* was ruled by some Peguan prince, but whether independently or not from Palembang it is not clear. From the next entry, however, it may be inferred that such a dependence existed.

880–900. The mahārāja of *Zābej* rules over a large number of islands, among which those of *Sarbaza* or *Serboza* = Śrī-Bhoja (Palembang district); *Rāmī* = Lambri (north-west part of Sumatra); and *Kālah*. Abū Zaid (p. 559).

904. SAN-FO-CH'I sends envoys with tribute to China. ("Sung-shih," bk. 489.)[1]

943. The empire of the mahārāja is conterminous with India (extra-Gangem, i.e. probably Pegu is meant). His palace is built by the edge of the 'Gold-bars Pond,' wherein tradition says he causes a gold ingot to be thrown every morning. *Serīra* or *Sarīrah* is one of the islands (districts) constituting his possessions, others being *Zānj* or *Zānej* (Zābej?), *Rāmnī*, etc. Numerous Chinamen have settled on such islands (especially in the Palembang district) owing to disturbances in their country (in A.D. 878?). Mas'ūdī (pp. 560, 561).

955. SERĪRAH (= Siri-raṭṭha or Sarawi) lies on a large fresh watercourse forming a wide estuary, penetrating some 120 miles towards the interior. There are many streets and creeks, and the dwellings are partly on shore and partly floating-houses. The waters swarm with crocodiles, which, however, are said to be harmless in consequence of a charm. Lately a king named *Ser-Nātākalah* was the ruler of Zābej. Captain Bozorg (pp. 564, 578).

960. King *Hsi-li Hu-ta-hsia-li-t'an* (Gupta-hārīta, or something similar) of *San-fo-ch'i* sends an envoy with tribute to China. ("Sung-shih," bk. 489.) See pp. 578, 579, where I have identified this ruler with the one referred to in the preceding entry.

961. King *Hsi-li Hu-ta*, etc., renews his attentions to the Chinese Court (op. cit.). His envoys relate that the kingdom of *San-fo-ch'i* also bears the name *Hsien-liu* (Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 562). This is the equivalent of the term *Serīrah* used by Arabic writers (see preceding entries). His embassy only reaches China this year, but he seems to have died in the interval, probably towards the close of A.D. 960. (See remarks on pp. 579, 580.)

[1] For this and following references from Chinese literature see Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 188 et seqq.; and Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 561 et seq.

961. Towards the end of this year a new mission arrives at the Chinese Court from King *Shih-li-U-ya* (= Śrī Oja?), who has just succeeded to the throne of *San-fo-ch'i*. Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 562) calls this ruler *Li-hsi-lin-nan-jih-lai*, 李犀林男迷日來 (= Ṛṣi Raṇanjaya, or Hṛṣī-Raṇañga-rāj?).

962. The same king sends three envoys with tribute. ("Sung-shih," loc. cit.)

971. A new mission is despatched to the Chinese Court by the same ruler, with a tribute consisting of rock-crystal and petroleum.[1]

972. The homage is renewed.

974. New envoys are sent with a tribute of ivory, olibanum, rose-water, dates, and flat-peaches, white sugar, finger-rings of rock-crystal, glass bottles, and coral-trees.

975. Another mission reaches China.

980. King *Hsia-ch'ih*, 夏池, or 遐至, *Hsia-chih* (= Harṣa, Gādhi?), sends an envoy. In the course of the same year it is reported from Ch'au-chou that a foreign merchant from *San-fo-ch'i* has arrived in that port with a cargo of perfumes, medicines, drugs, rhinoceros horns, and ivory. ("Sung-shih," loc. cit.)

983. King *Hsia-ch'ih* despatches a new mission with a tribute of crystal, cotton-cloth, rhinoceros horns, perfumes, and drugs. (Ibid.)

985. The master of a ship from *San-fo-ch'i* reaches China and presents products of his country. (Ibid.)

988. A new envoy arrives in China with tribute. (Ibid.)

990. *San-fo-ch'i* is invaded by *Shê-p'o* (*Saba* or *C'havā* State on the Malay Peninsula; see p. 547), and war rages apparently until A.D. 992, if not later. Tidings of these hostilities reach the envoy of 988 while returning from the Chinese capital in 990. This personage, after waiting one year at Canton, sails in the Spring of 992 to Champā, but hearing no good news he returns to Canton to ask for an imperial decree in order that his country might follow his

[1] Fire-oil, 火油, *Hwo-yu*, evidently petroleum obtained from Sumatra, was sent at about the same time (A.D. 954–989) as tribute by the king of Champā. It is described as capable of burning in water with redoubled vigour. (See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 545.)

lead.[1] The governor of Kwang-tung forwards his request to the Chinese Court, which grants it. (Ibid.)

950–1000. SAKBAZA (= Śrī-Bhoja) or SERĪRAH (= Siri-raṭṭha, Saravi) is the island (read 'district') on which the mahārāja resides. Faras (see p. 567).

1000. The island of SERĪRAH is a dependency of China. Muḥallabī (see p. 567). From the preceding entries it may be seen, at any rate, that Śrī-Bhoja used to send regular missions (doubtless diplomatic as well as commercial) with presents to China.

1003. Two envoys arrive with tribute at the Chinese Court from King *Sz-li Chu-lo-wu-ni Fu-ma-t'iau-hwa*, 思離朱囉無尼佛麻調華 (Śrī Cūḍa-maṇi Bhūmya-deva, or *Bhūpa-deva*). They relate that in their country a Buddhist temple has been erected, and that they come to solicit a name and bells for it as marks of the emperor's benevolence. The name is granted for the temple by an imperial decree, and bells are cast in accordance with the envoys' request.[2]

1008. King *Sz-li Ma-lo-p'i*, 思離麻囉皮 (Śrī Maruvi, Mallavi, or Maruppiya?), sends three envoys with tribute.

1017. King *Hsia-ch'ih Su-wu-ch'a-p'u-mi*, 霞遲蘇勿叱滿迷 (Adhi Su-Bhoja-bhūmi), sends envoys with presents of pearls, ivory, Sanskrit books, folded fan-like between boards, and *K'un-lun* slaves (see p. 507).

1028. King *Shi-li Tieh-hwa*, 室離疊華 (Śrī Deva), despatches a mission with tribute.

1077. An envoy from *San-fo-ch'i* arrived in China. He is one of the great panjandrums in that country, and the emperor honours him accordingly. He must have met at Court the mission from *Chu-lien* (Choḷa) that arrived there this same year. (See following entry.)

[1] Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 563, says (in the translation): "in order that his sovereign may be informed" (of the delay).

[2] The name bestowed upon the temple was *Ch'êng-t'ien-wan-shou*, 承天萬壽. Here is a good chance for local amateur archæologists of finding out the site, and thus arriving at an exact determination of the emplacement of the old capital; for ruins of the temple must still exist, with perhaps commemorative Chinese inscriptions and other relics leading to the establishment of its identity.

1077. At this period *Chu-lien* (Choḷa, Koromandel) is stated in Sung history to have been already tributary to *San-fo-ch'i*; hence a reply is sent to the *Chu-lien* king on strong paper with an envelope of plain silk, instead of on gold-flowered silk, etc., as done with independent kingdoms. This subordinate position of *Chu-lien* in respect of *San-fo-ch'i* is said to be still enduring in 1106. (See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 586.)[1]

1078. Envoys from *San-fo-ch'i* reach China, bringing silver ingots, pearls, camphor-oil, olibanum, and other products of the country.

1080. A great dignitary from *San-fo-ch'i* arrives at Canton, saying that he had the direction of affairs in his country. He brings a letter from the king's daughter to the superintendent of

[1] It will be a matter of infinite surprise to our Indianists to hear, what must certainly be news to them, that the Choḷa kingdom that had risen to such mightiness through the exploits of Rājarāja the Great (985–1002) and his son Rājendra-Choḷa I could be tributary to the *Zābej* empire a few decades later. It is true that even during the latter monarch's reign the Western Chālukyan Jayasiṁha II claims to have subdued the Choḷa kingdom (in about 1018), and so does a few years later (1052–1060) Jayakeśin I, Kādamba of Goa, which circumstances argue that the ill-fated kingdom was already tottering to its fall. In fact, shortly afterwards a revolution broke out that gave opportunity to a Western Chālukya prince to occupy the throne; but in 1070 the Eastern Chālukyan Rājendra Choḷa II, King of Veṅgī, seized the Choḷa crown, and this is represented in the inscriptions to have passed down to his descendants until 1250 and further, although there is a blank of half a century in the history of the dynasty from 1165 to 1215. Nothing thus transpires from local records as to the Choḷa kingdom being a dependency, even as much as nominal, of the *Zābej* empire. Yet there can be no doubt that such a dependence must have been a fact, although we have no means of ascertaining its exact nature. The Chinese Court must have had full information on the subject, since the missions sent by both States in A.D. 1077 must have met there, so that any doubtful point cropping up as regards the relation in which they stood to each other would be easy of elucidation. We have besides other indications of Malay interference into Southern Indian and even Ceylonese affairs at a not much later period. In A.D. 1250 Malays, called *Javaku* in the Ceylonese chronicles, under the leadership of Prince Candrabhānu, attacked Ceylon. Though repulsed, they returned to the rescue between A.D. 1270 and 1275 under the same leader, but aided this time by Tamils from the mainland (see "Mahāvaṁsa," ch. 86, v. 36–37, and ch. 88, v. 62–63). From the Chinese evidence referred to above, and from the fact that the invaders are called *Javaku* (as being from *Javaka*, *Ḍavāka*, or *Dabag*, i.e. *Zābej*), I consider it pretty certain that they came from Sumatra, and perhaps from Palembang. It thus turns out that the *Zābej* empire used not only to keep an active trade with the southern parts of India, but also exercised there a certain measure of political influence, which may have been at times very considerable, so as to weigh in one way or the other on the destinies of the petty Southern Indian kingdoms of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. It is to this interesting fact, never before this brought out in a clear and definite form, that the attention of students of Southern Indian history is called with a view to a further investigation of its details and bearings.

trade, written in Chinese characters, and presents of Bārūs camphor and cotton-cloth.

1082. Three envoys arrive at the Chinese Court bringing golden lotus-flowers containing pearls, Bārūs camphor, and other rarities.

1083. Three other envoys come with presents.

1094–1097. Between these two dates they once again make their appearance.

1106. On the occasion of the reception of envoys from *P'u-kan*, 蒲甘 (*Bukām* or Pagān, capital of Burmā), the president of the Board of Rites submits to the emperor that "*Chu-lien* is a vassal of *San-fo-ch'i*." Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 586. (See entry above under date 1077.)

1156. King *Hsi-li Ma-hsia-lo-shê*, 悉利麻霞囉蛇 (Śrī Mahārāja), sends envoys with tribute.

1168. A new ruler (son of the preceding) succeeds to the throne of *San-fo-ch'i*. (See entry under date 1178.)

1172. The king of *San-fo-ch'i* solicits from the Emperor the authority to purchase copper for shipment to his country, and to engage Chinese artisans to convert this metal into tiles wherewith to roof his own residence (after the fashion of the Emperor's palace in China). The Emperor grants the request, but with the express condition that it be not renewed. (Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 566.)

1178. New envoys from *San-fo-ch'i* arrive with tribute. The Emperor, finding that the presents he usually gives in return for this tribute are rather expensive, directs them not to come to Court any more, but to make an establishment at Ch'üan-ch'ou (i.e. Zaitun) in Fuh-kien province. On this occasion the king of *San-fo-ch'i* has information conveyed to the Chinese Court that he has succeeded to his father's throne in the fourth year of the period *Ch'ien Tao* (A.D. 1168). Hence the investiture is accorded him. (Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 566.)

It is most probably owing to the decision of the Chinese Emperor making Ch'üan-ch'ou the terminus of *San-fo-ch'i* missions, that the Chinese annals present a blank as regards relations with this State, extending over nearly two centuries,

i.e. from A.D. 1178 to 1370. Part of this gap may, however, be filled from information left us by Chao Ju-kua, from whom we cull the following items, referring to the period between :—

1205–1240. Fifteen States are subject to *San-fo-ch'i*, viz. :—

1. *Tan-ma-ling*, the capital of which is surrounded with a palisade, 6 to 7 feet in width by over 20 in height, strong enough on the top for the purpose of warfare (see *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 128). The country produces camphor, etc., and manufactures gold and silver ware. Perhaps the *Tambilang* River, east coast of Sumatra, lat. 2° S. (see p. 601).

2. *Lin-ya-sz*, which can be reached in six days' sailing from *Tan-ma-ling*, but there is also a road by land. Products: camphor, rhinoceros horns, ivory, etc. It pays yearly tribute to *San-fo-ch'i* (op. cit., p. 129). Probably the *Langksa* or *Langsar* River, below Perlak; if not, *Langkat* near Deli, *Ringat* in Indragiri, or *Rigas*, west coast of Sumatra. (See p. 599.)

3. *Pêng-fêng*, a neighbour of Nos. 4, 5, and 7 (op. cit., p. 132). Perhaps Mong-gong, North Sumatra (see p. 599). If not, *Bu-bun* district near Malabu, west coast of Sumatra (4° 20′ N. lat.).

4. *Têng-ya-nêng*, a neighbour of Nos. 3, 5, and 7 (ibid.). Undoubtedly *Trieng-gading* or *Tringading*, North Sumatra (ibid.).

5. *Chia-chi-lan-tan* or *Ka-ki-lan-tan*, a neighbour of Nos. 3, 4, and 7 (ibid.). Possibly *Gigieng* or *Gighen*, North Sumatra (ibid.).

6. *Hsi-lan* (op. cit., p. 133), 細蘭 (Sai-lan, Se-lang). Most likely Chalang or Chellang, near Rigas Bay, west coast of Sumatra. Otherwise it may be the River *Silan*, forming the boundary between Āsāhan and Bātu-bāra (3° 10′ N. lat.); or else either the *Penu-siran* River (in Jambi), or the *Besilam* in Langkat. Professor Schlegel speaks (*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 133) of a *Silan* tribe in Deli; but this is probably *Silau*, and not *Silan*. There is, moreover, a *Selan* River and district on the west coast of Bangka (2° 24′ S. lat.).

7. *Fo-lo-an*, lying at four days' sailing from *Lin-ya-sz*, from which it can also be reached by the land route (op. cit.,

pp. 130 and 134). Either *Berūan*, north coast of Sumatra; *Belawan*, near Deli, east coast; or *Benuwang* on the Rakan River. (See p. 600.)

8. *Jih-lo-t'ing*, 日羅亭 (op. cit., pp. 128, 134). Gold and silver wares manufactured. Very likely *Jelatang* on a small stream, a little to the south-west of the present Jambi town, in 1° 42′ S. lat.

9. *Ch'ien-mai*, 潛邁 (op. cit., pp. 128, 135). Gold and silver wares manufactured. I take this to be *Semāwi* or *Semāwei*, *vulgo Semoy*, on the homonymous bight, the *Teluḳ Semāwi*, تلق سماوي, 'Celestial Bay (or Harbour),' into which debouches the Pāsei River, North Sumatra. The dialectal pronunciations of the above Chinese characters are *Ts'ym-mai*, *Sen-mai*, etc.

10. *Pa-t'a*, 拔沓 (ibid.). Gold and silver wares manufactured. I am inclined to think this place to be *Pedada* or *Pidada* (which is, no doubt, the hitherto unidentified *Pirada* of De Barros), lying between Samalāngan and Pasāngan, North Sumatra; although it may be *Bedagē*, East Sumatra, 3° 31′ N. lat. See also p. 541. N.B.—There is another *Pedada* on Pedada Strait, Kateman district, 0° 15′ N. lat., as well as a *Pedawa* just below Perlaḳ.

11. *Chia-lo-hsi* or *Ka-lo-hei*, 加羅希 (ibid.). A very puzzling name. Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 486) mentions (from Sung history, under a date corresponding to A.D. 1116) a *Ka-lo-hsi* or *Ka-lo-hei*, 加囉希, very likely the same place, as lying to the south of *Chên-la* (Kamboja), but at what distance he does not state. I have thought about the country inhabited by the *Charāi* tribes, but this would not answer, it being situated to the east of Kamboja. Neither would the territory of the *Charau* and *Churu*, which is in the south-east. We shall probably have to look for the name *Karagi*, *Krahai*, *Gargai*, *Gargei*, or *Galagi*, either on the east coast of Sumatra or neighbouring islands. On the east coast of Sumatra we merely have *Rawas*, *Karu* or *Karau*, *Kurinchi*; *Gāyu* and *Ala* or *Hala* on the north coast; *Juru* in Malacca; *Hala* and *Gargasi* in Kedah. Finally, we have *Chagalelegat*, the Mantāwi islanders, off the west coast of Sumatra. The last term, which is at the same time the one that answers best on linguistic grounds, especially in its possible contracted forms *Chalegat* or *Galegat*, unfortunately belongs to tribes situated too far away for our purpose. Gold and silver ware is

manufactured also in the State of *Ka-lo-hei*, according to Chao Ju-kua. After all, the place in question might be *Jūrūlu*, *Jūlot*, or *Jūlūk*, a petty State on the east coast of Sumatra above Perlak and immediately below the Arakundur River. The *Kia-lo-hei* lying south of Kamboja may be a distinct State; perhaps *Kalākah*, an old district of West Borneo.

12. *Pa-lin-fêng* or *Pa-lin-p'ing*, 巴林瀕 (op. cit., p. 136). Probably *Berembang* in Deli, 3° 42′ N. lat., and not Palembang, the name of which is spelled *P'o-lin-pang*, 浡淋邦, by Ma Huan, A.D. 1416 (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 197).

13. *Hsin-t'o*, 新拖 (ibid.). Barbosa's *Zunda* kingdom, South-West Sumatra, corresponding to the present Indrapura district. (See above, pp. 450 seqq.)

14. *Chien-pi*, 監篦 (op. cit., p. 138), or *Kam-pi*, *Kam-pei*. "A revolting colony of *San-fo-ch'i* with a warlike population, probably Malays, carrying on a trade in tin, ivory, and pearls" (*Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1896, p. 487). Not likely to be Kampar, the name of which is spelled 甘巴, *Kan-pa*, in the Chinese map published by Phillips; nor *Jempa* or *Jūmpa* in Pasāngan, North Sumatra. There is a *Kampi* promontory at the north point of entrance to the Banju Asin, and a *Kumpai* island at the north-east end of Aru Bay, either of which may be the place intended. *Kumpai* is, however, in the Chinese map just alluded to, spelled 甘杯, *Kan-pei*, which fact condemns the latter alternative. From the fact of tin being an article of trade in the country, some district on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula may be meant (Ghirbi).

15. *Lan-wu-li* or *Lam-bu-ri*, 藍無里 (ibid.) = Lambri. Sends yearly tribute to *San-fo-ch'i* (*Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1896, p. 482). See the treatment of this toponymic in the next section, devoted to **Argyrē**.

Besides, Chao Ju-kua tells us the following interesting details:—China collects together the gold and silver wares manufactured and sold at *Tan-ma-ling*, *Jih-lo-t'ing*, *Ch'ien-mai*, *Pa-t'a*, and *Ka-lo-hei* (Nos. 1, 8, 9, 10, 11 above), and offers them to *San-fo-ch'i* (*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 128). Every year ships go from *San-fo-ch'i*, *Chi-t'o* (*Kat-to*=Telok *Kruit*, West Sumatra ?), and *Chien-pi* (Kampi, Ghirbi ?) to *Nan-p'i*

(Malabar). Products are carried from *Nan-p'i* to *San-fo-ch'i* and *Chi-lo-ta-lung* (=*Kwāla Terong*, or *Trong*, on the Pêrak coast?), (*Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1896, p. 486). This explains the influence that the *Zābej* empire had succeeded in creating for itself in Southern India. For other countries in Sumatra producing pepper, see above, pp. 450–451.

1250. Malays (*Javakus*), undoubtedly from the *Zābej* empire, Sumatra, led by prince Candra-bhānu, attack Ceylon, but are after some difficulty repulsed. (See p. 624.)

1270–1275. A second invasion of Ceylon by the same people, but with the assistance of Tamils from the Southern Indian mainland, takes place between these two dates. (Ibid.)

1274. SARĪRAH is the largest of the *Zābej* islands (read 'districts'). The sovereign, the Mahārāja, is one of the richest potentates of [Further] India. He has his residence on the largest of such islands [i.e. *Sarīrah=Sarbaza*] (Ibn Ṣa'īd). (See p. 572.)

Here intervenes a gap of well-nigh a century in all records. Both Marco Polo and Odoric seem never to have heard of *Śrī-Bhoja*, or else they forgot all about it.

1371. Having been summoned to allegiance by the newly established Ming dynasty, King *Ma-ha-la-cha Pa-la-pu*, 馬哈剌札八剌卜 (Mahārāja Prabhu, or Purba?), sends envoys with presents. This monarch may be the Saṁsapurba of the "Ṣejarah Malāyu," who reigned for some time over Palembang. (See Leyden's "Malay Annals," pp. 23 seq.)

The country now becomes split up into three principalities, each with its own chief.

1373. King *Tan-ma-sha-na-a*, 怛麻沙那阿 (Dharma-sena?), sends envoys with tribute. This is principality No. 1.

1374. King *Ma-na-ha Pau-lin-pang*, 馬那哈寶林邦 (Manuha Pralamba, Balambang), despatches, in his turn, a mission with presents. This is principality No. 2, and the term *Pau-lin-pang* in the king's name may, as Groeneveldt suggests (op. cit., p. 193), stand for Palembang.

1375. King *Séng-chia-lie-yü-lan*, 僧伽烈宇蘭 (Sangaliura?), sends tribute. This is principality No. 3.

1376. King Dharma-sena (principality No. 1) dies, and his son, *Ma-na-chê Wu-li*, 麻那者巫里 (Mahārāja Bhūri, or Balei?), succeeds him.

1377. The king last referred to sends tribute, and asks for investiture as ruler of *San-fo-ch'i*, which is granted.

An expedition from Java (very likely *Mājapāhit*) completely conquers *San-fo-ch'i*, and its name is changed (by the Chinese) to *Chiu-chiang* (*Kau-kong* or *Ku-kang*). From this period dates the subordination of Palembang to Javanese rule, and its decline as a centre of trade.

In dealing with subsequent events under the date A.D. 1406, when two Chinese chiefs are mentioned, of whom one ruled at *San-fo-ch'i* (?) and the other at *Ku-kang*, Groeneveldt (op. cit., pp. 195 and 200) argues that *San-fo-ch'i* and *Ku-kang* (i.e. Palembang) must have been two different places. Palembang, he proceeds to say, was called "*Ku-kang*, 'the Old River,' to distinguish it from Jambi, where probably the princes of *San-bo-tsai* [San-fo-ch'i] established their capital, after they had been driven away from the old one by the Javanese; this name, 'the Old River,' given by them to the river of Palembang, implies that they were familiar with it long since, and that it had been visited by them during their previous trade, which we know had always been carried on at San-bo-tsai." I feel bound to observe, however, that in the first place it does not appear at all clearly from the Chinese account translated by Groeneveldt that one of the chiefs in question ruled exactly *at San-fo-ch'i*; the context plainly shows that he merely ruled over "part of the country" (of *San-fo-ch'i*). Secondly, we have seen (p. 617) that the name *Chiu-chiang* or *Ku-kang* ('Old River' or 'Old Lagoon') was almost certainly also given to the *Berba* (= *Pūrva*, i.e. 'old,' 'ancient') branch of the Jambi River, the proper name for which—or at any rate for its upper portion — is *Tambesi*. In the case in point, therefore, *Ku-kang* may mean either the territory on the *Berba*, i.e. Jambi, or that on the Sung-sang, i.e. Palembang, although it most likely applies to the latter. The other chief may

have ruled over any other part of the country. But quite apart from this there seems to be no question that, as we have repeatedly pointed out, the capital of the country must have stood in the early days, and maybe even during later periods, on the Jambi River. First of all, we have the evidence of the ancient remains (images, etc.), to which we had occasion to call attention (p. 601), on that stream. Then various circumstantial indications, among which is the fact that gold, for which the Śrī-Bhoja State became so famous, is almost exclusively found, at any rate in largest quantities, in districts situated on or about the upper tributaries of the Jambi River, namely, Līmun, Bātang-Āsei, Pangkalan-Jambu, Kurinchi. Further, the peculiarity that the name itself of the stream, *Tambesi*, is not very dissimilar from the Chinese transcript *San-fo-ch'i* or *Sam-bu-tsi*, to which it may, as likely as not, have given origin. And, last but not least, the statement, though by no means absolutely reliable, of the Ming historians, that at a later period the place where the first chief of the country (had) lived was called *Chan-pei* (= Jambi?).[1] If this identification is correct this would be the first instance in which the name *Jambi*, جمبي, appears in Chinese history, unless we consider the same toponymic to be alluded to several centuries earlier in what is represented in Sung annals to be merely a title for the kings of the *San-fo-ch'i* country.[2] Apart from this still doubtful point, it seems strange that the name of a district which was, like Jambi, so important a centre of trade and civilization, should have been suffered to remain unrecorded for so long a period, not finding even a place in the detailed list of the fifteen districts subject to *San-fo-ch'i* drawn up by Chao Ju-kua. There is, of course, some justification to be found for this silence in the argument that Jambi, from its lying in such close proximity to Palembang, was likely to be confounded with the latter; but the real reason seems to be that the connection between the two States was very probably far more intimate than it has

[1] See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 196.
[2] Ibid., p. 188.

been hitherto supposed. We are inclined to believe, in fact, from the various indications we have met with in the course of the present inquiry, that Jambi was in the early days the capital of the Śrī-Bhoja State, or at any rate of the *Zābej* (Java or Javaka) Empire, which was later on—at what precise date is still to be ascertained—transferred to the territory of the newly rising, younger constituted district of Palembang. And at a still remoter period Jambi must have formed the advance post of Indū civilization towards the southern part of the Archipelago, and withal the southern limit of the territories settled by the *Java* or *C'hawa* race. Thus Ptolemy's conception of a **Iabadiū** or **Sabadiū** stretching no farther southward than the Jambi district seems, in the light of all evidence now at hand, sufficiently justified.

It now remains for us to add a few words in explanation of the various forms that the name *Java* and derived or cognate terms have assumed in the records and traditions of different nations as applied to Sumatra or part of its territory. To the principal of these forms allusion has already been made; but it will be well to review them here all together. The prototypes of them are, as we have shown, *Java, C'hawa, Sawa, Yava, Ḍava,* with their adjectival derivatives *Javaka, Savaka, Ḍavaka,* and *Javana, Yavana,* etc.[1] All these correlated terms have been imported from the Indo-Chinese mainland to Sumatra by the nation that bore them as its names, the so-called Mōñ-Annam — better to say Mōñ-Khmēr — race. The knowledge of these facts, for the first time brought to light in these pages, renders the toponymics we propose to examine quite easy of comprehension; whereas the ignorance of the same facts made such toponymics distressing puzzles to our predecessors.

[1] "Rigg says this [*Jāwa*] Sundanese word [*sic ! !*] is the same as *Yawana*, the Hindoo word for Greeks or 'foreigners'" (*China Review*, vol. xx, p. 156). We now know better.

Starting first with Ptolemy's **Iabadiū** or **Sabadiū**, there can be no doubt that these terms represent the vernacular Indū forms *Yaba-diū* and *Saba-diū* of, respectively, *Yava-dīpa* (or *Yava-dvīpa*) and *Sava* (or *Java*)*-dīpa* (or *-dvīpa*).

Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'o-t'i* (*Ya-ba-dei, Ja-ba-dai, Ya-ba-che*) stands for either *Yaba-diū, Jabadiū,* or *Yava-deś, Java-deś.* In the last syllable *t'i, di, che* of the compositum, we already detect traces of a softening tendency towards a palatal *ji, je, ja,* if not of a guttural *g* or *k,* which we shall find later on in *Zābej, Dabag,* and *Javaku.*

We next come to the Arabic *Zābej* (Sulaimān, A.D. 851), which should perhaps be more properly read *Zābaj.* This may represent either *Javaja, Java-jā* (the *Java* race or people), or *Jāvaka,* a derivative of the collateral prototype *Ḍavāka* or *Ḍāvaka,* known since at least the fourth century A.D.,[1] which became in later ages exemplified in the Syriac *Dabag*[2] or *Zabag,* the Persian *Javaka,* and the Siṁhalese *Javaku.* Of the absurdity of the suggested connection between *Zābej* and *Śrī-Bhoja* I have already spoken; it absolutely cannot be entertained.

It is with Ibn Khurdādbih (A.D. 864) that we arrive at the fairly correct spelling *Jābah,* lost since Ptolemy's time. His example is followed later on by Edrīsī (A.D. 1154), Ibn Ṣa'īd (A.D. 1274), and others. Yāḳūt (A.D. 1218), Abū-l-Fedā (A.D. 1321), and Ibn Baṭūṭa (A.D. 1345–1346), however, go still further and present us Sumatra under the name of *Jāwah,* which had already been made known by Marco Polo (1292) under the form *Java* (the Less).

But it is not only in foreign literatures or traditions that we meet with such names for the island of Sumatra and

[1] See p. 57.

[2] The term *Dabag* occurs in the Syriac MS. published in the "Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana" by Joseph Simon Assemanus, vol. iii, pp. 99–599, with a Latin version. The MS. was written in A.D. 1533. It is therein stated that in 1503 the Patriarch Elias charged four Fathers to proceed to the country of the Indies and to the islands of the sea that are within *Dabag,* and *Sin,* and *Masin.* There can be no doubt that *Dabag* here stands for *Davaka* or *Javaka,* i.e. the ancient *Zābej* or *Zābaj* empire centreing in Sumatra.

In Rashīdu-d-Dīn (A.D. 1310) occurs the form *Zārbāj* (= *Dārva, Dārvaka*), which we probably find exemplified in Sarāwak (W. Borneo), and which is in any case a modification of al-Bīrūnī's *Zābag* or *Zābaj* (A.D. 1031).

its Mōñ-Khmēr descended, i.e. 'Malay,' population that immigrated to it during the old days. We find the same terms on the very soil of the island applied by the aboriginal tribes to the same 'Malay' population; and again we see them employed among neighbouring nations on the Indo-Chinese mainland and even farther, to designate the island itself as well as the race that early settled on its coasts. To the almost certain fact of Sumatra having been the birthplace of the legend as regards the origin of its name *Yava-* or *Java-dvīpa*, which passed on thence to Java and came to be applied even to other islands in that neighbourhood,[1] reference has already been made. It is one link in

[1] The first undoubted mention of the island of Java under the name *Java* that I have so far met with occurs in the chronicle of Pāsei (see Marre's transl., pp. 87, 89 et seqq.), compiled certainly not earlier than the fifteenth century. It also appears in a chronicle of the kings of *Pulo Percha* (Sumatra, more properly Menangkabau) published in the "Malay Miscellanies," vol. ii, Bencoolen, 1822. This second document is certainly of no earlier date than the one first referred to.. The oldest local mention occurs in an inscription now in the Museum at Batavia, published by Mr. Holle, and dated Śaka 654 = A.D. 732. The name here takes the form *Yavā*: "*Dvīpavaraṁ Yavākhyaṁ*," i.e. "the noble island called *Yavā*." I strongly doubt, however, that the whole island of Java is here implied. Its eastern part alone is almost certainly meant.

As regards the application of the name *Java* to other islands besides Java, the following notes may be of interest:—

A.D. 1440 *circâ*.—Nicolò Conti mentions two Javas which lie within one hundred miles of each other, and at one month's sailing distance from the continent, towards the east. They are:

1. JAVA MAJOR, 3,000 miles in circumference. Usually identified with *Java*, but which I think undoubtedly to be *Borneo*, for the author says that thence he bent his course "westward to a maritime city called *Ciampa* [Champā, i.e. Bab-Angwē or Kwī-ñön]"; see, moreover, next entry.

2. JAVA MINOR, 2,000 miles in circumference = Java. (See Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century," part ii, pp. 15–17.)

1450.—In Frà Mauro's planisphere we find marked three large islands, viz.:

1. SUMATRA, with *Mare Taprobane*.

2. GIAVA MAGGIORE = Java the Greater = Borneo.

3. GIAVA MINORE = Java the Less = Java. (See Zurla's "Marco Polo," etc., Venezia, 1818, facsimile of Frà Mauro's plan.)

1516.—Duarte Barbosa mentions in his relation:

1. SUMATRA.

2. BORNEI = Borneo.

3. JAVA MAJOR = Java.

4. JAVA MINOR, so called, he states, by the Arabs and Persians, while by the natives it is termed *Ambaba*. N.B., a place called Ampanan is on the west coast of Lombok; but either Bāli (*Nusa Kambangan*) or Madura (*Nusa Antara*) may be meant here; see next entry. (Ramusio, vol. i, f. 318 *verso* and 319 *recto*.) I have since noticed, however, that Antonio Galvano (A.D. 1555), having mentioned Bāli beyond Java, proceeds: "and then

the chain of circumstantial evidence proving that, of all the islands of the Archipelago, Sumatra was the first one to bear the name *Java*, and the only one properly entitled to be recognized under such an appellation in all the accounts of the ancient travellers down to at least the end of the thirteenth century. The last links in the chain just referred to we are now going to give as a conclusion to our inquiry. They are the evidence of the population itself of Sumatra, as well as of their neighbours; the voice of over half a dozen nations and tribes, who unanimously bear witness that Sumatra was the original, the true *Java*, and that it was so even long after the present Java had borrowed

[they] came also vnto other called *Aujaue, Cambaba, Solor*" (Hakluyt, iv, 423). Here a cedilla has doubtless dropped from *Cambaba*, which should thus read *Çambaba*, meaning Sambāwā. Hence it is possible that Barbosa's *Ambaba* may stand for *Çambaba*, i.e. Sambāwā.

1521.—Pigafetta, after mentioning Sumatra and Java Major, states:

JAVA MINOR lies at half a league from Java Major, and is as large as the island of *Madera* (Madeira). Hence, either Madura or Bāli is meant here. (Ramusio, op. cit., fol. 369 *recto*.)

1576.—Girolamo Porro, in the map attached to Porcacchi's book, p. 189, marks:

1. Sumatra, which he does not name, although making it easily recognizable from the various kingdoms mapped there, viz., Çamatra, Pedir, Pazer (Pāsai), etc.

2. IAVA MAZOR = Java.

3. IAVA MENOR = Borneo (*Burna* = Burnei, Brūnai, is marked on it). This he makes smaller than Gilolo, owing to his following, I believe, Massimiliano Transilvano's views (see Ramusio, vol. i, p. 351).—Porcacchi's "L'Isole piu famose," etc., Venetia, 1576.

1595.—Prévost, quoting authors of the period, says the island usually called Java is sometimes styled the *Great Java*, in order to distinguish it from a neighbouring island termed the *Little Java*, or Bali.—"Hist. gén. des Voyages," vol. viii, Paris, 1750, p. 154.

It will thus be seen that the terms *Great Java* and *Little Java* have been indiscriminately applied to different islands at various times, according to the views of the several travellers; or, putting the results in formula shape, we obtain:

1. GREAT JAVA = Java (M. Polo, 1292); Borneo (Conti, 1440, and Frà Mauro, 1450); Java (Barbosa, 1516, and Pigafetta, 1521).

2. LITTLE JAVA = Sumatra (M. Polo, 1292); Java (Conti, 1440, and Frà Mauro, 1450); Bāli, Madura, or Sambāwā (Barbosa, 1516, and Pigafetta, 1521); Borneo (Porro, 1576); Bāli (1595).

It is not at all exact, therefore, to say, as Cordier sweepingly puts it, that "tout le monde sait aujourd'hui qu'il y a eu . . . . deux *Java*, Java mineure, cette même Sumatra, et Java majeure, Java même" ("L'Extrême Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan," p. 42). This is simply misleading for "tout le monde"; hence, the reason for the above little enquiry, which, though by no means exhaustive, will throw some light into this dark corner of mediæval geography.

from it her name, along with the traditions attached thereto. Here, then, is the evidence in question, which, for facility of reference, I subjoin in a tabulated form:—

The 'Malays' of Sumatrá are called	By whom.	Authorities.
Jauijs (=*Jāuyjīn*, plural of *Jāwī*).	Themselves	De Barros, Decada iii, lib. v, ch. 1 (A.D. 1553).
Jāu (=Jāva)	The Battak	Van der Lith, "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 238.
Dawa (=Ḍava)	The natives of Nias	
Javaku (=Javaka)	The Ceylonese ...	Siṁhalese chronicles (*circâ* A.D. 1270–1280).
C'hvēa (C'havā, Javā) ... *Chuvēar* (=Javaka)... ...	The Khmērs ...	Leclère, 'Contes et Légendes,' Paris, 1895, p. 306; and other writers on Kamboja.
Chà-và, 榛 吧 (C'havā, Jāvā). *C'hà-vyā*, 榛 吧 (Jāvya, Jāvā).	The Annamese ...	Bonet's "Dictionnaire Annamite Français," Paris, 1899, t. i, p. 66; and others.
C'hawā (Javā)	The Siāmese ...	Khún Lúang Hāwat's chronicle, p. 158 (*circâ* A.D. 1768); and other Siāmese records.

I may add, moreover, that the Malays of Menang-kabau, Central Sumatra, are termed *C'hvēa-krabei* by the Khmērs, whereas those of the Malay Peninsula are called, as with the Siāmese, *Malāyū*,[1] which is, as we have seen, the proper name of the territory they inhabit.

And the Javanese, it will now be asked, the fortunate inhabitants of the 'true Java' so dear to the imagination of Sinologists and Arabists, what are they designated? Well, I am sorry to say that until a very recent period the Indo-Chinese nations had no name for them, nor for their island either—a most ominous sign that they had not the honour, until very lately, of becoming acquainted with either the one or the other. It is only from the last two centuries or so that the Khmērs had to invent for them the distinctive designation of *C'hvēa Yavā*.[2] As regards

[1] See Leclère's "Contes et Légendes," Paris, 1895, pp. 297, n., and 306. In Siāmese records, *Malāyū* in Lady Nobamas' Memoirs (fourteenth century), and *Mālāyū* in Khún Lúang Hāwat's chronicle, p. 158.

[2] Leclère, op. cit., p. 306.

their delightful island, all they learned were the names of some of its paramount States, such as, for instance, Kalāpā (= Sunda-Kalāpa district), Jakatra (= Jakarta), later on Batavia, founded 1619, and Mataram.[1] Intercourse between Champā and Java commenced somewhat earlier (*circâ* A.D. 1380–1390),[2] but it is very doubtful that the Chām ever knew that island under any other name than that of the State—Mājapāhīt—with which those relations were established. In conclusion, I trust to have made it pretty clear that the Island of Java and the Javanese did not become known, if at all, to the neighbouring nations on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula until the end of the thirteenth century and later; and then not under the names of *Java* or *Jāva* people, but under those of the Javanese kingdoms to which they belonged. Further, that the terms *Java*, *Javaka*, *Ḍava*, *Ḍavaka*, *C'hawā*, etc., have always been understood, not only by the people of Sumatra or of its borderlands, but by all nations of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and even Ceylon, to mean the Mōñ-Khmēr descended inhabitants of Sumatra—the so-called 'Malays'—and, by analogy, the Island of Sumatra itself, which, even by the Malays on the opposite coast of the Malay Peninsula, was, for that very reason,

[1] Jakatra is first mentioned in the form *Yaikatrā* in the Siāmese chronicle of Khún Lúang Hāwat, p. 158 (date about 1750), as being then in amicable relations with the country. This was, of course, already the period of Dutch rule there. Mataram, the realm in the south-east of Java, is referred to a century earlier, A.D. 1653.

No mention of the former mighty empire of Mājapāhīt occurs in either Siāmese, Khmēr, Peguan, or Burmese records, although, as we have seen, the Javanese poem "Nagara-kretāgama" of the fourteenth century tells us how that State was then in friendly relation with Ayuthia, Ligor, Kamboja, and other kingdoms on the Indo-Chinese continent. There may be a good deal of poetical fiction and exaggeration in this statement, although some measure of truth no doubt underlies it. All the same, the intercourse in question must have been very slight, since it left no trace in the history and traditions of these peoples. These last, no doubt, confused in their minds the Javanese with the Jāwas of Sumatra. As regards Siām, however, rather close relations must have existed between at least her possessions on the Malay Peninsula (Ligor, etc.), if not her capital Ayuthia and Mājapāhīt; for in 1397 China invites Siām to use her influence with Java (Mājapāhīt) to induce the latter to keep her newly acquired vassal *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang) quiet. (See Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 194–195.)

[2] See Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 209. The date is my own rectified one.

called the 'Country of *Jāwī*.'[1] To this day a Sumatra wind is called an *Angin Jāwa*, i.e. 'Jāwa [= Sumatra] wind,'[2] by the Singaporeans and the natives of the Straits generally; and benjoin, which is certainly not a product of Java, but of Sumatra, is accordingly termed *Lubān Jāwī*.[3] We thus see that from Ptolemy's days down to very modern, nay, even recent times, the name *Java* for Sumatra (but more properly for the race that very early settled on it from the Indo-Chinese mainland, can be traced in an almost uninterrupted sequel. It now remains for those who, after a perusal of the overwhelming mass of evidence we have adduced above, still hold a brief for that "Pearl of Islands, Java," to prove their own thesis—not by mere airy speculations, but by substantial and well-authenticated evidence, as we have been doing throughout the preceding pages.

Having thus endeavoured, to the best of our ability, to throw as much light as possible on the principal and perhaps most ancient appellation of Sumatra, it would seem to us to be guilty of an unpardonable omission were we not to say, by way of conclusion, a few words on the names after which

[1] This designation appears in the Kedah Annals, ch. 13. Colonel Low (in the *Journal of the Malay Archipelago*, vol. iii) translates the passage where this allusion occurs: "Country of *Jawi*, otherwise Achëh," thus giving rise to the wrong impression that the Achëh district alone was implied under that connotation. But the true spirit of the sentence is evidently: "the country of *Jāwī*, i.e. Achëh [and neighbouring districts]." Achëh was at the time a very extensive State, embracing the whole coastline of the northern part of Sumatra. In A.D. 1612, as evidenced by a letter of its Sultan (published in the *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 31, July, 1898, p. 125), its dominions extended as far down as Palembang on the east coast and *Bengkūlu* (Bencoolen) on the western. Interpreted in such a spirit, the above allusion perfectly agrees with Ibn Baṭūṭa's statement calling Sumatra the "Country of *Jāwah*," بلاد الجاوة, as well as the "Island of *Jāwah*," جزيرة الجاوة. (See Defrémery and Sanguinetti's transl., t. iv, pp. 224 and 228, text.)

[2] See the *China Review*, vol. xx, p. 156. This wind Dr. Little—and Dr. Dennys, quoting him ("Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya," p. 167)—believe to be so called from the Island of Java, notwithstanding the fact that, as Dennys himself acknowledges, it is a south wind, is unhealthy, and is felt at times even in Penang and Province Wellesley, thus having perforce to cross all over Sumatra to get there!!

[3] Crawfurd explicitly declares ("History of the Indian Archipelago," vol. i, Edinburgh, 1820, p. 518) that "Borneo and Sumatra are the only countries [in the Archipelago] which produce it." Why, then, was the term *Jāwī* applied to it?

either the island itself or the most noted parts of it have been known at various times to its own people, as well as to the neighbouring Malays on the opposite coast of the Peninsula and to foreign nations, including those of the Western world. Such names, for the first notice of which the date could be ascertained, will be given hereafter chronologically arranged in a tabulated form; here we shall deal first with those the birth-date of which is so far either undetermined or but vaguely known.

The following are the designations applied by the Malays on the Peninsula to the various parts of Sumatra:—

1. Tānah Jāwī, تانه جاوي = the 'Country of Jāwī' (Kedah Annals, ch. 13); a name, if not for the whole of the island, at least for the northern half, or more, of it. Date, *circâ* fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D.

2. Pulu Andalas, ڤولو اندلس, 'The *Andhala*, *Andhaka*, or *Andhra* Island'; or, simply, *Andalas*, *Indalas* (see p. 612). ("Sejarah Malāyu," and Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 20.) Date, about fourteenth century. This is said to have been the name then, or before that, applied to the territory of *Palembang* or *Perlambang*, the present Palembang, ڤلمبڠ نكري.

3. Pulo Percha, ڤولو فرچ, the 'Guttapercha (or, more correctly, *Getah-Percha*) Island'; from فرچا, *Farcha*, *Fercha*, the Persian word for a rag, a remnant of stuff.[1] (Dulaurier, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1847, p. 125.) Date, unknown.[2] Newbold ("Straits of Malacca," London, 1839, vol. ii, p. 222) identifies *Pulo Percha* with the Jambi district.

[1] On the still much discussed etymology of the term *Pulo Percha* Dr. Rost appends the following editorial note to p. 88 of the "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. i: "According to Van der Tuuk ('Malay Dict.,' 1880), *Pulo Percha*, 'the gutta-percha island'; according to the Abbé Favre and Professor Pijnappel, in their Malay Dictionaries, *percha* is i.g. *martya*, 'the inhabited world.' This opinion was first propounded by Van der Tuuk in his 'Bataksch Woordenboek' (1881), s.v. *morsa*." Colonel Low, in the *Journal of the Malay Archipelago*, vol. iii, adheres to the first view, and adds that *Pulo Percha* is the name still applied, by the people to the eastward, to Sumatra.

[2] The name *Pulo Percha* (for, apparently, the northern part of Sumatra) first appears, to my knowledge, in a Malay MS. on the kings of *Pulo Percha* in the possession of the Sultan of Indrapura (south-west coast of Sumatra), from which Sir Stamford Raffles compiled the account published in the "Malay Miscellanies," vol. ii, Bencoolen, 1822. The same name also occurs in the chronicle of Pāsei (see Marre's transl., pp. 99, 102), where it appears to apply to the territory of Menangkabau. The Kedah Annals (ch. 2), however, speak of "Achēh on the sea-coast of *Pulo Percha*."

4. Pulo Mas, پولو امس, the 'Island of Gold,' and not 'Golden Island' as it has been lyrically suggested in order to identify it with the classical *Suvarṇadvīpa*, which, we have shown, is far more probably the Malay Peninsula. This designation must refer in particular to the Jambi district, the most noted for the precious metal. Date, unknown.[1] Newbold ("Straits

[1] I-tsing (A.D. 671–695) twice refers to *Śrī-Bhoja* (Palembang or Jambi, or both) as *Chin-chou*, 金洲, the 'Island of Gold,' and not 'Gold Isle,' as it has been hitherto assumed (see Chavannes, op. cit., p. 37, note; p. 181, n. 2; and p. 186). His commentator Kāśyapa (eighteenth century) identifies *Chin-chou* with 金潾, *Chin-lin* (*Kam-lan*) or *Chin-ch'ên*, 金陳 (*Kim-chin*), the silver-producing country situated at some 2,000 *li* (*circâ* 400 miles) to the west of *Fu-nan*, that we have shown (p. 164) to correspond very probably to Hwên-tsang's *Kāmalaṅkā* and to be therefore situated on the upper part of the Malay Peninsula. I should not think, after all, that Kāśyapa is right in his suggestion, for I-tsing refers unquestionably to *Śrī-Bhoja* by his term *Chin-chou*, and not to *Chin-lin*, with which he was acquainted, as evidenced by the fact that he mentions it by name (see Takakusu, op. cit., p. 17). We must accordingly conclude that Palembang, more probably Jambi, was already known in I-tsing's time, i.e. the seventh century A.D., by some name meaning the 'Gold-bearing District' or 'Island of Gold.' The question is now to find out what such a name was like. Was it *Pulo Mas*? I hardly think this designation had already sprung up into being then, although it is possible. My impression is rather that the term *Andala*, *Andara*, *Andhra*, or something similar, which we are told was the old name borne by that district, is what means—or was taken to mean—'Gold-bearing District' or 'Island of Gold.' Let us remember that Conti distinctly states (*circâ* A.D. 1440) *Andamania* (or Andāmān) to mean the 'Island of Gold.' He may have laboured under a misunderstanding, or he may be correct for all we know. We have noticed various legends as regards the connection of the Andāmāns with the precious metal (see pp. 389 et seq.), and we have already laid stress on early connecting links, historical and otherwise, that seem undoubtedly to have existed between the Andāmāns and the *Śrī-Bhoja* district on the east coast of Sumatra. We have even drawn attention to several striking homonymies detected between the toponymics of the two places, one of which is that of *Andāmān* or *Anthōman* with *Andalas* or *Andhalas*, the old name of Palembang (see pp. 393, 395, and 612). It is therefore not altogether impossible that the root *Andā*, *Anthō*, *Andal*, *Andar*, etc. (*man* being but a suffix common to many a place-name in the Archipelago, see p. 419 above, perhaps identical with the Sanskrit *mana* or *māna* occurring, e.g., in *Vardḍhamāna*), may have had, in some of the early languages prevailing in this region, the meaning of 'gold,' or was ascribed such a signification. It is worthy of notice that in the Mōñ tongue the word for 'gold' is precisely *thō*, the very second portion of the root *anthō* in *Anthō-mān*. Such being the case, there would be nothing strange if the actual form *anthō* were ultimately discovered in some of the Mōñ-derived dialects spoken on the Malay Peninsula, the Nikobārs, or Sumatra. If so, the above suggestion would be confirmed in fact, and Conti shown to have been right.

Postscriptum.—Gold is *Tē* in Red Karen speech; *Tā* or *Ta* in allied dialects. It is very remarkable that it is called *Halāwane* in Asilulu (Amboyna) and *Indarama* (cf. *Indalas*, *Andalas*) in Mākūa (Eastern Africa). Crawfurd writes *Halawang*, of which the term *Lawang* for cloves = gold fruit or flower,

of Malacca," London, 1839, vol. ii, p. 215) states that according to Malay tradition *Pulo Mas* means the Menang-kabau empire situated in the heart of Sumatra.

5. SEBRANG, سبرڠ (Sābrang, Sābărang) = 'On the other side,' 'Across the Straits'; commonly applied to the part of the east coast of the island lying opposite the Malay Peninsula. Date, unknown. (See Swettenham's Malay–English Vocabulary, London, 1887, p. 101.)

6. MENANG-KABAU (or *Kerbau*), منڠ كربو, the country of the 'Vanquished Buffalo.' This only applies to the Menangkabau State, the name being given to it in memory of a combat between a buffalo from Mājapāhīt sent to challenge its congeners in Menangkabau, in which the Menangkabau came off victorious.[1] This must have occurred in *circâ* 1377–1380 A.D. The former names of Menangkabau are stated to have been successively: *Tanjūng Būnga*, تانجوڠ بوڠا, the 'Cape of Flowers'; and *Pūgar-rūyung*, ڤاڬر رويڠ, the 'Fence of *Rūyang* (trees).'

7. TAKON-BĀPIS? (Tekong-b.?), a very doubtful one given by Leclère (op. cit., p. 297), without quotation of his authority, said to be applied to Sumatra (more probably part of it) because "it emerges [or emerged?] from the sea."[2]

he says, is probably an abbreviation ("Hist. Ind. Arch.," vol. i, p. 498, Edinburgh, 1820). In Canarese 'gold' is *Honnu*, whence the Hindī *Hūn* = a gold pagoda (coin); and this may have been connected, in the popular fancy, with *Hunimaun* or *Hanumān*, a supposed designation for the Andāmāns.

[1] See the story in the second volume of the "Malay Miscellanies" above referred to; also in Marre's "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," Paris, 1874, pp. 103 and 125–127. Either this story is a fiction or the event must have taken place several years before A.D. 1375, for at the latter date the Catalan map gives *Magno Caulij* as an alternative designation for Sumatra, which puzzling term, we have pointed out (p. 422), is almost undoubtedly a corrupt rendering of *Menang-kerbau* or *Menang-kabau*. This State is moreover, as we shall see directly, mentioned in the Chinese map published by Phillips and drawn up *circâ* A.D. 1399.

[2] The other name *Saborna* referred to by the same author as being applied to Sumatra by the Arabs (here again without citing the source, which seems, however, to be Malte-Brun, t. iv, p. 255, or some compilation based thereon) is, no doubt, Edrīsī's *Sabarmah*, *Sūmah*, etc., Island (see above, p. 574), which, we have shown, can hardly be Sumatra. As regards the term *Takon* (or *Tekong*?), if not chimerical, it may be connected with the *Tekang* clan, one of the branches of the Simbiring tribe of the Battak, east coast of Sumatra. These *Tekang*, as well as the neighbouring *Pandiya* (or *Pāṇḍya*, *Pāṇḍu*, *Pāṇḍāva*?), I am inclined

8. TĀNAH PALEMBANG, so called by the Javanese according to Crawfurd ("Hist. Indian Arch.," p. 323). This name, however, can only imply the Palembang district.

We must now turn to the term *Sumatra*. About the origin and first employment of it as a general name for the whole island there still exists no little misconception.[1] It is beyond doubt that such a term sprang into being with the foundation of the city of *Sumatra* or *Samudra* in *circâ* 1270 (see p. 613),[2] which stood on the left bank of the Krung Pāsai (or Pāsei River), at some five miles from the sea (Teloḳ Semāwī Bay). The derivation of the name given in the "Ṣejarah Malāyu" from *Semūt-rāja*, سموت راج,

to identify with the *Pien-t'ou* or *Pan-t'ou*, 邊斗, 班斗, and *Tu-k'un*, 都昆, or *Tu-chün*, 都卷, referred to in Sui history (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 511) as being situated across the *Chin-lin* Bay in a southern direction and at 3,000 *li* (*circâ* 600–700 miles) from *Fu-nan* (Kamboja), and therefore on the east coast of Sumatra. See for further remarks *infra*.

[1] Misconception undoubtedly, when in such modern and scholarly works as e.g. the "Essays relating to Indo-China" we find (2nd series, vol. ii, p. 50, n.) passages like the following: "*Samudara*, the ancient name of *Pasey* [! !], which occasioned the whole island to be called by the Portuguese [*sic*], who sailed with Arabic pilots, *Sumatra*, a name with which the natives, not used to mix with Europeans, are not acquainted." It must be admitted that this is distinctly misleading, for not only *Samudara* was not the ancient name of Pāsai (which was founded after it), but the name *Sumatra* is recorded for the whole island, nearly three-quarters of a century before the advent of the Portuguese, by Nicolò Conti, who states that the island "is called by the natives *Sciamuthera* [Shamudara]." (See Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century," part ii, p. 8.) Reinaud says (Intr. to the Geogr. of Abulfeda, p. 409), but without quoting his authorities for his statement, that it was the Arabs who extended the denomination *Sumatra* to the whole island after Sumatra city had been founded. In the absence of evidence to that effect we must regard this as a mere guess.

[2] As we shall see directly, Sumatra State already appears in the history of the Chinese Yüan dynasty, under the names *Su-mu-ta* and *Su-mu-tu-la*, with the date A.D. 1282. The city must have, accordingly, been founded some years before that; say, *circâ* A.D. 1270. It must be remembered, in fact, that, according to the chronicles, after Sumatra city had been founded Islāmism was introduced into the country. Then the king wedded the daughter of the Perlaḳ ruler and had a son by her (i.e. Sultan Mālikū-l-Ẓaher), whom he set up in due course to reign in Sumatra city. But soon afterwards the old king founded Pāsai, and transferred his son to rule over Pāsai. Thus, an interval of at least twenty years must have occurred between the foundation of Sumatra and that of its sister city Pāsai. Now, if this is the *Basma* heard of by Marco Polo while at *Samara* (Samadra) in 1292, we get the date A.D. 1270 *circâ* for the foundation of Sumatra city, which date must be a very close approach to the truth.

a 'Large Ant'[1]—from the legend of an extraordinarily big representative of the Formicidæ family having been discovered there by the famous hunting dog of Marah Sīlu, the founder of the city, who, in duty bound, made a meal of it,—must, as a matter of course, be classed along with the other fanciful 'etymologies' of Eastern invention, of which we have already found so many edifying examples. It is perfectly certain that the true derivation is from *Samudra*, the original name being very likely *Samudra-pura*, as we have noticed in Kamboja (p. 220). Of such a term, meaning the 'Oceanic' or 'Sea-city,' *Samundar*, *Samundra*, *Samundaṙa* are dialectal corruptions (occurring in the Urdū, or Hindūstānī, and Telugu *Samundar*, *Sumundur*, *Sāmundri*, *Samundarī*), which explain the forms *Samadra*, *Shamuthera*, *Su-mên-ta-la*, etc., met with in the Western as well as Chinese literatures of the time.[2]

With these premises we may now proceed to give, chronologically arranged in the subjoined table, the principal forms of the name *Sumatra* met with in local as well as foreign literatures, exhibiting the process of its successive transformations; adding also the other names applied to the island at various times since the foundation of Sumatra city.

[1] See Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 65; and Marre's "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," p. 29. The term *Semut-rāja* (the second part of it has remained hitherto etymologically untraced) is Malay-Achinese. *Semut* = 'ant' in Malay, is from the Mōñ *Khmut*, *Khmot*, ; whereas *rāja* (perhaps from Sanskrit *rāja*) is Achinese, and means 'big,' 'large,' 'great.' *Rājut* is a synonymous term. The ant is said to have been as large as a cat.

[2] They probably also explain the hitherto unexplained—at least satisfactorily—names **Simundu**, Σιμούνδου; *Palai Simundu*; and *Simunda*, recorded by Ptolemy (lib. vii, ch. 4, 1), the "Periplus" (§ 61), and the "Anonymi Geographiæ Expositio Compendiaria," respectively, for Ceylon. The last may stand for either *Valaya-samudra* = the 'Encircling Sea,' or *Samudra-valayā* = the 'Sea-girt.' The forms *Samundar*, *Samundra*, etc., assumed by the name of Sumatra city might, moreover, be usefully compared with *Samandār* or *Samindar*, *Semender*, سمندار, سمندر, etc., a city mentioned by Ibn Khurdādbih and Edrīsī (Jaubert, op. cit., pp. 175, 180), which Sprenger locates near the western mouth of the Ganges, although Edrīsī puts it at only seven days' distance from Kashmīr.

CHRONOLOGICAL ONOMATOLOGY OF SUMATRA CITY AND ISLAND SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF SUMATRA CITY (*circâ* A.D. 1270).

A.D.

1270 *circâ.* SAMUDRA, سمدرا (Samadrā), city, founded by Marah Sīlu, مرة سيلو, a fisherman from Pasāngan, ڤساڠن (lying about half-way between the Pāsai River and Samalāngan). "(Ṣejarah Malāyu," ch. vii, pp. 70–71, Singapore ed., and Chron. Pāsai.)

1270–1275. SAMUDRA DĀRU-L-SALĀM, دار السلام, the name assumed by Sumatra city upon the introduction of Islāmism. King Marah Sīlu becomes a convert to the Muslim faith and assumes the title of Māliku-l-Ṣāleh, ملك الصالح. Shortly afterwards he weds the daughter of the Perlaḳ, ڤرلق, ruler, Ganggang Putrī by name, by whom he has two sons, the elder being named Sultan Māliku-l-Ẓāher, ملك الظاهر. ("Ṣejarah Malāyu" and "Hikāyat Rāja-rāja Pāsai.")

1282. SU-MU-TA (= Samudra) State sends a Minister to Quilon, who meets a Chinese envoy there, and is persuaded by the latter to despatch, on behalf of his master, Takur, envoys to submit an address and to offer presents to the Chinese Court. (History of the Yüan Dynasty; E. H. Parker in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, pp. 131–132.)

1282. SU-MU-TU-LA, 速木都剌 (*Suh-muh-tu-la* = Samudara), State; visited on his way home by the Chinese envoy above referred to, who persuades the chief of the country, *Tūan Pātī* (a mere title meaning the 'Lord Ruler,' important, however, in this connection as showing that Islām had not perhaps as yet obtained a foothold in that territory) to send to China two envoys named Hassan and Sulaimān. (Ibid., p. 132.)

1285. } SU-MU-TU-LA sends an envoy to the Chinese Court. (Ibid.)
1286. }

1286. SÜ-MÊN-NA (evidently a contraction of *Sü-mên-ta-na*, see below, sends envoys). (Ibid.)

circâ 1290. The kingdom of Perlaḳ being invaded by the enemies opposite (from the Malay Peninsula), its people take refuge in Samudra. Sulṭān Māliku-l-Ṣāleḥ sets up his elder son, Māliku-l-Ẓāher, as ruler in Samudra. Then he builds Pāsai city, فاسي, ڤاسى, and instals him as king there. ("Ṣejarah Malāyu," ch. vii, and Chron. Pāsei.)

1292. JAVA MINOR, island (= Sumatra).

1292. SAMARA or SAMARCHA (= Samudra; or else, Samakuruk district on the Pāsai River, south from Samudra; or Samāwī Bay?); and *Basma* or *Basman* (= Pāsai, Bāsaim) kingdoms. (Marco Polo, bk. iii, ch. 9.)

1293. SU-MU-TU-LA, 速木都剌 (*Suh-mu-tūra* = Samudara); an envoy sent there from China to renew its allegiance. (Hist. Yüan Dyn., bk. 162; Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 155.)

1294. SU-MU-TU-LA, id. Its envoy, who had been detained in China awaiting the result of Kūblāi's war with Java, is sent back with presents. (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, loc. cit.)

1309. PAH-SIH (= Pāsai). A special envoy despatched there from China. (Ibid., see also p. 614.)

1310. SŪMŪTRA (= Samudra). Rashīdu-d-dīn (Elliot, "History of India," vol. i, p. 70).

1300–1320. PĀSAI. The king Siām or *Shaher-al-Nawi*, *Shahrnawi* ('Abdu-r-Razzāḳ's *Shahr-i-nau*, see Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century," pt. i, p. 6; and the *Sornaos*, *Xarnau* of later writers = *Nŏng Sanŏ* city, later on Ayuthia; see for this identification my remarks in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1902, pp. 128–129), sends an armed expedition under *Awī-Dichū*, اوى دچو (= Ōk-yā Dec'hô [*Tejo*]), against Pāsai. The city is taken, and King Māliku-l-Ẓāher is carried in captivity to the Siāmese capital, where he is detained for some ten or fifteen years, after which he is allowed to return to his country a vassal of Siām. ("Ṣejarah Malāyu," ch. viii, and "Hikāyat Rāja-rāja Pāsai." See Leyden's "Malay Annals," pp. 73–76; and Marre's "Hist. des Rois de Pasey," pp. 48–50 and 115–120.) N.B.—According to the Pāsai chronicle the Siāmese invasion occurred during King Māliku-l-Maḥmūd's reign; but the account from the "Ṣejarah Malāyu" appears to be the most reliable of the two, in which case the event cannot be put down to much later than A.D. 1300–1310, owing to the fact that when the king was carried away captive he is stated to have left the son Aḥmad still a little boy. Aḥmad, however, was the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and grandson of Sulṭān Māliku-l-Ẓāher, and it was probably at the marriage of this Aḥmad that Ibn Baṭūṭa was present in 1346, who states this to be the wedding of Māliku-l-Ẓāher's son. Owing to this confusion in the king's names, it is possible that the Siāmese invasion took place under Maḥmūd's reign, and we would then

have to alter its date to A.D. 1320–1330, that is to say, at some fifteen to twenty years before Ibn Baṭūṭa's visit.

1323 *circâ*. Sumoltra (= Samundra, Sumundra), or Smohora, Sinohora, Summoltra. The people, whether men or women, tattoo their face and other parts of the body;[1] they are in constant war with those of *Lamory* (Lambri), which is an island (read 'district') to the north of it. (Friar Odoric, Ramusio, 1583 ed., vol. ii, f. 247 *verso*; De Backer, "L'Extrême Orient au Moyen-Âge," Paris, 1877, pp. 105–106 and 477–478.)

1345. Island of Jāwah, جزيرة الجاوة, or Country of Jāwah, بلاد الجاوة (= Sumatra), with the capital Samaṭra, سمطرة. Its seaport, which is a large village on the seaside, lies at four miles from the city, and is called *Sarḥa* or *Sarḥī*, سرح, سرحى. (This, hitherto unidentified, must be *Terlei*, which in the chronicle of Pāsai is always mentioned as the anchorage; see Marre's "Hist. des Rois de Pasey," pp. 32, 62, etc.) The Sulṭān's name is *Mâliku-l-Ẓâher*, ملك الظاهر. (This must be a mistake for his son Māliku-l-Maḥmūd, for the particulars related by the author about the former apply to the latter, and Māliku-l-Ẓāher could hardly be still alive at this time, since he was already of age at the time of the foundation of Pāsei, in *circâ* 1290, see above; see also Marre, op. cit., pp. 44–45, n.) (Ibn Baṭūṭa, "Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah," Paris, 1858, pp. 224, 229 seqq.)

1346 (Oct.–Nov.). Ibn Baṭūṭa, returns to Sumatra from China and stays there two months (op. cit., pp. 306–309).

1375. Illa Trapobana (for Taprobana = Sumatra Island), called *Magno-Caulij* (= Menang-kabau). On some of its mountains live giants twelve cubits in height, very black, and insane (i.e. the Batta tribes); they eat all the white strangers they can lay their hands upon. It is the last island of India, and

[1] Face-tattooing is mentioned in Chinese records as being practised in *Na-ku-êrh*, a small State in the mountains, to the west of the Sumatra kingdom. The people there, says Ma Huan in his "Ying-yai Shêng-lan" (A.D. 1416), tattoo their faces with three pointed green figures, and for this reason their ruler is called the king of the *Hwa-mien* ('Tattooed Faces'). Fei-Hsin states later on, in his "Hsing-ch'a Shêng-lan" (1436) of the same State: "The men tattoo their faces with representations of flowers and animals" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 218–219). Professor Schlegel translates part of the former passage thus: "all tattoo upon their faces triangular blue figures as a distinctive mark" (*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 349). On face-tattooing see our remarks above, pp. 367–368. Of our identification of *Na-ku-êrh* we shall speak in the next section.

abounds in gold, silver, and precious stones. It contains seven cities:—(1) *Melaro* (on south-east coast = Mallāru, Malāyu?); (2) *Dinloy* (= Deli?); (3) *Menlay* (on north-east coast = *Wên-lai*, Malai, Ferlec, Perlaḳ?);[1] (4) *Hormar* (on north coast = Ghūrī or Hārū, Samara?); (5) *Leroa* (on north-west coast = Lide, Lūboḳ, Lameri, or Lambri?); (6) *Malao* (in the centre = Malabu?);[2] (7) an unnamed city deserted on account of snakes (on west coast = Teloḳ-belong?). Catalan Map (Cordier's "L'Extrême-Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan de Charles V," pl. ii).

1375. Illa Iana (= Java, *Jana*, *Zānej* = Sumatra, or Borneo, Island?). It produces eagle-wood and camphor, spices, galanga, nutmegs, cinnamon, as well as maces. *Regio Femnarum* (north coast);[2] and cities of *Malao* (north coast = Marudu Bay, the *Malatū* of Captain Bozorg's "'Ajāib," *vide infra*, Appendix II); *Auzul* (west coast); *Semescra* (on west coast = Semerāhan, one of the old districts?, or else Sarāwak, Samarcha, Samara?). Catalan Map (op. cit., pl. i).

circâ 1377. Pāsai, conquered by the armies from Mājapāhīt (Java). The then reigning Sulṭān Aḥmad takes to flight, nobody knows where. (Pāsai Chronicle. See Marre, op. cit., pp. 91–95. As regards the date it can be deduced from that of the Javanese conquest of Palembang, which took place at

[1] There was a *Malāyu* somewhere on the north coast of Sumatra, for in April, 1706, Sulṭān Jamālu-l-'ālam, king of Achīn, is stated to have left the Achëḥ citadel and to have established his seat at *Malāyu* (see Millies, op. cit., p. 99). I concur with Millies' view that here the Malay Peninsula is not implied, but some place in the Achëḥ district itself, or, at any rate, on the north coast of Sumatra. We have seen that Ibn Ṣa'īd (1286) states, "the country of *Malāiur* is near *Lāmerī*"; but the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula is almost certainly intended here.

[2] As regards this region, see what Tavernier says of Borneo (apparently of the Sukadana district on the western part of the island in particular): "I shall be asked, without doubt, why I only mention the Queen of Borneo, and not the King. The reason is that in this kingdom it is the women who govern and not the men . . . . they prefer to have a woman for their ruler, to whom they give the title of Queen, her husband being her subject, and not having more power than that which she chooses to confer upon him" (Tavernier's "Travels in India," London, 1889, vol. ii, p. 88). Matriarchy and descent by the mother's side, of course, obtained formerly in many countries of Further India and the Archipelago, and legends about kingdoms of women have been current in both Arabic and Chinese literature. There are traces of matriarchy extant even now in Annam, Champā (Panrang district), Lāos, Siām, etc. But, from the fact of an island of women being mentioned in Captain Bozorg's "'Ajāib" (op. cit., pp. 19–20) as lying in the Sea of *Malātu*, which I have identified with Marudu or Maludu Bay, North Borneo (see Appendix I), I should conclude that in the case in point it is a question of that district.

about the same time, i.e. in A.D. 1376 or 1377, according to the Hist. of the Ming Dyn., bk. 324, see Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 193.)

1383. Hsü-wên-ta-na, 須文達那 (Sumundala, Sumundara), State, Sultān *Ma-lê Wu Ta-fên*, 麻勒兀達朌 (*Ma-lêk-wul-Tat-fên* = Māliku-l-Ẓāher),[1] sends an envoy named *An-pa-êrh*, 俺八兒 (Yam-pat-i, Am-bal-a), to the Chinese Court with presents. The report of the audience granted him by the Emperor remarks that *Hsü-wên-ta-na* is the same as *Su-mên-ta-la*, the name being changed to the latter form in the reign of Hung Wu (A.D. 1368–1398). ('Pien-i-tien' section of the "T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng" cyclopædia. See *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 341–342; also *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, p. 135. The proper names have, however, *more solito*, been mangled there, and their identifications are our own.)

circâ 1399. Su-mên-ta-la, 蘇門答剌 (= Sumundara = Sumatra city and State), marked on the Chinese map published by Phillips (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, 1885, p. 221, and map). This is the first time this spelling—introduced, as noticed in the preceding entry, during the reign of Hung Wu—occurs in documentary evidence to hand; it first appears in history in 1405, the date of Chêng Ho's initial visit to Sumatra.

1403. Su-mên-ta-la (as above). The Chinese eunuch Yin-ch'ing, being sent on a mission to Java (*Chau-va*), also calls, by instruction, at this country, as it lies on his route. Its ruler, *Tsai-nu-li-a-pi-ting*, 宰奴里阿必丁 (= Zeinu-l-'Ābidīn, زين العابدين),[2] sends envoys along with Yin-ch'ing

[1] Our identification is corroborated by the fact that *Ẓāher* or *Dhāher* is actually pronounced *Tlaher* by the Malays. (See Marre's "Hist. des Rois de Pasey," p. 43, n.)

[2] There can be no doubt as regards this identification, which is my own entirely. Schlegel, loc. cit., suggests *Nur-Ab'eddin* or *Nur-el-abidin*; and Parker *Senur Abu'din*! And yet the Chinese characters clearly read *Tsai-nu-li-a-bid-ding*, or *Zai-nu-li-a-pit-ting*, so that a mistake is impossible—except to a Sinologist. It may interest both Professor Schlegel and Mr. (now also Professor) Parker to know that there reigned at least one Sulṭān Zeinu-l-Ābidīn, if not at Sumatra city itself, at any rate at its sister foundation Pāsei. His story is given in the "Sejarah Malāyu," ch. iv (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," pp. 212–219). It briefly is as follows: This ruler had a younger brother who, supported by the populace, rebelled and supplanted him. Sulṭān Zeinu-l-Ābidīn thereupon fled to Malacca, where Manṣūr Shāh was reigning. This prince sent an armed expedition to reinstate him at Pāsai, which country was conquered by the Malacca men, the usurping rāja running away to the woods. No sooner had, however, the

to go to Court and carry presents. The Emperor bestows on the prince the title of 'King of *Su-mên-ta-la.*'—Hist. Ming Dyn., bk. 325; *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 343 (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 211; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1900, p. 135, for a cursory hint only).

1403. Su-mên-ta-la (as above). Envoys sent to this country in the beginning of the reign of the usurping emperor Ch'êng Tsu (A.D. 1402–1424), in order to inform its ruler of his accession and to summon him to Court.—Hist. Ming Dyn., bk. 325 (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 211).

1404. Su-mên-ta-la. The Emperor of China despatches envoys to present the chief of the country with velvets, silks, etc., and to bring him to the imperial Court.—Id. (ibid.).

1405. Su-mên-ta-la. The eunuch Chêng Ho, being sent to the Western Ocean, calls at this country. The father of the reigning king, having been attacked by his western neighbour, the *Na-ku-êrh* ('Country of the Tattooed Faces,' *Hwa-mien*), was killed by a poisoned arrow. The king's son being still young, the widow swore to marry the first man who would avenge her. An old fisherman, having thereupon taken up the cudgels in her favour, attacked the king of *Na-ku-êrh*, slew him, and married the Queen.—Hist. Ming Dyn., bk. 325; Ma Huan's "Ying-yai Shêng-lan" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 208, 212). Parker, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, p. 136, makes an anachronistic jumble. The king reigning at the time of Chêng Ho's visit was evidently the parvenu; and the ruler who had got killed in war was presumably Zeinu-l-'Ābidīn.

1406. Hsü-wên-ta-na. Envoys from Champā complain at the Chinese Court that Siām has been molesting her mission thither (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, No. cit., p. 135). The

Malacca fleet left for their own country, than the fugitive rāja returned and once more overthrew the rightful king, Zeinu-l-Ābidīn. These events are placed, as it has been seen, under the reign of the Malacca ruler Manṣūr Shāh, which, according to the native chronology, extended from A.D. 1374 to 1447. It is notorious, however, that such a chronology cannot be relied upon, and that the reign of Manṣūr Shāh must be altered to between 1458 and *circâ* 1480, for in 1459 he is mentioned as having sent tribute to China and received his investiture. (See Hist. of the Ming Dyn., bk. 325, in Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 251, *Wang-su-Sha* = Manṣūr Shāh). It is, therefore, scarcely possible that the Zeinu-l-Ābidīn of 1403 is one and the same person with the king of the same name dethroned in Manṣūr Shāh's time. The latter was probably a grandchild of the former. All the same, it will have been now conclusively proved that our identification of the name in the passage referred to above is correct.

grievance really is that some ships from Champā (apparently bound for Sumatra State), having drifted over to Pahang, the Siāmese authorities there had detained and molested them. Sumatra State also complains to China of Siāmese violence and pretensions to exclusive sovereignty (*China Review*, vol. xxiii, p. 256). See above for Siāmese conquest of Pāsai, under the date 1300–1320. Siām very probably still claimed suzerainty over that State.

1407. Su-mên-ta-la. Its ruler, Sulṭān *Han-nan-a-pi-chên*, 罕難阿必鎮 (= Ḥandāl Ābidīn?, this being evidently the old fisherman), sends his minister *A-li*, 阿里 (= 'Alī), to the Chinese Court to offer products of his country. Tribute is now being brought regularly every year.—"Ming-yi-T'ung-chih" (Great Geogr. of the Ming Dynasty) and "Kuang-tung T'ung-chih" (Gen. Topogr. of the Canton Prov.) for the date of the embassy. (*T'oung-Pao*, 1900, p. 344.)

1409. Su-mên-ta-la. The quondam fisherman arrives at the Chinese Court with presents, and is favourably received by the Emperor.—"Ying-yai Shêng-lan" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 208).

1412. The parvenu returns to Sumatra, when the son of the former king, having now grown up, secretly leagues with the nobles, kills his stepfather the fisherman, and takes his throne. A nephew (another account says a younger brother) of the murdered fisherman, *Su-kan-la*, 蘇幹剌 (= Sikandar, Sekander), by name, having assembled his followers with their families, runs away into the mountains and fortifies himself there, after which he soon begins attacks with a view to revenge the death of his uncle.—"Ying-yai Shêng-lan" and Hist. of the Ming Dyn., bk. 325 (Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 208–9 and 212). The Hist. of the Ming Dyn., bk. 304, however, gives a somewhat different version, stating that "a pretended son of the king had killed that prince and put himself on the throne; being angry that he got no share of Chêng Ho's presents, he collected soldiers and attacked the Chinese army, but he was beaten and pursued as far as Lambri, where he was taken prisoner with his wife and children" (see Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 169). There must have been some oversight here on the part of the historiographer.

1412. Envoys are sent to the Chinese Court. Id. (ibid., p. 221).

1414–15. Su-mên-ta-la. The eunuch Chêng Ho arrives there for the second time with his fleet. Sikandar, dissatisfied he did

not get a share in the imperial presents, attacks the Chinese, but is routed, pursued as far as Lambri, taken prisoner and sent to the Chinese Court, where he is condemned to death.—"Ying-yai Shêng-lan," which puts the date of Chêng Ho's visit in 1415, and Hist. of the Ming Dyn., bk. 325, which puts it as in 1414 (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 209 and 212).

1414–15. The king sends envoys to present his thanks to the Chinese Court. (Op. cit., p. 212.)

1416. Su-mên-ta-la. The anchorage lies opposite a village on the sea-coast called *Ta-lu-man*, 苔 魯 蠻 (= Truban, Trumun? perhaps *Terlei*, see Ibn Baṭūṭa above). Thence, going south-east for about ten *li* (*circâ* two miles), one arrives at the city, which is not walled. There is a large brook running into the sea (i.e. Pāsai River or Krung Pāsai).—"Ying-yai Shêng-lan" (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 208).

1417. Taprobana Minor (= Sumatra Island, *Taprobana Major* being applied to Ceylon). — Planisphere in Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Santarem's "Hist. de la Cosmographie," etc., vol. ii).

1426. Envoys reach the Chinese capital with congratulations for the accession of the new emperor.—Jên Tsung, 1424; or Hsüan Tsung, 1425–1435? (Loc. cit.)

1430. Chêng Ho, being sent out to the Archipelago and other countries, visits Sumatra State for the third time. (Loc. cit.)

1431. Su-mên-ta-la sends out envoys twice to bring tribute to China. (Loc. cit.)

1432. An armed expedition from China calls at *Su-mên-ta-la* on its way outwards to Ormuz.—Chuh Yün-ming's "Ch'ien-wên-chi" (*China Review*, vol. iii, p. 329).

1433. The same expedition calls at *Su-mên-ta-la* on its way homewards to China.—Op. cit. (ibid., p. 328).

1433. Su-mên-ta-la forwards a tribute of dragon's blood.

1434. Su-mên-ta-la. The king's younger brother *Ha-li* (= 'Alī?), having gone on a mission to China, dies at the capital Peking. (Loc. cit.)

1435. Su-mên-ta-la. Wang Ching-hung, Chêng Ho's colleague, having called there, the king sends on another brother, *Chih-han* or *Ha-ni-ché-han* = 'Alī Jahān (?), to go with him to

Court.[1] This envoy states that the king is already old, and desires to abdicate in favour of his son, called *A-pu-sai*, 阿卜賽 (evidently Abū Zaid), who is accordingly appointed king of the country. From this time tribute to China becomes gradually more rare.—Hist. Ming Dyn., bk. 325 (Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 212–213). Parker (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, No. cit., p. 137, has *A-pu-sai-yih-ti* for the name of the king's successor, which makes it evident that Abū Zaid is the name intended.

circâ 1440. SCIAMUTHERA (Shamuthera = *Shamaṭrah*, *Sammudara*, see below, under entries dated 1520 and 1602), the island TAPROBANA, so called by the natives. There is a fine city. The men are cruel and their customs brutal. The ears of both men and women are very large, in which they wear earrings ornamented with precious stones. In one part of the island called *Batech* (= Battak) the inhabitants eat human flesh, and are in a state of constant warfare with their neighbours. They keep human heads as a valuable property, for when they have captured an enemy they cut off his head, and having eaten the flesh, store up the skull and use it for money.—Nicolò Conti. (See Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century," pt. ii, pp. 8–9; and Ramusio, 1563 ed., vol. i, fol. 339 *verso*.)

1486. SU-MÊN-TA-LA (Sumatra State). Envoys from this country reach Canton, but not being favourably received, no more missions are sent out.—Hist. Ming Dyn., bk. 325 (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 213). Parker says (op. cit., p. 137) that this mission was apparently a 'bogus' one.

January, 1497. SUMATRA ISLAND, very large.—Gerolamo da Santo Stefano (Ramusio, vol. i, 1563 ed., f. 345 *verso*).

1503. ZAMATORA ISLAND (= Samudara), also called TRAPOBANA; king of *Pazze* (= Pasé, Pāsai).—Giovanni da Empoli (De Gubernatis, "Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani," Livorno, 1875, p. 114).

1505. SUMATRA ISLAND, anciently called *Taprobana*.—Barthema (Ramusio, vol. ii, f. 166 *verso*).

[1] Parker, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, p. 137, says: "In 1434–35 the King sent his brother (? brothers) Ha-li-dü-han (? and) Ha-ni-chê-han to Court—it is not clear whether there were one or two men." However, from the account we follow above, it seems pretty clear that the brothers sent were two, of whom presumably one was *'Alī*, and the other *Jahān* by name.

1506. The first Portuguese land on the Island of Sumatra; Achīn is the leading State.—Kollewijn's "Peknopte Geschiedenis," etc. (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1900, p. 137).

1507. Çamatra, noted for fine long pepper. (Correa's "Lendas da India," vol. i, p. 739.)

1511. Pacem. "Porto de *Pacem* [= Pāsai, Bāsaim], que he o principal da illa de *Çamatra*." Diego Lopez de Sequeira calls there to demand that *Melagia*, a refugee from Malacca residing with the king, be handed over to him, but the request is refused. (Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 216.)

November, 1511. Pacem. The king, having heard of the Portuguese conquest of Malacca, makes friendly overtures to the viceroy there. (Ibid., p. 267.)

1511. Samotra, Samatra, Island. Anonymous letter written by an Italian from Lisbon on the 31st January, 1513, telling how he had been at that island in 1511. (De Gubernatis, op. cit., pp. 374–375.)

1513. Zamatri, Lavanni (= Javanese?), Gores (= people from Ghūry, غوري—in Malay *Ngrī*—Ghore or Hāru, Āru, east coast of Sumatra; and not 'Guzerati,' as De Gubernatis slovenly explains), nations trading at Malacca.—Letter dated from Lisbon, 6th June, 1513 (De Gubernatis, op. cit., p. 386).

March, 1514. Pacem. Jorge d'Albuquerque calls there; the king again assures him of his loyalty to the Portuguese. (Ibid., pp. 381–382.)

1515. Samotra Island, so called from an emporium on the same.—Valentin Moravia (De Gubernatis, op. cit., p. 391).[1]

1516. Sumatra Island and Pacem, seaport.—Barbosa (Ramusio, vol. ii, p. 318 *verso*).

July 21st, 1520. Shamaṭrah, شمطرة (= Samudra). Letter in Arabic written by Zeinu-d-dīn, Lord of this city,[1] to the Portuguese Captain Diego Lopez.—João de Sousa's "Documentos Arabicos para a historia Portugueza," Lisboa, 1790, p. 127 (Millies, op. cit., p. 62).

September, 1520. Pacem, "que he na Ilha de Çamatra." Antonio Miranda de Azevedo builds a fort there with the king's consent and remains in command.

[1] These two extracts prove that the city and emporium of Samudra still existed, although the Western travellers henceforth only speak of Pāsai. Very likely the capital was removed thither after 1520.

1521. SUMATRA ISLAND, anciently called TAPROBANA. — Pigafetta (Ramusio, vol. ii, f. 356 *verso*). Ibid., pp. 611–613.

1521. PACEM. Attacked by Jorge d'Albuquerque, who carries with him one of the princes of Pacem, who had been, on a former occasion, deposed and expelled, when he submitted to the King of Portugal. The ruler in possession falls shot through the forehead, and the Portuguese being joined by the King of Āru, his followers are completely routed. Thereupon, the rightful prince is restored in great state and made tributary to the King of Portugal. (Danvers' "Portuguese in India," vol. i, p. 348.)

1521. PACEM. Antonio de Brito and Rafael Prestrello arrive there in a ship each to load pepper. They find that the king has died, and that his son, yet of tender years, is wholly in the power of a tutor, *Melyquyadyr* (i.e. Māliku-l-'Adl), who has been harassing Miranda, the commander of the fort, with vexatious requests. Thereupon the new Portuguese arrivals prepare to attack the city, which lay *two leagues* up river, but the king sues for peace, and things end smoothly. (Correa, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 624–625 and 643–645. See also p. 613 for the mention of *Pa-si* this year in Chinese records.[1])

1522. War having broken out between the kings of Achīn and Pedīr, in which the former is victorious, the latter seeks protection from the Portuguese at *Pacem*. Accordingly, the King of Achīn, 'Alī Mughāyat Shāh by name (said in the Malay chronicles to have been the first Sulṭān of Achīn, 1507–1522), attacks the Portuguese fort at *Pacem*, overruns all the country with fire and sword, and enters the city of *Pacem* with 15,000 men. (Correa, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 768; Danvers, loc. cit.; Millies, op. cit., p. 71.)

1524. Lopo d'Azevedo arrives at *Pacem* and dismantles the fort there, the Portuguese having decided to abandon this trading station on account of the hostility of the Achīn king. This potentate, having made himself the master of all the territories of *Pacem* and Āru, the King of *Pacem* takes refuge at Malacca, where he is promised assistance in the recovery of his lost realm. (Correa, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 780, 790.)

[1] In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, p. 138, Parker turns his former 'Pestrello' into a vulgar and far too common 'Pedro,' and somewhat doubts that the *Pa-si* mentioned in this connection in Ming records really is Pāsei, rather than Pasīr, Pasig, etc. I think, however, from the evidence collected above, that there can scarcely be any more doubt as regards the identities of *Pa-si* with Pāsei, and *Pieh-tu-lu* with Rafael Prestrello or Perestrello.

1573–1619. Su-mên-ta-la. During this period the reigning family is twice changed, and at last their king is a quondam slave. Having slain the rightful king and put his own master on the throne, he ultimately murdered him also, taking his place. This slave king is very cruel; he kills people and washes his body in their blood, in order to prevent disease. After the murder of the king, the name of the country was changed into *A-ch'i*, 哑 齊 (*A-ts'e*, *A-che* = Achëḥ, i.e. Achīn).—Hist. of the Ming Dyn., bk. 325 (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 214). This is the last notice of Sumatra State in Chinese dynastical history. Apparently, *Su-mên-ta-la* is here already meant for Sumatra Coast, i.e. the northern portion of the island, and the events related apply to the kingdom of Achëḥ, of which the Sumatra district was, after 1522, a dependency. This will be made clearer in the next entry.[1]

1602. Sammudara, نيكري سمُدَرَ (*Negrī Sammudara* = Nagara Samudra). Letter of authority to trade given by the King of Achëḥ to an English captain (perhaps Sir James Lancaster, who was in charge of the first voyage to the Eastern Archipelago undertaken by the English East India Company, and visited Achëḥ in 1601–2). In this document the king states that he holds the throne of the "kingdom [lit. 'capitals'] of Achëḥ and *Sammudara*" ("Negri Achëḥ, dan Negri Sammudara," نيكري اچه دان نيكري سمُدَرَ), thus evidencing that he had united on his head the two crowns, and that the 'State of Sumatra' was not, even at this period, as yet an empty name, as our predecessors in the treatment of this subject have pretended. Hence, very likely, the confusion made by the Chinese historiographers of the period between Sumatra and Achëḥ. This is the last authentic mention I have so far come across of the State and city of Sumatra in local documentary records. (See for the text of the letter in question, *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 31, July, 1888,

[1] Professor Schlegel observes (*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 344): "According to Valentijn (Sumatra, vol. v, p. 24), this slave was the father-in-law of the king of Atjeh, who reigned in A.D. 1512." But how can it be? The events here related undoubtedly apply to Sulṭān 'Alau-d-dīn Riayat Shāh, who, according to the pilot John Davis, who visited Achëḥ in A.D. 1599, was originally a fisherman. Gradually, he rose to the rank of Admiral (probably *Laḳsamāna*), when he murdered Manṣūr Shāh, constituted himself governor of the young heir to the crown, and at last killed him also, seizing the throne. He reigned in Achëḥ from A.D. 1588 to 1602. (See Prévost's "Hist. gén. des Voyages," vol. i, p. 373; and Millies, op. cit., p. 76.)

pp. 113 seqq.) In a later letter from the Sultan of Achël to King James I of England, dated A.H. 1024 = A.D. 1612, and published in the same number of that Journal (pp. 123 seqq.), mention is made of Pedîr, Samarlâng, Pasângan, Pâsai, Perlaḳ, and many other places on the Sumatran coast, but no further reference to Sumatra city or State occurs. We must therefore conclude that from this date the rôle played by the famous city in local history ceases, nothing remaining of it except the shadow of its name, although it is quite possible that the village of *Samudra* still situate on the left (western) bank of the Krung Pâsai (or Pâsai River), at about three miles from the sea (*vide* Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 215), represents the last surviving remnant of that city and of its long declined glory.

Argyrē, the capital of **Iabadiū** or **Sabadiū** (No. 127).

We must now close this long discussion on **Iabadiū** with a few remarks on its northern coast, where Ptolemy locates the capital **Argyrē** (*Ἀργυρῆ μητρόπολις*). We are here confronted by the same name as that which we had to face in treating of Arakan (*Ἀργυρᾶ χώρα*). But the curious feature is, that most names given to places on this coast correspond to those of places on the Arakanese seaboard. Among such I may mention the following:—

(1) Lambri, *Rāmī* or *Ramnī* = Rambri, Ramrī, Rāma-bari.
(2) Java, Toba = Jaba, *Daba*, *Ḍavāka*; and Bakkara = Pokkhara (Puṣkara), Bokhārā, *Bacala*.
(3) Perlaḳ = Plakṣa or *Prak* = Perak, etc.
(4) Rakan, actually written *Arakân* by Valentijn; Arakundur River.
(5) Katrea, Kertei, Kerti (= Kartṛi-pura?).
(6) Pâsai, *Pacem* = Vasai, Basaim, Bassein.
(7) Cape Sedu or Sidoh = Sada, Sedoa, Sandoway.
(8) Cape Dahvai = Davâi, Tavoy.
(9) Ch̲alang, Chellang = C'halâng, Salâng (Ujong Salâng, Junkceylon).

The list might be continued for a good while yet. This correspondence in toponymics between the Achinese and

Arakanese coasts would cause one to believe at first that there must have been not only a very close intercourse between the two countries but an actual immigration into Achīn from Arakan. But, as a matter of fact, Arakanese colonies seem not to have extended in the Malay Peninsula below Tavoy, though from the remotest period Arakan and the Malay Peninsula, as well as Sumatra, were settled by branches of the Mōñ-Khmēr (*Ch'ieng Chëḥ*, or *Java, Javana*) race, as is well shown by the language of the Achinese, in which distinct Mōñ or Khmēr words can be detected in good numbers even at present. This early branch of the *Ch'ieng* race may have brought down to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago the name *Java* or *Dava*, and even its form *Chëḥ*, which may, for all we know, survive in *Achëḥ*, but not, seemingly, other characteristic toponyms which arose here from the same or analogous causes as in Arakan, and under the influence of a similar Dravidian element from Southern India.

First of all we have in Sumatra, as in Arakan, a legend as to the Rākṣasas having been the aboriginal inhabitants. In neither of the two countries, above all in Arakan, is now any trace of a Negrito element to be found; but we may well take it for granted that both were originally peopled by such a race as well as the other maritime countries of India and Indo-China.[1] A tradition to this effect has been discovered by me in the Burmese account of the life and travels of Gavampati-thera already referred to in the opening sections of this paper.[2] In "Dīpavaṁsa," i, 67–79,

[1] We have them, at all events, both in pure and hybrid forms on the opposite coast of the Malay Peninsula (Semangs of Perak and Panggang of the Malacca uplands). As regards Sumatra, it is not yet quite certain that the Negrito element has wholly disappeared, for marked traces of it seem to exist in the Lubu tribes, while the hairy dwarfs heard of from Siak on the east coast and Kroë on the western most likely will prove to be its legitimate representatives.

[2] I have omitted to mention, in my previous brief account of this work (p. 114), that Gavampati, the subject of the story, is represented as being the son of Govindaseṭṭhi, a rich citizen of Sudharmavatī or Suddhammanagara (Sathöm or Thahtun) in the country of Rāmaññā (Pegu); but he is evidently the personage referred to in Mahāvagga, i, 9, as being one of the companions of Yasa and belonging to one of the richest families of Benares. He was ordained soon after Yasa, and thus early became one of the principal disciples of Buddha, whom he followed afterwards in all his real as well as supposed

and "Mahāvaṁsa," ch. i, it is stated that when Buddha visited Laṅkā for the first time in order to expel from it the Yakṣas, he "then caused the delightful isle of *Giri* (Giri-dvīpa) to approach for them. As soon as they transferred themselves thereto he restored it to its former position." No explanation is given as to the whereabouts of this island, except that it was not far from Laṅkā and most similar to it, probably also in size ("Dīpavaṁsa," i, 67, 72). But a commentator's note appended to the book of Gavampati, in referring to the same legend, gives the name of the island as "*Samudra* (or *Sumātra*)-*giri-dīpa*," wherefore I gather that the island in question was supposed, or stated in some legendary tradition, to have been Sumatra, or at any rate its northern coast, where the city of *Samudra* afterwards arose (so named, perhaps, in deference to that legend?). This is not unnatural, since no other large island, sufficient to contain the enormous host of Rākṣasas alluded to, lies near to Ceylon. Another tradition is to the effect that Rāvaṇa, the Rākṣasa king of Ceylon, conquered some islands in the Indian Archipelago from the Nāgas, and established his son Mahirāvaṇa to rule over them. We finally have the legend of Āji-Śaka referred to above, in corroboration of the tradition of Sumatra having been originally peopled by Rākṣasas. The name of *Rakan*, *Rakkhaṅga*, or Rākṣasa Land, may thus have arisen in this part of Sumatra in the same way and from the same causes from which the name of Arakan is said to be derived; and **Argyrē** as well as Achëḥ or Achīn may be but corrupted forms of the local designation employed for Rākṣasa. If not so, it can scarcely be accounted for otherwise than, as in Arakan, a modified rendering of *Balakṣa*, *Plakṣa*, or *Barakṣa*, a term which would be represented here, as we pointed out, in the name of the Perlaḳ district.[1] It would thus have here, as

peregrinations.—Since writing the above I have noticed that our friend Gavampati and his doings in Pegu have been mentioned quite recently in the "Sāsanavaṁsa" (ed. Mabel Bode, Pāli Text Society, pp. 36-37 text), to which therefore I refer the reader desirous of further particulars.

[1] The Chinese map of the fourteenth century published by Phillips in the *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, would seem to corroborate to a certain

in Arakan, passed through the same modifications: *Barakṣa*, *Barakura*, *Arkura*, and *Arakṣa* or *Akṣa*, whence **Argyrē** and Achēḥ. This opinion appears to receive further support from the fact that Ptolemy (lib. i, ch. xiii, p. 1, and lib. vii, ch. i, p. 10) places on the coast opposite the northern part of Ceylon a bay which he calls **Argaric Gulf** and, on its shores, a city which he terms **Argeirū** or Ankheirū (*Ἀργείρου, Ἀγχείρουπόλις*), believed to be the same as the *Argalū* of the "Periplus." It was celebrated for a manufacture of muslin adorned with small pearls. Fra Paolino[1] calls it *Arguropolis*, and identifies it with Arampalli, adding that "it was formerly in high repute on account of its cotton stuffs, which were partly manufactured on the spot and partly brought thither for sale." The term may, of course, in the cases both of the Arakanese and Sumatran **Argyrē**, be traced besides to *Kṣarjura* = 'silver,' or *Arjara* = 'Silver Country' (perhaps, simply, 'White Country,' i.e. *Balakṣa*, *Plakṣa*), which would amount to the same thing.[2] These names, similar to those given by Ptolemy to Arakan and Achīn, well indicate, I should imagine, the place from which the early colonists and civilizers of these countries came. The connection of the people of Koromandel and Drāviḍa with Arakan is already amply demonstrated by other evidence based upon coins and medals;[3] as to that with Achīn, I am confident it will become capable of demonstration as soon as thorough archæological exploration in that

extent this view; for at the north-western end of Sumatra, and at about the spot where Achīn is, I see noted 白土 (*Pê-t'u*), which means 'White Earth' (or Land = *Arjara*?), unless it stands for Pulo Batu just opposite.

[1] "Voyage to the East Indies" (London, 1800), pp. 56, 110. Branfill, *apud* McCrindle's "Ancient India as described by Ptolemy," p. 331, identifies it with Âṟṟaṅkarai (pronounced nowadays Âtraṅkarai), at the mouth of the Vagai.

[2] Silver-mines, as we have seen (p. 562), are known to exist in the interior of Sumatra. Mas'ūdī locates them in the neighbourhood of *Serīrah* (Palembang district); and Ibn Khurdādbih mentions silver in the mountains of *Balūs* Island (Barusae?).

[3] See Sir Walter Elliot's in *Numismata Orientalia*, vol. iii, pt. 2, "Coins of Southern India," pp. 134, 135.

unsettled district will have been rendered possible.[1] Several other names of places, etc., on the Koromandel coast deserve notice; for instance, those of the Rāmnād district; of the island of Ramisseram (Rāmeśvara); of the Marava race in the extreme south of India, which seems to be represented here in the denomination of the *Maruvi* of the Bānyak Islands; and, finally, of Ptolemy's "Country of the Batoi," a name apparently identical with that of the *Battas*, in Northern Sumatra.[2] Among such names, those of

[1] Ethnic affinities between the Achinese and the natives of the Koromandel and Malabar coasts have recently been noticed by Dr. Van Leent, who is therefore inclined to regard the Achinese as Malays (read *Javas* or *C'hawās*), with a mixture of Indian blood. This statement corroborates the views I have expressed in these pages as to the racial nature of the populations of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago.

[2] Sir Stamford Raffles ("Memoirs," p. 427), Dr. Leyden ("On the Language and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations," reprinted from the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x, in "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. i, p. 113), and Newbold ("Straits of Malacca," vol. ii, pp. 371–3), in describing the custom of the Batta tribes of eating their own relations when aged and infirm, have sought to connect them with Herodotus' *Padaioi* or Padaians, who, as the 'Father of History' tells us (bk. iii, ch. 99), were addicted to similar practices. Herodotus, it is true, locates the Padaians on the easternmost borders of India; but that is no sufficient reason for taking them to be exactly the Battas of North Sumatra. Hence I am inclined to the view that if any connection has ever existed between the Batta and other tribes on the mainland, it must have been with those branches of the so-called 'Indonesian' race from which the Battas seem to be descended, and among which the very identical form of cannibalism has subsisted until recent times, if indeed it does not even now sporadically survive. The ethnical branches just referred to are now confined to the wildest parts of central and northernmost Indo-China, or, to put it more precisely, to the upper valleys of the Salwīn and Irāvatī, although it is very probable they formerly occupied a far wider area, extending especially still more towards the south. It is then within such a compass that we must look for the seat of the *Padaioi* and perhaps also for the ancestral home of the Battas. The tribes within this area of whom the iniquitous practice above referred to has been recorded are, above all, the Kachins or Singp'hōs (Chingpōs), and the Waḥ or Lawā. The former, however, seem to be comparatively new immigrants into Burmā, whither they came, apparently, from the headwaters of the Irāvatī, if not from other Central Asian countries lying further to the north. In such a case they may have learnt and adopted the practice from offshoots of the old Massagetes, Kallatians or Kallantians, and correlated or neighbouring tribes, of whom Herodotus records the same horrible custom of feasting upon their aged relatives (see bk. i, ch. 215, and bk. iii, ch. 38). Megasthenes, according to Strabo (xv, 1, 56) ascribes the same iniquitous practice to the tribes inhabiting the Kaukasos range (Hindū-Kūsh). As regards the Waḥ, Sir J. G. Scott considers the graphic stories told of them to that effect as mere inventions, and only admits head-hunting as the only Waḥ foible in that respect ("Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. i, vol. i, p. 498). It may be, and we sincerely hope it is, quite true that this people have now abandoned that nefarious practice, but as to their having followed it in the past there can scarcely be any doubt. For the same story now told on the page of the "Gazetteer" just referred to as coming from so-called 'Shan' sources, I find related with surprising

Rāmnād and Rāmeśvara deserve special notice, since we find them transplanted to Arakan in the island of Ramrī

correspondence in details in the oft-quoted book of Gavampati (lib. i, fol. 2), which is of Peguan origin and dates from at least a couple of centuries ago. The only difference lies in the fact that the scene is placed on the Yünnan borders (which amounts to the same thing, although the Waḥs are not named), and the story is told in connection with a supposed visit of Buddha there, in consequence of which, it is added, the people became converted and abandoned the practice. As regards the substance of the remainder, it is identical with the story collected by Sir J. G. Scott, so I may give it in his own words. When their parents become old and feeble, so the tale runs, "the children tenderly and lovingly help them to climb into the branches of a tree. Then they shake the boughs until the old people fall down. 'The fruit is ripe, let us eat it,' they say, and proceed to do so," of course, after having either boiled or roasted the flesh. It goes without saying that the conversion of the Waḥ and neighbouring tribes on the Yünnan–Indo-Chinese borders, although ascribed to Buddha's intervention, must have taken place at no very ancient date. The very fact of the reference, in Gavampati's book, to the cessation of such a practice is, in my opinion, fairly good evidence that it must formerly have been in favour. Barbosa, A.D. 1516 (in Ramusio, vol. i, 1563 ed., f. 317 *verso*), mentions cannibalism exercised upon deceased relations as being prevalent in a pagan kingdom subject to Siām, and situated inland toward China, by which evidently the Waḥ country is meant. Those people justify themselves with the plea, he adds, that nowhere could the authors of their being find a grave so suitable and honourable as their own insides. Comparing now the above story with those told: (1) by Captain Fenton of the Kalang and Kamôn, or Kama branches of the Kachin tribes ("Upper Burma Gazetteer," vol. cit., p. 436); (2) by Sir Stamford Raffles and Dr. Leyden of the Battas; (3) by Friar Odoric of the natives of *Dondim*, *Dondyn*, or *Dadin* in the Archipelago (Ramusio, vol. ii, ff. 248 *verso* and 254 *recto*); (4) by Barthema of those of Java (op. cit., vol. i, f. 168 *recto*); and (5) by Barbosa of the Waḥ (undoubtedly the *Chung-kia* of Kwei-chou would be too far away; and then this people, like the Issedones of Herodotus, only ate men after they had died, see *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, 1899–1900, No. 2), it will be seen that the correspondence is surprising. So surprising, in fact, as to argue an original connection, if not exactly racial, at least social as regards intercourse, customs, etc., between all these peoples. For, as we have seen, this very form of cannibalism can be traced almost uninterruptedly, and through fully twenty-four centuries, all the way from the Archipelago to Upper Burmā, the seat of the present Lawā and very probably of the ancient Padaians, and thence to the original Kachin country, and to the Central Asian homes of the old Kallatians or Kallantians and Massagetes, or *Ta-Yüeh-chih* of Herodotean and Sinological fame. The line along which we have traced the custom in question very probably marks also the track followed, in the inverse direction, by the parent stream of emigration from which most of the above-named tribes of the Indo-Chinese mainland and Archipelago are descended, or, at any rate, with which they have become blended. It should be remembered that as regards the Kachins, at least, a Tartar origin seems pretty well certain. "Their traditions point to a first home somewhere south of the desert of Gobi, and their movements have been always towards the south" ("Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. i, vol. i, p. 396). In view of these facts, their original proximity of homes and social intercourse with the forbears and relatives of the Massagetes and Kallatians can hardly be questioned.

Of the Semang tribes in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula Newbold says: "The Malays have an idea that when a Semang dies the body is eaten, and nothing but the head interred, a custom which, if it exists, reminds us of one prevalent among the Issedones, a tribe of ancient Scythians, who, after feasting

or Rambrī and on the seaboard opposite it; to Pegu under the form *Rāmañña-deśa*; to the Malay Peninsula as Rāmañ[1] and Ramenia (Rāmañña?) Point; and, finally, in Northern Sumatra under the forms of *Rāmī*, *Rambrī*, or *Lambrī*. A comparison of these terms, coupled with the knowledge of the source whence they were derived, enables us to easily identify names of places mentioned by ancient writers, which have proved hard nuts to crack for previous inquirers. Thus we can see, for instance, that Sulaimān's kingdom of *Rahmī*, رهمی, which Mas'ūdī calls *Wahman* or *Rahmī*, and others spell *Rahman* or *Rahma*,[2] can hardly be any other country than Rāmañña-deśa or Pegu, with its seaboard extended, perhaps, as far up as the old Rāmavatī, opposite the island of Ramrī; and we would never dream of locating it, on the mere strength of a coincidence of names, at Rāmnād; or, like Reinaud and Cunningham, at Vizapur (Bījapūr) and Dhāraṇikôṭa respectively. But it is especially in Sumatra where we can reap the best results from the observations made above. Here we have a country which the Arab navigators called *Rāmī* or *Ramnī*; the Chinese *Lan-li*, *Lan-wu-li*, 藍無里, *Nan-wu-li*, 南巫里, or *Nan-p'o-li*, 南孛利 (Ram-ri, Lamburi); the "Ṣejarah Malāyu" *Lambrī*, لمبری, or *Lamīrī*, لمیری; and Marco Polo, after them, *Lambri*. It is clear that *Lambri* and *Rāmī* or *Ramnī* represent the term *Rāmbrī*, meaning 'Rāma's

on the body of the deceased, preserved the head, carefully removing the hair" ("Straits of Malacca," London, 1839, vol. ii, p. 379). Of the Udai he states that the Jakūns "accuse them of devouring their own dead" (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 382). Thus, in origin the Semangs and Udai were probably cannibals of the same type as the tribes referred to above.

[1] Shortened form of *Rāmañña*, although modified by the Malays into *Raḥmān*, رحمن, or *Raḥīmān*, so as to suit Muhammedan tastes; in Siamese it is spelled *Rāmañ*. It is a district in the southern part of the State of Patāni, tributary to Siām.

[2] See Reinaud's "Relation," etc., t. i, p. cii, and Mas'ūdī's "Prairies d'Or," trad. B. de Meynard, t. i, pp. 384, 386, 387. After *Rahmī* Mas'ūdī places *Firenj* or *Faranj*, الفرنج, which in a MS. is spelled *Fatuḥ*, فتوح (op. cit., p. 403). Perhaps the true reading should be فقوح, *Faḳuḥ*, in which case it would prove identical to *Pago*, *Pegu*, and *Rahmī* would turn out to be Ramrī.

country,' met with in Arakan, which is in its turn a corruption of *Rāma-bar* or *Rāma-bāri*, the form it would assume in Southern Indian vernaculars. How was this term introduced from the Koromandel coast into Sumatra and applied to its north-western seaboard? Evidently by emigrants from Rāmnād and Ramisseram. If we peruse the accounts of Chinese travellers, we shall see that the portion of the Indian Ocean stretching between the northern coast of Sumatra and the Koromandel seaboard was termed the Sea of *Na-mo-li* or *Na-mu-ri*, 那沒梨, 那沒黎, i.e. *Lamori*, *Lambri*.[1] The Arab navigators called it the "Sea of *Herkend*" or *Harkand*, هركند.[2] Both these terms have never hitherto, as far as I am aware, been satisfactorily accounted for and explained. It will now appear evident, however, from the certain identity we have established of *Lambri* with *Rām-brī*, or *Rāma-vāri*, *Rāmabāri*, that the "Sea of *Lambri*" means either the "Sea of Rāma" or the "Sea which bathes Rāma's Land"; which was so called on account of Rāma having, according to the Indū tradition, crossed it on the legendary jetty (Rāma's Bridge) in front of the island of Ramisseram, when he marched his motley army into Ceylon. The term *Herkend* or *Harkand* is, I believe, but a synonym for Rāma, and can be traced to *Hari-kāṇḍa*, *Hari-kāṁta*, or some similar epithet given to Rāma on account of his being a portion or an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[3]

When we read, therefore, in Abū Zaid's account of

[1] See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 220, art. "Lambri"; Phillips, *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, p. 211; and *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 355, 357, 358, Chinese text.

[2] Reinaud, op. cit., t. i, pp. 4, 8, 11. No possible doubt can exist as to the identity of the Sea of *Harkand*. Sulaimān states (op. cit., p. 8) that the island of *Rāmnī* (*Lambri* or North Sumatra) is bathed by two seas, viz. those of *Harkand* and *Sheláhet*. Captain Bozorg mentions, in his turn, a passage from *Fanṣūr* (Bārūs), across the Sea of *Harkand*, towards Oman (see "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 10). Nowaīrī may mean the Sea of *Lamūrī* or *Lambrī* when he says that the *Lārewī* sea consists of the seas of *Kalah*, *Jāwah*, and *Fanṣūr*.

[3] Perhaps also *Hari-candra* instead of *Rāma-candra*? The epithets applied to Rāma are so many and varied that it will not be difficult to hit upon the right one corresponding to the Arab *Herkend* or *Harkand*. I may suggest also *Hari-kuṇḍa*. Edrīsī distinctly states *Harkand* to be a word belonging to the Indū language (op. cit., t. i, p. 63).

Sulaimān's travels, that the island of *Rāmī* or *Rāmnī* is bathed by two seas, those of *Herkend* and *Shelāhet*, we understand at once that *Lambri*, the northern part of Sumatra, is meant, which is situated between the sea of Rāma or Indian Ocean and the *Śrī-Lohit* Sea, or Sea of the Straits (*Selat*, Salahaj); and statements which formerly appeared as insolvable riddles and have often been still more confounded by commentators and would-be elucidators of the past two centuries, become quite plain and acquire a much greater interest for ourselves.[1]

I shall now conclude the discussion as to the names of Achīn and of the surrounding territory with the etymology which I found in the book of Gavampati-thera. It is there stated that Buddha, when his second visit to Ceylon came to an end, proceeded by aerial flight, with his suite of twenty thousand disciples, to the island of *Samudra* (the commentary says *Sumātra-*)*-giri-dīpa*, where he imparted instruction to the Yakṣa population. Having then ascended a mountain called *Kaṇṇika-sela-giri*,[2] a halo of six-coloured rays

[1] It has been suggested ("Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 235) that the old Lambri may be represented to this day by the village *Lamreh* situated in the Achēḥ district, near Tūngkūb, in the xxvi mūkim. This is simply absurd, for the village in question lies entirely inland, and is inaccessible by any waterway. Surely, there are so many villages similarly named in that district, that it is a wonder Professor Van der Lith could not hit upon a more suitable one. In my opinion, if old *Lambri*, *Lamburi*, or *Rāmbrī* still has a representative nowadays, this must be the respectable stockaded village of LAM-BARIH, which lies on the left bank of the Achēḥ River (Kali Achēḥ), not far above Kotarāja, the present capital, and no further than 22 to 23 miles (following the winding course of the river) from the river's mouth; that is to say, at a spot where the river is still navigable for small craft, and was perhaps yet more so in bygone days. The next important place below is *Lam-bāru*; but as this terms means 'New village' in the Achinese dialect, we must discard the place entirely. Whether the present Lam-barih corresponds to the old *Lambri* or not, it is almost certain that the latter must have borne the same or a very closely similar name. Of course, *Lam* in Achinese (as *Lang* in Chām) means a village; but I am of opinion that the original name was *Rāma-purī*, *Rāma-vāri*, or *Rām-bāri*, which became, in course of time, when the tradition of its origin was forgotten, corrupted into *Lam-bāri*, *Lam-barih*, *Lambri*, thus acquiring a totally different meaning, as would better suit native notions.

[2] Mountain of the *Kaṇṇikā* or *Premna spinosa* shrub. I think it may be identified with Mount Abong-Abong, the well-known lofty peak of Northern Sumatra. *Ambong-ambong* is, in the Straits, the name for *Premna cordifolia*, Rox.; and *Abong-abong* may possibly be a Sumatran modification of it. The fact of *Ambong-ambong* not being the *spinosa* variety of the shrub cannot constitute a great obstacle to the above identification, since the correct reading in Gavampati's book is probably (as in Mahāvagga, v, 12, 13) *Seta-kaṇṇika*, in which case it

emanated all round from his person. The celestial and human witnesses of this prodigy gave vent to their

would be a question of a white-flowered variety of the shrub, and the *Premna cordifolia* might be meant. Local inquiry in the Achīn district is very likely to definitely settle the question as to which mountain the above designation applies to for certain. In connection with the legendary visit of Buddha to Achĕḥ and to one of its mountain-peaks, as referred to above, it should be pointed out that Chao Ju-kua, in his account of *Lan-wu-li*, 藍無里 (*Lam-mu-ri*, *Lamori*, or *Lambri*, *circâ* A.D. 1240), says: "There is in this country a hill (or, an island) called *Hsi-lun* (*lit.* fine wheel), peaks rising over peaks, (on the top of which) there is the imprint, over seven feet in length, of the foot of a huge man, a like imprint being visible in the water within a distance of over 300 *li* [*circâ* 60 miles] from that hill. The trees in the forests of the hills, whether high or low, all round are bent towards it (as if curtseying)" (*Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1896, p. 481). Dr. Hirth, the translator of this account, thinks there can be little doubt as to the identity of the footprint in question with that on Adam's Peak in Ceylon. I am, on the contrary, of opinion that there is no connection whatever between the two. Professor Schlegel, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 133, spells the name of the mountain *Hsi-lan*, 細蘭; but this is the name of a State mentioned by Chao Ju-kua as subject to San-fo-ch'i, which we have identified with Chalang or Chellang on the west coast of Sumatra. Judging from the explanation given as noted above by Dr. Hirth (i.e. 'fine wheel'), the text must have 細輪 (in which the second character means a wheel, a disc), the pronunciation thus being *Hsi-lun*, *Se-lan*, *Si-lang*. We would accordingly have here either the [Kaṇṇika-]*Sela* mountain alluded to above, or merely an alternative form of the name for the Chalang or Chellang (the Tjellang of Dutch maps) district. This lies to the south-east of Achĕḥ and in the same direction of Abong-abong peak, which is not very far off. Hence the two accounts of Gavampati's book and Chao Ju-kua seem to tally; for the footprint can scarcely have been deemed to be other than Buddha's, and if so it was doubtless assumed to have been left by him on the occasion of his supposed visit to Achinese territory. These legends point to Buddhism being in favour in Achĕḥ at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Islāmism is said, in fact, not to have taken root in the country until A.D. 1205, with the arrival there of Johan Shāh. Chao Ju-kua's reference to another footprint in the water, some distance away, argues the tale to be but a repetition of that told about the two Buddhist footprints in Burmā, of which one is on the *Saccabandha* hill at Legaing, and the other on the sandy bank (left) of the Man River (Man Chaung, glibly identified by the natives with the Yamunā, some say the Narmadā). But this is again a repetition of legends formerly current in India (see Spence Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," 1860, pp. 209–210). Colonel Low ("Buddha and the Phrabát," London, 1831, pp. 8, 11) says: "The Siamese suppose that there was an impression of the divine foot opposite to Junkceylon. . . . . The Siamese allege that this impression is extant on the coast of the peninsula of Malacca, opposite to *Selan* or *Salang* [C'halăng], as they term Junkceylon." This is the footprint on the *Suvaṇṇa-māli* mountain referred to above (p. 80) as occurring in the province of Tenasserim. There may have existed another further down, opposite to C'halăng, for such impressions are easily multiplied. In the case in point it is quite probable that the legend was transplanted thence to the north-west coast of Sumatra and precisely to the Chalang district (which very likely came to be so named from the *C'halăng* Island or Junkceylon), and a reproduction of the sacred footprint fabricated there *ad hoc*, so as to bear witness to the truth, so to speak, of the story about Buddha's visit thither. It would be

unbounded admiration by shouting out: "*Acchēra vata!*" (for *Acchēraṁ vata bho!* = Oh, wonderful!). These Pāli words, corrupted afterwards into *Acchĕ* (Achĕḥ), became henceforth the name of the country.[1] Buddha proceeded thence towards the north-east, alighting next on the Malay Peninsula at *Pallaṅka* (p. 114).

Though this explanation of the events that led to the country being named *Achĕḥ*, اچيه (Achīn), is, of course, fanciful,[2] it should nevertheless be noticed that the word

highly interesting if local amateur archæologists would try and find out the exact spot where the footprint in question stood. Although every trace of it may have disappeared long ago, owing to Muḥammadan intolerance, some tradition as to its whereabouts should be still extant among the natives.

[1] Van Duyl, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1897 (p. 98, note), expresses the opinion that Achĕḥ, or, as he writes it, "Atjèh," seems to be the name of a tree only to be found in that country. This view must, I think, be classed along with those of Marre ("Malâka," Paris, 1874, p. 6, note) and others on the same subject and on the etymology of the names of Malacca, etc. Many places in the Archipelago, as well as in Indo-China, have indeed been named after trees, shrubs, etc., found to be growing there; but in a number of instances their denominations possess a much more far-reaching meaning and interest than ascribed to them by ignorant natives, who have often altered those toponymics in order to adapt them to their fanciful notions of what they should represent.

[2] It is, nevertheless, worth remarking that the district of Dala, near Rangūn, received its new name of An-gyī in a surprisingly similar manner. The "British Burma Gazetteer" (vol. ii, p. 61) thus narrates the event: "The old name of this tract was Dala. It was changed to *An-khyee* ('wonderful,' 'admirable'), of which *An-gyee* is a corruption, about fifty years ago when . . . . the headman had sent to the annual boat-races on the Royal Lake at Rangoon a boat so named, manned by men from Dala, which won all the races in which it competed." This coincidence in the renaming of Dala is all the more surprising, as the term *An-khyī* is not very dissimilar in sound from Achĕḥ. Since the above was in print I have come across the following passage in the *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 5 (June, 1880). The author, Mr. G. P. Tolson, after having pointed out how erroneous is the form *Achin* of the name *Achĕḥ* commonly used by Europeans, proceeds as follows:—"Valentijn, however, writing as long ago as 1688, has exposed this misnomer. It is derived from the Hindustani word *Achai*, meaning fine, or lovely, and is so called on account of the exclamation alleged to have been uttered by the first visitors from India on sighting the coast in general, and Kampong Pandei [N.B. *Pandei*, پندى = *Paṇḍita*] in particular. This place, situated on the Acheh river, and not far from Kota Raja [the present capital], is remarkable for a grove of enormous trees of great beauty. In describing the land and what they saw, we may presume this epithet *Achai* was so repeatedly used that people came to speak of the newly discovered country as *Negri Achai*. This visit must have been paid centuries back, at any rate long before the Islam religion was introduced into the country, for we find the name recurring in the 'Undang Undang' or laws and customs of Menangkabau, promulgated by Perpâti Sĕbâtang, and collected and transcribed by Mr. Van Ophuyzen. In them mention is made of the marriage of one of the Menangkabau princesses with a royal prince of Acheh . . . . Another

Acchēra (*Acchariya*) given as the origin of that denomination, is remarkably similar to the term **Argyrē** handed down to us by Ptolemy. We thus see Ptolemy's transcript confirmed from an independent source, and are thereby enabled to trace with greater confidence than hitherto the name Achëḥ or Acchēra to the ancient **Argari** and the **Argaric Gulf**, in the Rāmnād district of the Koromandel coast, whence it was undoubtedly introduced. Whether the various forms *Acchēra*, **Argyrē**, and **Argari**, **Argeirū** or **Ankheirū**, have their modern representatives in Āṟṟaṅkarai, or Ātraṅkarai,

legend has it that a Hindû princess, having one day disappeared, was found by her brother in Sumatra. On their meeting he told the natives that she was his *Achi*, or sister. She was afterwards elected Queen, and hence this name was given to the country. This seems a very plausible story [?!!], and it is worthy of notice that the Hindû practice of piercing and largely distending the lobes of the ears is prevalent up to this day among Achinese women; this custom is naturally attributed to the above-named princess. I have also heard it alleged that the name *Achai* or *Acheh* is derived from a species of leech [!!], striped dark and light brown, small but vicious, which abounds in the jungle along the west coast of Sumatra." [N.B.—This is the notorious land leech, plentiful in all jungles of Indo-China, the whole of which region should, on that score, be named Achëḥ.] Discarding the last two legends as unworthy of notice, it is plain that the first one is that which has been current for centuries past all over the Archipelago. It must have been well known also on the Indo-Chinese mainland if it could reach the ear of the author of Gavampati's book in Pegu. It is in this work that we have it in one of its earliest variants, going back, no doubt, to the time when Buddhism was still the religion of Achëḥ and its rulers were of Indû lineage. For it is now admitted by all authorities on that country that the first dynasty that ruled over it was Indû, which was followed by a second one, Malay of Menangkabau origin, this in its turn by a pure Achinese one, and this again by an Arabic dynasty which began with Sultan Maḥmûd Shāh in 1760 and continues till now in Tunku Daud, the present-day ruler (see op. cit., pp. 42, 43). The name Achëḥ must then be very ancient, and the Chinese story of its having come into use during the period Wan-li (1573–1620) is of course absurd. Already, as shown in the passage cited above, it has been traced back to the "Undang Undang" law-code (*circâ* thirteenth century). But I have pointed out that earlier than that Achëḥ is very probably mentioned by Dimashkī (*circâ* 1300) as *Arshīr*, an island, he says, producing camphor of inferior quality to Fanṣūr (see Maehren, op. cit., p. 127). This may be one and the same with the island he terms elsewhere *Aṣrār* (ibid., p. 211). At all events *Arshīr* is almost certainly Achëḥ, since it is referred to in one breath with *Ribāḥ*, also producing camphor, which we have seen is very likely the territory on the Raba River (Krung Raba, debouching into Raba Bay), just a little below Achëḥ on the west coast of Sumatra. (A district *Riah* is, however, marked on some old maps in the place of the present Pāsai district on the north-east coast of Sumatra, which may be the place intended, since the name is also spelt *Ryāḥ*, see p. 443.) The first European mention of *Achëḥ* I have so far met with occurs in Barbosa, A.D. 1516, the name being spelled *Achem*, after the Portuguese fashion (see Ramusio, 1563 ed., f. 318 *verso*). Barthema, A.D. 1505, only speaks of Pedīr, just as preceding writers merely talk of Lambri, although the name Achëḥ was already in existence. I am confident, therefore, that under some earlier form, such as *Arjara*, *Acchera*, *Aoharē*, etc., it was already known in Ptolemy's time.

and Aṇaikarai (the ancient name of Rāma's Bridge),[1] on the Koromandel seaboard, or in some other old and forgotten place in that neighbourhood, it is not necessary for us to ascertain. Suffice it to know for the present that such toponymics once existed there and were thence introduced into both Arakan and Sumatra. But the essential point we should not lose sight of is, that those terms, or the original words from which they were derived, must have had the sense of 'white' or 'silver,' being thus connected with *balakṣa*, *palakṣa*, *parak* or *prak*, and other words for 'white' or the 'white metal,' such as, e.g., *Arjuna*, *Arjara*, *Kṣarjura*, etc., which we have noticed in the preceding pages and met with in several parts of Indo-China as well as in Sumatra. For we hear on the one hand, for instance, of **Arakhōsia** being called by the Parthians 'White India';[2] and on the other of part of the **Argyrē** or Achēḥ territory being termed *Pê-t'u*, 白土, i.e. 'White Earth' or 'White Land,' by the Chinese travellers. The latter term may, it is true, be a simple transcript of the name of *Batu* Island (Pulo Batu), just off the southern entrance to Achēḥ harbour; but then we have on the northern coast of Sumatra the name Perlaḳ once belonging to an important district, which seems to me undoubtedly connected with *parak*, *prak*, and *balakṣa*.[3]

[1] See McCrindle, op. cit., pp. 59, 60; and Appendix, note 3. There is an *Acharē* on the west coast of India, but whether this name is etymologically connected with the above or not I am unable to say.

[2] According to Isidoros of Kharax, quoted by McCrindle, op. cit., p. 319. The derivation suggested for the name of Arakhōsia from Sarasvatī (ibid., p. 317) seems to me rather fanciful. A more probable one is, in my opinion, that from *Rākṣasa*, which I find hinted at in Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India," 3rd ed., vol. i, p. 128, s.v., thus: "In Indu mythology it [Arakhōsia] is the country of the Rachos, with whom the immigrant Aryans came in conflict, and have been turned to the fearful Rakshasa of popular Hindu belief."

[3] Also the name of Rakan, a well-known district further down the east coast of Sumatra, which is, as we already remarked, actually noted down as *Arakan* by Valentijn. There is, further, a river Arakundur between Jambu-ayer or Diamond Point and Perlaḳ.

On the strength of the connection of *Parak* with *Arak*, I would suggest that the country of *Palakka*, or *Palakka*, mentioned among the Southern Indian kingdoms conquered by Samudra Gupta (see *Journal R.A.S.*, Jan., 1897, p. 28, note) may be Argari. I would also suggest, while I am on this subject, that Piṣṭapura, or Piṭṭāpura, with a king or district by the name of

Already in Arakan and Burmā we have met with this term, which seems to have been probably introduced from *Balakṣa* or Badakshān, that is, from the precincts of the ancient **Baktra**. All evidence therefore points to the effect that there must have been a migration of the terms *balakṣa* and *batta* or *baktra*, with their derivates *palakṣā* or *prak* and *arakṣa* or *arakha*, from the outskirts of the Pamirian plateau to the extreme south of India, and thence to Arakan and Sumatra.

As regards the legend of the peregrinations of the island *Samudra-* (or *Sumatra-*)*giri* to Ceylon, and back to its present position with a full cargo of Yakṣas, it is apparently based upon some old tradition of the separation of Sumatra from Ceylon through the subsidence of the so-called *Lemurian* continent, imagined by Sclater and believed to have once extended in unbroken succession from the Malay Archipelago to Ceylon and thence to Madagascar. If such be not the case, we might then assume that the legend referred to is simply an allegorical allusion to some emigration of Rākṣasas (Negrito-Dravidians) from Southern India and Ceylon to the northern coast of Sumatra. This version would appear to receive corroboration from the tradition of Rāvaṇa's conquests in the Malay Archipelago; and, should it prove acceptable, we must conclude that Sumatra was originally a colony of the Rākṣasa empire. At all events the legend deserves consideration, as indicating the source whence Sumatra received her early settlers, or, at any rate, colonizers.

The term **Argyrē**, applied by Ptolemy to the capital of the northern portion of Sumatra, well indicates where the island of *Argyrē* of the ancients is to be looked for. We thus understand how in the early maps this island was so often located close to that of *Khrysē*, which I have in a former section (pp. 78, 80) identified with the southern part

Mahendragiri (see also *Journal*, April, 1897, p. 420) be identified with Ptolemy's **Pityndra Mētropolis**, the capital of Maisōlia. It seems to me that *Pityndra* may well be a syncopated form of *Piṣṭa-minda*, or something like it, of which the first part only has been preserved to us.

of the Malay Peninsula.[1] Strange to say, the name under which Sumatra—together, perhaps, with the neighbouring

[1] As briefly pointed out on p. 77 above, the island of *Khrysē* has been mentioned by various writers before Ptolemy's time. So was the sister island of *Argyrē*. Although no notice of either of them appears in what is left, preserved in fragmentary form, of the "Indika" of Megasthenes, it is very probable that the famous writer had spoken of these islands, for reference to them is made in a passage of Pliny (Hist. Nat., vi, 211, 8–23, 11), which is borrowed for the most part from him. Doubtless Eratosthenes had heard of them, although no allusion in that sense is likewise met with in the surviving fragments of his work. Pomponius Mela (*circâ* A.D. 42) only refers to *Chrysē* Island (iii, 7), asserting it to be near *Tabis Promontorium*; but probably it was the more southern headland of *Tamarus* (Tumerao or Tebrau, the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula) he had in view. It is with Pliny (A.D. 77) that we get anything like a full account of ancient notions about the two mysterious islands. Here is what he says: "Beyond the mouth of the Indus are *Chrysē* and *Argyrē*, rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver." The last sentence may be compared with that in the Chinese cyclopædia "T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng" about the extraordinary abundance of both gold and silver in the kingdom of *P'o-hwei-kia-lu*, 婆 賄 伽 盧 = *Pharuigāra* or *Barakura* (Arakan; see above, p. 44). The "Periplus Maris Erythræi" (*circâ* A.D. 89), again, speaks only of *Khrysē*, but, for the first time in history, in a double form, that is both as part of the Indo-Chinese mainland and as an island. After having told us (§ 60) that for voyages from the west coast of India and further, to the Ganges and *Khrysē*, large vessels are employed called *kolandiophōnta*,* the anonymous author of that treatise proceeds to say (§ 63): "you reach the Ganges and the extremity of the continent towards the east called *Khrysē*." And then: "Near this river [Ganges] there is an island of the ocean called *Khrysē*, which lies directly under the rising sun and at the extremity of the world towards the east. It produces the finest tortoise-shell that is found throughout the whole of the Erythræan Sea [Indian Ocean]." This product, we are elsewhere informed (§ 56), was sent to Mūziris (Kranganūr) and Nelkynda (Malabār coast), whence it was exported to the west. Here we already detect the influence of the sea voyages of Alexander and others of Ptolemy's informants to the Golden Khersonese and the South China coast,

* Burnell ("South Indian Palæography," 2nd ed., p. 126) explains the above puzzling term as derived from the two Tamil words *kuḻinda* (= 'hollowed') + *ōḍam* (= 'boat'); but I am under the impression that the first part of the term must be somehow connected with *Kolā*, *Kollam*, *Kōlāṁca*, the names for Malabar and Koromandel (*vide supra*, p. 103); and the second with *beḍā*, *veḍā* = a 'boat'; the whole thus reading *Kolāṁca-beḍā* and, by dialectal corruption, *Kolāṁdya-beṇḍā* or *Kolāṁdya-buṇḍā*, i.e. 'Boat (or Ship) of the *Kola* Country.' N.B. that in Pahang there is a boat called *koleh*, which is probably of the same style as the one called *kulā* (*rua kulā*) in Siāmese. Again, *beḍā* becomes *p'hētrā* in Siāmese, and *buhtērā* in Malay. Hence, our interpretation stands a good chance of proving correct. I may further suggest, as an alternative interpretation of the first part of the term, *kalamdān*, which in Malay means a 'trunk' or a 'box,' being thus synonymous with *kāpal*, which had originally the same meaning, but is now employed to designate a ship or large sea-going vessel. Possibly the hitherto unexplained terms *lantea* and *lanchara*, both names for swift vessels in Further India and the Archipelago often recurring in the relations of the old travellers, are somehow survivals of the word which formed the prototype of Κολανδιοφωντα.

islands—is alluded to in the Purāṇas is *Kuśa* or *Kuśa-dvīpa*, which is remarkably similar to *Khrysē* or *Khrusē*. The

which resulted in the final acknowledgment of the Χρυσῆ Χερσόνησος or Malay Peninsula by Marinos of Tyre first, and then by his illustrious successor Ptolemy. On Dionysius Periegete's vague conception of the island of *Chrysē* we need not dwell, beyond noticing the particular passage in which he, a no mean poet, lets his imagination soar, and thinks it possible for a vessel in his time to anticipate Nordenskiöld's feat of sailing from Thulē, across the *Mare Pigrum* or Arctic Sea, as far as the island of *Chrysē*. Solinus (*circâ* A.D. 238) is, as usual, merely repeating Megasthenes and Pliny; hence there is nothing new in what he says (52, 6-17) about *Chrysē* and *Argyrē*, which, like his two model authors and in total ignorance of what Marinos and Ptolemy had written, he continues to locate "beyond the mouth of the Indus." Later on, the Golden and Silver Islands, together with that of Ophir, play a prominent rôle in many mediæval maps. Hence, probably, the Portuguese legend about the Ilha do Ouro in the Bay of Bengal, to which we have adverted in a former section (p. 398).

It seems to me, as I have suggested above (pp. 64-65 and 77-80), that "the extremity of the continent towards the east" called *Khrysē* in the "Periplus" is no other land than *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, i.e. Ptolemy's Χρυσῆ Χώρα, on and inland from the Gulf of Martaban, while the *Khrysē* Island of the same treatise, and of Mela and Pliny, is what soon afterwards became with Marinos and Ptolemy the Golden Khersonese (i.e. the Malay Peninsula, the southern part of which, I have tried to demonstrate, was very probably detached at no very remote time, forming an island). The explicit mention in the "Periplus" of the finest tortoise-shell coming from the Isle of *Khrysē* well evidences that this cannot be Sumatra, which is not at all noted for that article. The hawk's bill turtle (*Caretta imbricata*), which yields the finest shell, is known, in fact, to inhabit only the seas round the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, Nikobārs, Celebes, and Moluccas. As regards the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, the chief supply comes, according to Dennys ("Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya," p. 414), from the Dindings. With respect to the east coast, I know it from my own personal experience to be peculiarly plentiful all the way from C'hump'hŏn down to C'haiyā and the neighbouring islands. All the Chinese records treating of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago do not speak of tortoise-shell being produced elsewhere than in the Malay Peninsula and Eastern Islands. The countries referred to are: *Shê-p'o*, *P'o-li*, and *Ho-ling* (see Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 144, 206, 139), all of which we have shown to lie on the Malay Peninsula; then, Malacca and Johor (ibid., pp. 245, 253, 254); and finally Borneo, Karimāta, *Kau-lan* (Gelam Island, south-west Borneo), *Ma-yi-tung* (Billiton), Java (where, however, the shell is not a local product, but comes from the Spice Islands, etc.), Sulu, and *Kau-yoh*, a country near Sulu (ibid., pp. 230, 236, 202, 203, 175, 225, 226). It is quite possible that in the old days tortoise-shell was brought for sale by the Baju and Bugi from the eastern islands to the Straits; but then the chief marts for it would be found on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, as they were in more modern times (i.e. at Malacca and Singapore, the latter being the present-day emporium for the article there, while Batavia and Manilla are the actual marts for it in the eastern part of the Archipelago). Edrīsī (op. cit., vol. i, p. 63) mentions that the best tortoise-shell is found in the Sea of *Herkend*, meaning, no doubt, the east coast of Ceylon, the Nikobārs, and the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. *Khrysē* Island cannot therefore be Sumatra, but the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, as we have suggested from the outset.

As regards the Silver or Silvery Island, *Argyrē*, I scarcely doubt it could be any other place than Arakan, out of which in after times Ptolemy made his Ἀργυρᾶ Χώρα. The tradition as regards the two wonderful islands was not of Greek but of Indū origin; they, in fact, correspond to the two islands *Suvarṇa* and *Rūpyaka* mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa as thronged by gold (and, I think, also

resemblance may, however, be purely accidental. As regards the name *Kuśa*, it can, I think, be explained only by referring it to its synonym *Darbha* or *Dabbha*, which may have been adopted as closely approaching in origin to the form *Daba* or *Ḍava* of the term *Java*, by which the island, or the northern portion of it, was designated. The Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhā-k.) speaks of a silver mountain by the name of *Ansumat* in the Kṣiroda Sea, which may correspond to some summit of the northern part of Sumatra where the 'white' or 'silver district' was situated. It then distinctly refers to volcanoes existing in the Sea of Ghṛta or Sarpis when it states that there is to be found a flame with a horse's head called *Baḍavānala*. In connection with this passage I have to remark that another name for this sort of volcanic fire is *Kāka-dvaja* ('Crow's Banner'), which is remarkably similar to the name of Krakatoa, the famous volcanic islet in Sunda Strait; it would thus appear that the latter is meant, its eruptive character having probably become notorious from the earliest period.[1] The Bhāgavata Purāṇa states that the object of worship in *Kuśa-dvīpa* is *Jātavedas*, 'Fire'; which is an allusion, I think, to the volcanic character of the Malay Archipelago, as well as to a form

silver) mines,* and it is, no doubt, from such legends current in their age that Megasthenes and other Greek writers obtained their notions about them. In course of time, however, it is possible that, owing either to the southern part of the Malay Peninsula having ceased to be an island, or to the legendary lore relating to the north coast of Sumatra and Arakan having somehow got mixed up, the location of the islands seems to have been shifted further away from the mouth of the Ganges to Achĕḥ and Jambi or Palembang respectively, so that the last-named districts would become the Malay *Pulo Mas* and I-tsing's *Chin-chou*. But that could not certainly have happened, in the case of *Khrysē* Island at any rate, before the time of the "Periplus," for the reasons above stated.

[1] Krakatoa is known to have been in eruption in A.D. 1680, after which it remained in a state of comparative inactivity until the famous outburst of May 20th, 1880. Before this last cataclysm the island was about five miles in length and three in breadth. These dimensions are now reduced to three by one and a half miles.

* N.B. that these two islands are, in that poem, Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa, mentioned in connection with the *Kālodaka* or 'Sea of *Kalah*,' and before reaching the *Sona* or *Lohita* (*Śri-lohita*) Sea, or Sea of the Straits. This circumstance well indicates that the two islands were then really considered to be Arakan and the southern part of the Malay Peninsula respectively.

of worship still obtaining in it to some extent, but which was probably more marked of old. It is well known, in fact, how religiously up to this day the natives preserve the fire procured from volcanoes, and in what high veneration they hold the mountain-peaks that yield it.[1]

Gorresio, in his translation of the Bengal recension of the Rāmāyaṇa, has a passage in which the water of the Ghṛta Sea is stated to be of a green colour.[2] I should think, then, that we have here the reason why Ptolemy terms **Green Sea** the southern part of the Indian Ocean stretching westward from the Malay Archipelago to the African coast. In the Suppāraka Jataka (No. 463), it should be observed, mention is made of a green and grassy sea called *Kusa-māla* or *Kusa-māli*, which I take undoubtedly to be the sea encompassing *Kuśa-dvīpa*, as the connection is only too evident. I cannot afford to enter here into a minute discussion of the geography of *Kuśa-dvīpa* as laid down in the various Purāṇas, as it more properly belongs to a later period than the one treated on in the present volume, and would, besides, carry me to greater lengths with not always certain results. But I am satisfied as to the identity of *Kuśa-dvīpa* with, at least, Sumatra, as proved by the correspondence of several names of districts and tribes. Among topographical names we have, besides *Kuśa* or *Darbha* already noticed,[3] those of *Vasu*, *Vasudāna*, and *Lambana*, which I take to represent, respectively, the long puzzling Chinese name *Po-sz*, applied to some place on the north coast of Sumatra (perhaps the

[1] Dimashḳī (see Maehren, op. cit., p. 213) mentions an island *Kendālāi* (six parasangs in length by four in width) with a volcano in eruption, producing spices and other aromata, and peopled by a fire-worshipping race. The sea, he adds, throws large quantities of ambergris on its shores. The island here referred to may be one of the Banda group, perhaps Gunong Api, but not impossibly Krakatoa of the old days, when it was far more extensive than at present.

[2] "Il gran mare che s'appella *Ghṛtoda* . . . . dove Viṣṇu, presa un dì faccia di cavallo per l'ardore impetuoso nato in lui dall' ira, bevve poi sempre ippocefalo l'acqua di quel mare fatta verde" (Milan edition, 1870, vol. ii, p. 255). As regards the legends of the marine horse and of Kwan-yin's birth with a horse's head, see pp. 558 and 600.

[3] Compare *Darva* or *Dārva* and *Darvī* or *Darvīca* as names, respectively, of a people and country, apparently not far from Baktra; in the Mahābhārata, *Bhiṣma-parvan*. (See Hall's edition of Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii, p. 175.)

Lam-Besi River, west coast); *Basitang*, بسيتغ, on the east coast above Temīyang; and either Lambri or Lampong (if not actually *Pralambana* or Palembang). Among the names of tribes I think I can recognize the *Kovidas* (Kubu) and the *Mandehas* (= *Mante* tribe still existing in Achēḥ)[1]; while I feel pretty well certain as to the identity of the *Damins* and *Śuṣmins* with the *Ta-hwa-mien* and *Hsia-hwa-mien* of Chinese writers.[2] I have examined the site ascribed

[1] Mentioned in Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's "De Atjèhers," vol. i, pp. 19, 51. (See *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 121.) We have, besides, the *Mantaŭ* tribes of the Mantawi Islands, off the west coast of Sumatra, bearing a similar name.

[2] See Phillips in *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, p. 221. The name given in the Chinese map published therewith to this people is *Ta-hsiau-hwa-mien*, 大小花面, meaning the 'Greater and Lesser Tattooed Faces.' But it is more of a transliteration than a translation, and when decomposed into its two parts, *Ta-hwa-mien* and *Hsiao-hwa-mien*, one will recognize at once in them the *Damins* and *Śuṣmins* of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (bk. ii, ch. iv). Phillips reads the first name *Toa-ko-bin* according to the Amoy dialect, and identifies their country with Marco Polo's *Dagraian* or *Dragaian*. This identification is only topographically (to a certain extent), but not etymologically, correct. The real source for Marco Polo's puzzling term *Dagroian*, *Dagraian*, *Dragaian*, *Dangroian*, *Dagarion*, *Dyagoriam*, *Dragoian*, *Dragroiam*, or *Dragouayn*, has yet to be found. I am confident, however, of having now solved the problem that has proved such a crux to many commentators for so many years past. The correct form of the term is, undoubtedly, either *Tūnah-Gāyu* (= Dan-gaian) or *Orang-Gāyu* (= Drangoian). Marco Polo does, in fact, locate his kingdom of *Dangroian* between those of *Samara* or *Samarcha* (Samudra, Samakuruk) and *Lambri*; that is to say, on the tract of the north coast of Sumatra corresponding, roughly, to the present Pasāngan and Samabāngan districts. Now, this tract of territory was, until well-nigh the time of Marco Polo's visit, occupied by a Pagan population, refractory to Islāmism, called *Gāyu*. This people, the Pāsai chronicle tells us, when the country of Samudra was converted to Islāmism (i.e. in *circâ* 1275–1280, see p. 644), "refused to embrace the new religion and retired towards the head-waters of the Pasāngan River. It is for this reason that they were called *Gāyu* (Rowers?), a name which they bear until this day" (see Marre's "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," p. 34). At present they are still in occupation of the whole of the highlands extending from the north coast of Sumatra at Samalāngan and Pasāngan down to the Barisan range running along its west coast to the borders of the Sūsū and Tarūmun districts, where they become conterminous with the Ālas, by whom they are separated from the *Karo* or *Karu*, a branch of the Battas further to the south-east. These *Gāyu* are the people whose name is variously printed *Gājo* or *Gajoe* (= Gāyo, Gāyu) in Dutch books and maps. Whether they are or not racially connected with the *Karo*, *Karu*, or *Karau* Battas further south towards the Toba Lake, I am unable to say; but it is very likely they are, for the names are surprisingly similar, and it is not impossible that *Gāyu* was formerly pronounced *Gāru* or something similar. *Gārang*, كارغ, in Malay,

to both the last-named people in the Chinese map published by Phillips, and came to the conclusion that it corresponds

means 'savage,' 'ferocious.' The *Karo* are to this day cannibals,* and Marco Polo tells us the same of the people of Dangroian, i.e. the *Gāyu* or *Gayo*. He further states that this people were very savage and had idols, i.e. that they were pagan, not converted to Islāmism, which particulars we know from the chronicle of Pāsai to have been at the same period equally true of the *Gāyu*. There can thus be no further doubt that Marco Polo's *Dangroian* was *Tānah-Gāyu* (or *Gayo*, *Gāro*), i.e. '*Gāyu* Land.' Other possible interpretations are *Orang-Gāyu* and *Negri-Gāyu*. (N.B. that *Orang-Gāyu*, owing to the initial O being easily mistaken for a D, may be quite possibly read *Drang-Gāyu*. Besides, one text, the Veneto-Italian of Bern, has actually *Groian*, so that *Da* may be a pleonastic prefix, as in *Daru* for Aru, *Dachem* for Achem, etc.)

There can scarcely be any doubt that these *Gāyu* were principally the people referred to by Friar Odoric in *Sumoltra* as tattooing their faces and bodies with various figures. This circumstance leads us to the identification of the *Gāyu* with the 'Tattooed Faces' of Chinese literature. Their kingdom, first described by Ma Huan in A.D. 1416, is recorded under the name *Na-ku-êrh*, 那孤兒 (= *Nakur*, *Nagur*), which has, in its turn, so much puzzled our predecessors, but in which the reader will now be able to recognize a shortened form of [*Ta*]*nah-Karo*, *-Gāru*, or *-Gāyu*; in fact, the same term as gave rise to Marco Polo's spelling [*Da*]*-ngroian*, [*Da*]*-ngaian*, [*Da*]*-garion*. The location assigned to *Nakur* in the Chinese literature of the period is exactly the same as *Dagarion*, i.e. to the west of *Su-mên-ta-la* (Samudra) and adjoining its frontiers. The country, it is added, only consists of one large mountain village, counting about one thousand families. The people tattoo on their faces triangular blue figures (as well as figures of flowers and animals),† and for this reason their

* So state several accounts, whereas I find now asserted that according to Von Brenner ("Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatra," Würzburg, 1894) the Karo, or "gentle Karo," as this author calls them, alone appear amongst Batta tribes to be entirely free from cannibal practices (see *Geographical Journal*, February, 1896, pp. 181, 183). If this is true, so much the better for them . . . . and for those who happen to pass near their haunts. Dr. Leyden says that the 'Karrows,' as he calls them, were in his time subject to Achīn ("Essays rel. to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. i, p. 114).

† On face-tattooing, compare our remarks above, p. 367, to which I am now able to add the following from the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. i, vol. i, pp. 466, 514, 543. The women of the wild Waḥs of the north, about the sources of the Nam Mā, are said to tattoo their faces and bosoms. The male Loi-lông (Dŏi-lûang) Karens tattoo two black squares beneath their chins, and are exceedingly proud of these marks. As regards several Chin tribes the following facts have been recorded:— (1) The Chin-bôks cover the face with nicks, lines, and dots of a uniform design. The women's breasts are also surrounded with a circle of dots. (2) The Yindus tattoo in horizontal lines across the face, showing glimpses of the skin. (3) The Chin-bôns tattoo an entire dead black, and are the most repellent in appearance. The men are not tattooed at all. The beauty of a Chin woman is gauged by her tattooing. The tattooing of the face in lines is characteristic of the aborigines of Formosa, as well as of the *P'hū Ŏ* and *Nu-tsz* or Lu-tsz (see pp. 367–368). Marco Polo, bk. ii, ch. lvi, mentions face-tattooing as prevalent among the people of *Caugigu* or *Cangigu*, who evidently are the P'hū Ŏ, Pu-erh, or Pu-ön (P'huen). The custom can therefore be traced all the way from the north coast of Sumatra, through the Malay Peninsula (Semang, Benua), to Northern Indo-China, and thence eastwards as far as Formosa, and westwards to Central Northern India (Kolarian tribes).

to the present districts of Sūsū, Damar, and Tarūmun, or Trumun, forming, practically, the southern limit of the

country is also called 'Country of the Tattooed Faces' (*Hwā-mien Kwo*, 花面國). They have simian faces and naked bodies, wrapping a single cloth around their loins. In the neighbourhood is situated the mountain of *Nakur*, which yields sulphur. When our (Chinese) fleet was at *Su-mên-ta-la* men and ships were sent there to collect it. (Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 218–219; and *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 348–351.) In connection with the last item of information I may point out that Beaulieu mentions a similar mountain in that neighbourhood which may or not be the very one referred to by Fei Hsin. He says: "À six lieues de la Capitale [Achin], vers *Pedir*, s'éleve une haute montagne, en forme de Pic, d'où l'on reçoit quantité de souffre" (Prévost, Hist. gén. des Voyages, vol. ix, p. 340). However, old volcanic cones are not scarce on that coast, and sulphur must be easily procured in various places. It will thus be seen that *Nakur* is Marco Polo's *Dangroian* and *Gāyu* Land. Chinese accounts of the period distinctly locate it along the mountains to the west of Sumatra city and between this and Lambri. The map published by Phillips marks it on the west coast below Lambri, which is not an error at all, but a circumstance evidencing that Gāyu territory did then, as nowadays, stretch across the north-western part of the island to its western seaboard. The Gāyu have, of course, since retired from the shore, being at present confined to the highlands at the back of it. I should add that there was another tribe in their neighbourhood probably also connected with them. Their country is mentioned in the Pāsai chronicle (op. cit., p. 51; and Dulaurier in *Journal Asiatique*, 1847, p. 259), under the name of '*Nadamī*, نده‌مي, Land,' and described as situated at the headwaters of the Pāsai River (cf. *Nadami*, *Damiṇ*, and *Ta-[hwa]-mien*).

It is surprising that even with such a clear statement of the location of *Nakur* Sinologists have not been able to identify this country and their people, to say nothing of Marco Polo's *Dagroian*. Phillips, we have seen, is the only one that went anything near the mark, although missing it. For Professor Schlegel, on the other hand, *Nakur* is Marco Polo's *Nocuran* or *Necuran* (i.e. the Nikobārs!! see *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 351). I regret to notice that the industrious Professor is scarcely more fortunate than his learned colleagues in Sinology as regards the identification of Chinese place-names in the Archipelago. As we are just treating of Sumatra, I may point out for the benefit of other students interested in such matters that Fei-Hsin's 龍牙加貌, *Lung-ya-ka-mau*, out of which Professor Schlegel has made (*T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, pp. 367 and 383) a teratological *Linga Kamau* or *Linga Kambau*, which, of course, does not exist, and which he consequently has never been able to locate, is purely and simply a sufficiently clear transcript of *Menang-kabau*, the famous kingdom in north-central Sumatra, marked 龍牙加兒, *Lun-ya-kia-êrh*, in Phillips' map (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxi, 1886, p. 38), and taken by this Sinologist to be Indrapura! It will now be plain to every reader that both the above transcripts are simply contracted forms of *Ma-lung-ya-ka-mau* = *Mananga-kabau* = *Menang-kabau*. It will be gathered from the above examples and from the many others given in the course of this work, that the Chinese geography of Indo-China and the Archipelago as hitherto fancifully expounded by Sinologists is almost entirely unreliable, and requires a good and thorough overhauling at the hands of those who know something of the topography, history, and languages of those countries ere it can be of any use for scientific purposes.

Gāyu and Ālas lands, on the west coast of Sumatra. Mount *Kuśeśaya* of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa is probably *Gūnong* (Mount) *Lusé*, क and ख being easily mistaken for one another when not clearly written or partly obliterated in the old MSS. Again, the *Cakra* ('wheel') mountain referred to in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as being in Kuśa-dvīpa, may be the *Hsi-lun* ('Fine wheel') mountain of Chao Ju-kua's account.

The Vāyu Purāṇa places *Kuśa-dvīpa* among the islands, and states that it is also called *Kumuda*. Along with it it mentions *Varāha*, which may be Hog Island, near the west coast of Sumatra (see p. 448). The Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas have instead *Ramaṇaka*, which undoubtedly corresponds to Hsüen-chuang's *Yen-mo-na Chou*,[1] to the *Rāmī* or *Ramnī* of the Arabs, to the local *Lambrī* or *Lam-barih*, and to Marco Polo's *Lambri*.

But I shall not further press for identities: the argument is quite novel and the antiquities of Sumatra still a sealed book; we must know more about them and the early history and geography of the island ere we can safely proceed. Sumatra, owing to its being so extensive and its coastline but little known up to quite recent times, has always been believed to consist of several islands which were designated by different names: hence the confusion that has arisen in the accounts of the island left us by the early travellers, and the difficulty in locating and identifying the names of places they give.

Confining our remarks to the Achëḥ district proper, we cannot afford to pass unnoticed a peculiar term applied to it to this day, namely *Achëh Besar*, اچه بسر, literally 'Great Achëḥ,' commonly understood to mean 'Achëḥ Proper,' but which, in my opinion, should be more correctly taken to signify its original territory, that where the foundation of its greatness was laid; 'Ancient Achëḥ,' in fact. Its compass is now assumed to embrace "that corner of Sumatra formed by a line drawn from Pidir Point on

[1] N.B. that there is a Krung Jamuan (= *Yamunā* or *Jamnā* River) in the Sawang district, west of Pāsai, north coast of Sumatra.

the north, to Kuāla Lambesi on the west coast."[1] It is, in fact, to all intents and purposes, the territory formerly otherwise known by the alternative designation of *Lambri*. We have already met with the term 'Great' as prefixed to toponymics in the case of Malacca (or at any rate the old territory corresponding to the latter mediæval State of that name), surnamed by the Chinese *Ta Shê-p'o*, 大闍婆, or 'Great *Java* (Saba).'[2] This coincidence suggests that the term 'Great Achëh' may also be of very ancient origin, and that analogously it may have found expression in the Chinese *Ta-shih*, 大食, in which the first part of the name, *Ta*, 大, would then really have its proper sense of 'Great,' and the second would stand for *Ashi, Achëḥ*.[3] We have pointed out (*supra*, p. 511) that as late as 1521, and even 1586 and after, the accounts of European travellers preserve a similar form in *Dachem*, *Dacin*, etc. If so, the term *Ta-shih* would not be a transcript of *Tājik*, *Tājika* = Arabs, as has hitherto been supposed. Besides, I find it, when employed in the latter sense, sometimes written 達其, *Ta-ch'i*. It can be traced back, we have seen, until at least A.D. 960–1280, at which period Sung history informs us that from the southern coast of *Shê-p'o* (central part of Malay Peninsula) *Ta-shih* may be reached in five days' sailing. The "Tung-hsi Yang-k'au" (A.D. 1618), as well as Ming history and the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih," distinctly state that Achëḥ, 啞齊, is the former Su-mên-ta-la, 蘇門答剌, or *Su-wên-ta-na*, 蘇文達那 (Sumatra), which, in its turn, was the old country of *Ta-shih* (古大食國);[4] hence the confusion that has so often been made in Chinese records between this *Ta-shih* and the country of the Tājiks. It seems to me that to our

[1] *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 5 (June, 1880), p. 41.

[2] See pp. 519, 522, and 523.

[3] I am, of course, aware that the name *Achëḥ* is commonly transcribed 亞齊, *Ya-ch'i*, or *A-ch'i*, 啞齊 (*A-ts'ai*, *A-ts'e*, *A-che*); but this form merely dates from A.D. 1618, when it first appears in the "Tung-hsi Yang-k'au" Cyclopædia, it being referred to later on in Ming history under the period Wan-li (1573–1620). See Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 214, 215.

[4] See *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 338, 368, 369.

Sinologists the term *Ta-shih*, as applied to the north-west corner of Sumatra Island, has been no less deceiving than the contemporary name *Po-sz*, 波斯, which has led them to take it as a transcript of *Fars*, *Pars*, or Persia, because such is its widely known application.[1] That there were of old both Arab and Persian settlements in the Achëḥ district and even at other places on either the northern or western coasts of Sumatra is very probable—nay, almost certain; for these coasts lie within close proximity to the Nikobārs, which, as is well known, formed one of the capital stations and landmarks on the Arab and Persian sea-route across the Bay of Bengal. Owing to this fact, the north-west seaboard of Sumatra must have been often touched at, especially when the southern drift of the currents in the Bay of Bengal compelled the vessels to pass within sight of it, or hurricanes eventually threw those vessels against that coast and forced them to seek a refuge there. A proof of such views is afforded by the accounts of the Arab travellers themselves, which show that not only Lambri, but Bārūs, were well known to their countrymen, who seem to have carried on a busy traffic at their seaports since at least the middle of the ninth century. Nevertheless, we are perfectly aware from evidence adduced in the preceding pages, that the country was above all Indū in belief and manners,[2] it having

[1] See p. 429. In connection with *Po-sz*, *Ta-shih*, etc., with the north coast of Sumatra, the following entry under a date corresponding to A.D. 1403 occurs in Ming history, bk. 325: "*Su-mên-ta-la* (Samudra) lies west of Malacca," etc. "Some say that it is the *T'iao-chih*, 條枝 [=a country on the coast of the Persian Gulf, identified by Dr. Hirth with Chaldæa], of the Han Dynasty, and the *Po-sz*, 波斯 [*Fars*, *Pars*, Persia], of the T'ang Dynasty [N.B. this term *Po-sz* is found in Chinese history as far back as about A.D. 450]: two countries of the *Ta-shih*, 大食 [*Tājiks*, the Arabs of the Khalif empire], and an important gathering-place in the west" (*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 343). The explanations between brackets are my own.

[2] Suffice to recall the particulars about the footprint, undoubtedly Buddhist, mentioned by Chao Ju-kua as early at least as 1240. Other details in his account of *Lan-wu-li* are interesting as being the oldest account we possess of the people of that country and their customs. I therefore summarize them here from Dr. Hirth's paper in the *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1896, pp. 480–482. The inhabitants are very dark-skinned, they wrap their bodies round with silk stuffs,

been settled and probably colonized from the remotest ages by Dravidian emigrants from Southern India, although there can be no doubt that even before that perhaps it had been partially civilized by the Phœnicians. It cannot, therefore, seem credible that from the mere fact of the Arabs and Persians having had a few petty settlements there, the land could come to be called after them respectively the *Tājika* or *Parsi* country. These terms must have other and more deep-grounded origins. If 'Great Achëḥ,' or *Ta-Ashih*, is not the prototype of the denomination *Ta-shih*,

are bareheaded, and go barefoot. They use their hands in taking their food. They are warlike, and often use poisonous arrows. [Friar Odoric mentions that the people of Sumoltra are (*circâ* A.D. 1323) in constant war with those of the kingdom of *Lamory*; that they go stark-naked, are bad and cruel, and addicted to cannibalism; but this seems to apply only to the wild tribes near by.] Household vessels are made of bronze. The king is black, with unkempt hair, and wears no covering on his head; he wears no regular clothes, but is merely wrapped in cloth of various colours, and his feet are protected by sandals of red leather (fastened) with gold thread. When going out he rides on an elephant or in a kind of litter. He eats every day a paste made of betel-nuts, burnt together with real pearl ashes. His palace is decked with jewels. There is an eastern and a western palace [read 'throne hall'], at each of which there is planted a golden tree [the *bunga-mas* of Malays and *kalpavṛkṣa* of Indûs]. Underneath each of these trees there is a golden throne with partition walls of glass. When holding court the king ascends the eastern throne in the morning and the western throne in the evening [an Indû custom]. Two attendants constantly hold up a golden dish [read 'spittoon'] to receive the dregs of the betel-nuts chewed by the king. The king holds in his hand a jewel [read 'ruby'] five inches in diameter, which will stand the test of fire and shine at night like a torch; by rubbing his face with it every day the king will keep his youthful looks, though he may be over ninety years old. [Neither the translator nor anyone else has, to my knowledge, noticed that Marco Polo and Friar Odoric state about the same thing of the kings, respectively, of Ceylon and *Nichomeran* or *Bakumeran*. Says Messer Marco: "And the king of this Island possesses a ruby which is the finest and biggest in the world . . . It is about a palm in length, and as thick as a man's arm . . . it is quite free from flaw, and as red as fire . . . You must know that the Great Khān sent an embassy and begged the King as a favour greatly desired by him to sell him this ruby . . . but the King replied that on no account whatever would he sell it." Odoric repeats the same story, ascribing, through some confusion or oversight, the possession of the precious jewel to the chief of the Nikobārs.] The country sends yearly tribute to *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang). With the north wind [read 'north-east monsoon'] you come within a little more than twenty days to the country of *Hsi-lan* (Ceylon). Sailing from *Lan-wu-li* [Lammuri, Ramburi], you know that you are coming to *Hsi-lan* (Ceylon) by the flashing of lightning always visible.

There is nothing, it will be seen, suggestive of Islāmism in this account; on the contrary, the evidence is totally in favour of our view that Induism was then widespread in the country, the dynasty itself being of real or pretended Indû descent. Even at the time of Marco Polo's visit (A.D. 1292–3) the people were still idolaters, although the local chronicles place the introduction of Islām into the country in A.D. 1205. This may be true as regards a portion of the people, but not of the great bulk of them. Hence the *Ta-shih* = *Tājik* theory as regards this country stands but little chance of proving correct.

we shall then very likely have to trace this, as already suggested, to a name *Tarshish*, transplanted here in the earliest days by the Phœnician navigators, and given to the country either in memory of an older *Tarshish* nearer home (perhaps *Tarsia*, the promontory on the Karmanian coast near which Nearkhos' fleet anchored);[1] or in imitation of some epithet suggestive of silver, **Rākṣasas**, or the like, already applied to the principal town or seaport on that coast by the Dravidians from Southern India and Ceylon. The connection between Ceylon and Sumatra in legendary lore, as well as in history, is so considerable, we have seen, as to well justify the latter alternative, while the terms **Argyrē**, *Ta-shih*, *Arshīr*, *Dachem*, *Achĕh*, successively met with from the second to the sixteenth century A.D., are sufficient evidence in favour of either view. From the fact of Ptolemy applying the name **Argyrē** to the principal town of that coast, it would seem that this was merely the city designation, while *Rāmbrī*, *Rāmnī*, *Lambrī*, etc., were the country's name, although perhaps becoming in course of time alternative appellations for the principal city or settlement to which the *Kraton*, citadel and king's residence, were successively shifted, for the seat of these continually varied. The terms *Acchera*, *Achai*, or *Acchā* would seem, however, if the legends accounting for them be true, to have been applied to the country and not to its capital. The question is complicated, and not easy of definite solution until more evidence is collected. The term *Pūloḳ-Lamīrī*, ڤولق لميرى, appearing in the "Ṣejarah Malāyu," ch. viii, as the name of a city in *Lamīrī* or *Lamerī*, لمبرى لميرى, probably the capital, is not clear as regards its first portion, which we ignore, whether it stands for *pulo*, *pulau*, ڤولو, 'island,' or for some proper name, *Puloḳ*, derived from *palakṣa*, *balakṣa*, etc., 'white,' or 'silver,' 'silvery.'

As regards the other term, *Po-sz*, 波斯, which we have seen applied to this part of Sumatra Island (see p. 429), it can hardly mean *Lambri* or *Achĕḥ*, because Chao Ju-kua,

[1] See p. 598.

who gives us a rather diffuse account of *Lan-wu-li*, refers to *Po-sz* separately,[1] so that Dr. Hirth has been led to consider it to apply to some unidentified country which is "probably not Persia." As it reads *Po-ssŭ*, *Pa-su*, *Ba-sa*, *Ba-shi*, *Bu-sü*, I have already suggested its probable identity with the *Vasu* State located by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in Kuśa-dvīpa. It may be *Lambesi*, i.e. *Besi* or *Bāsi*—*Lam* being merely the ordinary prefix meaning village—a petty State on the homonymous river on the west coast of Sumatra immediately below Achëḥ, upon which it borders. It doubtless is De Barros' *Lambrij*, which adjoins *Daya* (Dāyā, بايا), which, in its turn, adjoins *Achem*. Dāyā lies, in fact, between the two mouths of the Lambesi River (also called Lambesoi).[2] The name *Lambri* for the Achëḥ district certainly did no longer exist at the time of the advent of the Portuguese in the Archipelago. The last Western author to mention it is probably Friar Odoric, while in Chinese literature the last reference to it occurs in Ma Huan's work, A.D. 1416. Fei-Hsin, but twenty years later, although speaking of more States on North Sumatra than any other of his predecessors (to wit, *Su-mên-ta-la*, Temīyang, *Nakur*, and Menang-kabau—Professor Schlegel's *Linga-Kamau* of immortal fame), has not a word about Lambri. It goes, of course, without saying, that whatever references may be thereafter found to that State in Ming history and the various encyclopædias are merely retrospective, being based for the most part on Ma Huan's account. But even then, 1430 is the last recorded date for intercourse with *Nan-p'o-li* in the annals.

[1] See *Journal R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 479.

[2] De Barros' *Lambrij*, I now notice, has a good deal puzzled Colonel Yule, who takes it to be the old *Lambri* (whereas it is undoubtedly *Lambesi*), and cannot therefore explain De Barros' apparent inconsistency in placing it at first between *Daya* and *Achem*, and then between *Mancopa* and *Daya* (see "Marco Polo," 3rd edition, London, 1903, vol. ii, p. 300). While I am on the subject of Yule's famous work, to which I regret not having had access before this (the first copy I have seen of it is the *third edition*, just issued, too late in time to be of any avail for the purpose of reference in this work, which is now, September, 1903, already all in type or very nearly so), I may just as well remark that, as regards Indo-China and the Archipelago it still leaves many questions, especially about Marco Polo's sea-route in this region, unsolved, which will be found settled in the preceding pages. I propose to soon revert to this fascinating subject more fully elsewhere.

of the Ming dynasty. After this such a State is no more heard of as a living entity. Nor is it in any local chronicle or in any account of travellers later than this period. We must then infer that the name must have disappeared between A.D. 1430 and 1436, the date of Fei-Hsin's book. But the change probably took place a little later, i.e. in 1471, when, as we shall see directly, a Chām prince ascended the throne there. This fact of the disappearance of the name *Lambri* from the map of the country is very important, and I have thought it worth the while to call attention to it, as it does not appear to have been noticed before this. There occurs, indeed, a mention in the sailing directions of the "Hai-kwo Wên-chien-lu" (A.D. 1730) of a country or sea termed *Lan-ni*, 爛泥 (Lan-li, Lan-nai, Ran-nei, lit. 'broken or splashed mud' or mire), which Professor Schlegel innocently takes to be the old Lambri;[1] but there is no shadow of a probability that such can be the case. The passage in question states in fact: "To the east Siam is connected with Kamboja (東 [read 東] 埔 寨, i.e. *Kan-pu-chih*) . . . . Now, how is it that they are so far distant from each other? It is because the whole south of Kamboja belongs entirely to *Lan-ni*, for which reason it is called 'The End of *Lan-ni*,' 爛 泥 尾 [*Lan-ni Wei*; more properly the 'headland,' or 'promontory,' of *Lan-ni*]. Lower on it joins the great and the small Transverse Islands [the term is 橫 山, i.e. Greater and Lesser *Hêng* = Pulo Panjang and East Island with Table Rock]; and because one has to make the tour around its outside, it is so much farther." It is perfectly plain that here, by 'End of *Lan-ni*' the landspit of Khmau (Khmau Point) at the southern extremity of Kamboja is meant; and by *Lan-ni* the Khmau peninsula stretching southwards from the delta of the Mē-khōng River, which being yet in

[1] See *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 197. I need not point out that out of the eight or more toponymics given in the itinerary in question after leaving the Paracels, Professor Schlegel has not succeeded in identifying a single one, except the two which had been easily made out long before he wrote, viz. Pulo Condor and *Tung-pu-chih*, more correctly *Kan-pu-chih*, which is Kamboja. I cannot afford space to go here into this itinerary, but hope to be able to do so before long elsewhere. Suffice for our present purpose to establish the identity of the *Hêng* Islands and *Lan-ni*.

course of formation is but a mire, known as the 'still sea' ('Mer tranquille' of the French), a sea of mud, in fact, that has but in few places acquired anything like consistency. The dark colour of the waters, which through innumerable creeks flow to tinge the sea for a long distance all round, has caused the Khmērs to apply to them the name of *Thük Khmau*, meaning the 'Black (or inky) Waters.' Now this is exactly represented by the Chinese term *Lan-ni*, which must therefore be taken in its literal sense, and not as a transcript of any local toponymic.[1] Under such circumstances, the Chinese itinerary above referred to becomes perfectly clear; the concluding sentences simply mean that the distance from Siām to Kamboja (its capital being intended) is so great because the Khmau peninsula, or mud-flat, intervenes, which must be given a wide berth, thus causing much loss of time in rounding it. There cannot absolutely be, accordingly, any connection between this *Lan-ni* and Lambri, which latter lies too far away to permit of such a wild idea being even for a moment entertained.

We must therefore turn to a similar place-name, *Lan-li* or *Lam-li*, mentioned in the annals of the T'ang and Sung dynasties as a station on the sea-route from Ch'üan-chou (Zayton?) to the Persian Gulf,[2] which has been identified by Dr. Bretschneider with Lambri.[3] Such an identification is undoubtedly correct, because the toponymic in question is spelled 藍里 (*Lan-li*, *Lam-ri*), which is evidently but a contraction of the fuller form, 藍無里 (*Lan-wu-li*, *Lam-mu-ri*,

[1] I should not think there can be any etymological connection with the name 'Lake of Śrī Rāma' (*Rāma-daha*, *Rāma-sara*?) applied, according to Crawfurd ("Embassy to Siam and Cochinchina," London, 1830, vol. ii, p. 248), by the Malays (Chām?) residing in Kamboja to the *Thalē-sāp* or inland lake there. Nor can there be any relation with the 'Rāma mouth' (Pāknam P'hrah Rām), the appellation formerly given by the Siāmese to the mouth of a river about Rayōng, west of Chanthabūn, which may be the embouchure of the Rayōng River itself. This name seems now to have been forgotten; I merely gather it from the old Siāmese map often previously alluded to. It is, however, possible that *Lan-ni* or *Ran-nei* may be a transcript of the Khmēr word *ronēam*, *ranīam*, which means 'low and submerged jungle' (i.e. flooded during high tides or inundations, also called *prei ranīam*), although I do not know whether this term is in any way specifically applied to the muddy tract in question.

[2] See *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 338, for a passage concerning that quoted from the "Pien-i-tien," ch. 78.

[3] See Yule's "Marco Polo," 3rd ed., vol. ii, p. 301.

Ram-bu-ri), we have met with in Chao Ju-kua. Furthermore, the sailing distances given from it to the Chinese coast and the Persian Gulf respectively agree with the location of Lambri. In fact, the Persian ambassadors, say the texts, embarked at Ch'üan-chou and reached *Lam-ri* in some forty odd days. There they waited for the (north-east) monsoon and sailed the next year home to their country (達 其, *Ta-ch'i*), which took again some sixty odd days. The embassy in question seems to belong to the Sung period (960–1278). There can be no doubt that the Arabic *Rāmnī* is here meant. This is the oldest notice we have of *Rāmbri* or Lambri from Chinese sources. Next to it comes the one in Chao Ju-kua already adverted to, and then no other mention of Lambri occurs in the Chinese records until A.D. 1416, the date of Ma Huan's work. Between the two authors last alluded to come several hints by Arab writers, which are, however, of but little value, owing to their extreme brevity and the more detailed accounts of Marco Polo and Friar Odoric. To these some reference has already been made, hence it only remains to notice Marco Polo's statement that "in this kingdom of Lambri there are men with tails; these tails are of a palm in length, and have no hair on them. These people live in the mountains, and are a kind of wild men. Their tails are about the thickness of a dog's." In commenting on this passage, Colonel Yule (vol. ii, p. 301) draws attention to the fact that Marsden was told of hairy people called *Orang Gugu* in the interior of the island (are these not perchance the *Orang Gāyu* referred to by us above?), who differed little, except in the use of speech, from the orang-utang. He further remarks that since Marsden's time a French writer, giving the same description, declares that he saw a 'group' of these hairy people on the coast of Indragiri, and was told by them that they inhabited the interior of Menang-kabau and formed a small tribe. His new editor, Professor Cordier, inserts here, in his turn, a reference to the "'Ajāib" (Merveilles de l'Inde), which speaks of anthropophagi with tails at Lūlū-bilenk, on the west coast of Sumatra, between Fanṣūr and Lāmerī,

for our identification of which place see above, p. 431. Mr. Anderson, Yule proceeds, says there are a few wild people in Siak, very little removed in point of civilization above their companions the monkeys, but he specifies nothing about hairiness or tails. "Galvano heard that there were on the Island certain people called *Daraque Dara* (D'Arakundur ? = Arakundur district ?) which had tails like unto sheep.[1] Ḳazwīnī tells of the hairy little men that are found in *Rāmnī*, with a language like birds' chirping." For this information, I now notice, Ḳazwīnī is indebted to Ibn Khurdādbih, who states: "The natives of these islands (Rāmī, etc.) go naked, and shelter themselves in the midst of thickets. Their language is a sort of unintelligible hissing. They avoid intercourse with other people. Their stature is of 4 *shibr* or spans (about 36 inches, or 3 feet) . . . . their hair is red and crisp. They climb trees with the hands (i.e. without the assistance of their feet)."[2] The passage is textually copied by Edrīsī, who adds the missing sentence that the wild people in question are such swift runners that they cannot be overtaken.[3] It is interesting, in connection with the stature of these pygmies, to observe how the tradition of the three and five spans height runs steadily through the interval of over fifteen centuries from Megasthenes,[4] Strabo, and Pliny in the West, and from the oldest Chinese records in the Far East, to writers of even the post-mediæval period.[5] As regards red curled hair, we have noticed how it is ascribed to the clawed negrito savages of *Lo-ch'a*, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, since early

[1] This name, it strikes me, somewhat resembles that of a promontory called the Point of *Dairai-barra* in the "Muhīṭ" (A.D. 1554), and stated to lie somewhere between Malacca and Parcelar Hill (Bukit Jugra) on the north (see Reinaud's Intr. to Aboulféda, p. cdxxxvii). I take it that Cape Rachado (Tanjung Tuan) is the headland meant, and if not, Tanjung Bidara or Tanjung Brūas not far below. However, *Daraque Dara* above may stand for *Darakundur*, a pleonastic form of Arakundur, as e.g. *Darú* for Āru.

[2] *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p. 286. Also De Goeje's "Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum," pars vi, p. 44, where the wild tribes in question are exclusively located in the jungles of the Island of *Rāmī*.

[3] Jaubert's "Géographie d'Édrisi," Paris, 1836, t. i, p. 75.

[4] Pliny, "Hist. Nat.," vii, ii, 14–22.

[5] See above, pp. 258–262.

in the seventh century A.D. Language, like bird-chirping, was ascribed in general to the *Man-I*, 蠻 夷, a term which is explained as "barbarians whose jargon resembles the warbling of certain birds."[1] Even in quite modern times one Huang Chung, whose work was published A.D. 1537, says of the *K'ang*, 抗, hill tribes of Northern Siām (either Kachins or *Khā Kong*) that "their language is like bird chirping, non-understandable";[2] and a work of K'ang Hsi's reign (1662–1723) adds besides that they resemble monkeys.[3] As regards hairy and tailed men in Sumatra, a gentleman who lived for seventeen years on that island informed Dr. Meyer that "he heard of wild, hairy tribes in the interior of the Sultanate of Siak"; and a recent publication of Dalitz (in "Not. Batav. Genootsch.," 1893, p. 27) gives an account of hairy dwarfs in Kroë, Bengkūlen, south-west coast of Sumatra.[4] There is, therefore, good reason to expect that the veracity of former reports may receive full confirmation. With tailed men the case is of course quite different, for such legends originated either from mere imagination, from the style of dress of some wild tribes presenting some appendage hanging down behind like a tail, or from teratological phenomena of which we have, even at the present day, an example in India.[5] At all events, we

[1] See Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 5.

[2] *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 299.

[3] Op. cit., ibid.

[4] A. B. Meyer's "Negritos," Dresden, 1899, p. 45.

[5] I mean the *lusus naturæ* occurring in the case of an infant recently born in the Gaya district, who is possessed of a caudal appendage about 3 to 3½ inches long. The authenticity of this case is beyond question, as the same was reported to the *Indian Medical Gazette* (for either June or July, 1903). On the Indo-Chinese mainland we have many accounts of tailed men. Leaving aside the *Ch'iang*, 羌, of Tibet, who claimed, as did others of their congeners, to be descended from a race of anthropoid apes, we may notice in Indo-China proper: (1) The *Wei-Pu*, 尾 濮, or 'Tailed *Pu*,' mentioned in the Sung Geography, which quotes from a work on the 'Customs of *Fu-nan*' (now lost). They are sometimes called the 'Arboreal *Pu*,' and located 1,500 *li* (*circâ* 250–300 miles) south-west of Yünnan. Ma Tuan-lin says they have a tail from 3 to 4 inches in length, and adds that they are cannibals, regularly feasting upon their old relatives, except on their mother, for whom alone they feel respect (op. cit., pp. 298–299; also *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 293). Here we have the old story of the wild Wah and Kachins, although these *Pu* may be the *Pu-mang*, who call

may gather from the fact that such wild tribes, hairy or not, have been heard of from both the Siak and Achëh hinterlands, on respectively the east and west coasts of Sumatra, i.e. on either side of the Gāyu and Ālas territory, that they must belong to the stock of the latter, and are perhaps identical with these as yet little known people.

Later Chinese accounts of Lambri do not tell us much of value about the country and people. As already noticed, such accounts are mainly based on the well-known one of Ma Huan (A.D. 1416). This author informs us that in his day the people in the country were all Musalmāns in religion. The State, he adds, borders on the east upon the kingdom of *Li-tai*, 黎代, which is undoubtedly De Barros' *Lide*, and probably corresponds, in my opinion, to the present *Rantei* or Rantei Panjang, near Tringading. De Barros may very well, through a *lapsus calami*, have written *Lide* for *Ridei* or *Rantei*; or the fault is more likely attributable to the copyists or printers of his work.[1] *Li-tai* or *Lide* bordered on the east upon *Nakur*, the old Gāyu country.

themselves *Santŏm*, and are known to the Lāu as *Khā Dam* ('Black or Negrito Savages'). As regards arboreal habits, etc., here is what a recent account I obtained from trustworthy Siāmese sources tells us: "The *Khā Wah* (i.e. Wild Wah) are as agile and nimble as monkeys (*khàng*). In climbing trees they make use of a rope with a stag-horn tied at one end. This end they throw up on the tree until it becomes entangled to some branch; then they climb up the rope with extreme quickness. By such a method they are able to travel also from tree to tree without ever touching the ground." (2) The *Yau*, 傜 猺, or *Yau-jĕn*, of Yünnan are firmly believed to this day by the Chinese to have tails like monkeys. (See "Upper Burma Gaz.," pt. i, vol. i, p. 598.)

For reports of tailed men in various parts of the Archipelago, see the next section, "Islands of the Satyrs."

[1] It seems passing strange that several names of States mentioned by De Barros in the north part of Sumatra have not been identified as yet by our predecessors in this field. They are, southwards of Achīn, *Lambrij* and *Mancopa*; and eastwards, *Biar*, *Lide*, *Pirada*. Some of these I have already located in the course of the preceding pages, viz., *Lambrij* (= Lambesi), *Pirada* = Pidada or Pedada, and *Lide* = Rantei. As regards *Mancopa*, I make it out to be Bakongan above Trūmun; *Biar* may be either the old *Beruan* and the present Beureukung, although it seems to correspond to *Lūboḳ*, a petty State further to the west, i.e. towards Achinese territory. *Biar* is, however, a Malay word, بيار (*byar*, 'to grant').

More interesting is Ma Huan's reference to a lofty 'Island of Peaceful Presage' (or 'Foreboding,' as Professor Schlegel renders the epithet), *T'ai-p'ing-yu-chün Shan*, 太平預峻山, lying in the sea, to the north-west, at half a day's sailing, and more specifically designated *Mau Shan*, 帽山, literally, 'Hat Island.' This name has puzzled all Sinologists, from Phillips and Groeneveldt to Professor Schlegel. The two former have identified the island in question with either Pulo Brās or Pulo Nāsi[1]; while the latter, far more imaginative, is convinced that since the Chinese character with which the name of the island is represented means a hat, it might just as well be one of those large, broad-brimmed Spanish hats called 'sombreros' [why not a Chinese conical hat or slightly domed cap?]; *ergo* (reader, please notice the logical, or rather paralogical, process of reasoning here), the island in question must be the one which the Portuguese called Sombrero, and from which Sombrero Channel in the Nikobār archipelago (between Little Nikobār on the south side and Kachāl and Nankauri on the northern) got its name.[2] Now, the Sombrero is Chauri Island, described as "generally low, but its south end rises almost perpendicularly in *a rocky pinnacle to a height of about* 343 *feet*, having the appearance, *with the contiguous low portion*, of a flap hat, whence it was named Sombrero by the early Portuguese navigators."[3] The homonymous channel is only used by ships proceeding from the Koromandel coast (Madras, etc.) to Malacca Strait, whereas the Chinese accounts distinctly tell us that *Mau Shan* served as a landmark for ships coming from the west, i.e. Ceylon; that it was flat-topped (while Sombrero is pinnacle-shaped); and that it could be reached in half a day's sailing from Lambri. This presupposes a distance of fifteen to twenty miles at the utmost, considering that vessels must travel against wind and current in getting clear of the islands off Achëḥ Head,

[1] *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, p. 221; Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 221.
[2] See *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 180. Mr. Parker, I notice (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1900, p. 141), gives credence to the Sombrero theory.
[3] "Bay of Bengal Pilot," 3rd ed. (1901), p. 299. The italics are mine.

especially during the north-east monsoon. Hence, the distance applies to either Pulo Brās, Wēh, or Rondo, but not at all to the Nikobārs, the nearest point of which (Parsons Point, the southern end of Great Nikobār) lies no less than 120 miles off.[1]

It is amusing to notice the arguments brought forward by Professor Schlegel in taunting Groeneveldt for having suggested either Pulo Brās or Pulo Nāsi as the equivalent of the mysterious *Mau Shan*. As they are a good specimen of the Professor's dialectics, it would be a pity not to reproduce them here. He says: "All these [Chinese] descriptions agree in saying that this island [*Mau Shan*] had a high, lofty, and big mountain, with a flat top. Now this is not the case with the islands Pulo Bras and Pulo Nasi, which are so low that the Dutch have been obliged to build a light-house upon the former one, that the seamen may not be shipwrecked upon them, when wishing to make either for Achin or the Strait of Malacca."[2] This, anyone who has passed those islands (I did it some five or six times, and Professor Schlegel must also have gone through that way, although it might have been during the night) will see, is utterly incorrect. Had the Professor only consulted a Dutch map or chart of that part of Sumatra, he would have found the figure 700 (metres) marked on the middle of Pulo Brās, for indeed this island attains a height of 2,296 feet in Mount Chumo. If this is *low*, then nothing short of Mont Blanc or Dhawalgiri could, according to the Professor's views, be called high. The Willemstoren

[1] As will be seen directly, Chinese itineraries reckon at ten watches (*kêng*, 更) of 2·4 hours in time, or 60 *li* (10 to 12 miles) in distance, each; total 24 hours' sailing, or about 100 to 120 miles, the distance between *Lung-yên Hsü* (Pulo Brās according to me) and *Ts'wei-lan* (the Nikobārs). This is remarkably correct, and precludes all possibility as to *Mau Shan*, which is shown quite near to *Lung-yên Hsü* in the Chinese map, being the Sombrero. It strikes me that the sailing *kêng* must have been adopted from the Arabs, Persians, and Indūs, being thus the same as their *zām* or *yām* (see above, p. 388). Hence it should be reckoned on the same basis, i.e. at seven to ten miles.

[2] *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 180.

lighthouse on the northern point of Pulo Brās (525 feet above sea-level) was erected, not because of the island being so low and invisible as the Professor thinks, but as a help to navigators in the thick weather that usually prevails in those parts during the south-west monsoon. Great Nāsi is not very high, but its sister island (Nāsi Kechil, or Kersik) is lofty.

However, it is not either of these islands that correspond to the *Mau Shan* of the Chinese. This can be plainly seen from the Chinese map printed by Phillips,[1] where to the west or south-west of *Mau Shan* is marked the other famous island, *Lung-yen Hsü*, 龍涎嶼 (lit. 'Ambergris Island'), which Groeneveldt[2] and all his followers have to this day confidently considered to be Pulo Wēh. A glance at the map just referred to, printed since 1885, would have convinced them of their error; but our Sinologists do not need to look at native maps in interpreting Chinese geography, their imagination is quite sufficient for the purpose. Now, since *Lung-yên Hsü* cannot possibly be Pulo Wēh, it must be the other principal island to the west (in reality south-west) of it, i.e. Pulo Brās. And that such is the case I have not the slightest doubt, for the alternative, and apparently older, name of this island is *Lam-puyang*, from some village of this name that must have existed, and perhaps is still extant, on its coast. On the map in Mandelslo's work, 1727,[3] the island already appears as *Lanpiang*. It is therefore clear to me that *Lung-yên* is but a contracted transcript of *Lam-*[*pu*]*-yang*, and has nothing to do with 'Dragon's spittle,' i.e. ambergris, although this produce may very well be found in the sea around it. Fei Hsin's description of the island (1436) is as follows: "This Island has the appearance of a single mountain [which is, no doubt, Mount Chumo of Schlegelian *lowness*, 2,296 feet]. . . . . It

[1] *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, Nos. 5 and 6.
[2] Op. cit., p. 222.
[3] Amsterdam, 1727, between pp. 7–8 and 9–10, t. i. I may observe, *en passant*, that the *Lampujang* of Admiralty charts and directories is merely the Dutch form of the name, which in English should be transcribed *Lampuyang*, in order to make the two pronunciations agree

rises abruptly out of the sea, which breaks on it with high waves."[1] In the sea-routes described on the Chinese map above referred to, and translated by Phillips,[2] *Lung-yên Hsü* [i.e. Lampuyang or Pulo Brās] is referred to as lying on the course from *Su-mên-ta-la* (Samudra harbour) to Ceylon. The sailing directions given are: (1) "A vessel leaving *Su-mên-ta-la* bound to Ceylon steers a course N.W., a little W., for twelve watches, until she is off *Lung-yên Hsü*; thence across the ocean to Ceylon, the course is W., a little N., for forty watches." (2) "The route from *Su-mên-ta-la* viâ the *Ts'ui-lan Shan* (Nikobārs) is the same as far as *Lung-yên Hsü*, from which point the course is N.W., a little north, for thirty watches, and due west, a little north, for fifty watches." We thus see that *Lung-yên Hsü*, i.e. Lampuyang, now Pulo Brās, was the last land seen on leaving Sumatra, as is, for that matter, clearly shown by the course marked on the map in question. We become apprised thereby that Chinese vessels of that period used, when bound westwards from Malacca Strait, to pass to the northward of Pulo Wēh and Brās, perhaps also of Pulo Rondo, and between these islands and the south end of the Great Nikobārs, exactly as sailing-vessels do nowadays during the north-east monsoon, the favourable season for that voyage.

We have, accordingly, left the option of finding the equivalent for the Chinese *Mau Shan* in either Pulo Wēh or Pulo Rondo. As regards the latter, also known as Tepurong, it is but an uninhabited rock, only some 2½ cables in length, although 426 feet high, and therefore conspicuous, so that it "is often the first land seen by those entering the Strait in the thick weather of the south-west monsoon period."[3] But Ma Huan's account of *Mau Shan* says this island is inhabited: "at the foot of the mountain live some

[1] Groeneveldt, loc. cit.

[2] Op. cit., p. 218. Of course, Phillips renders the term *Lung-yên Hsü* as Pulo Way, which identification I have not adopted here, leaving the name as it stands in the Chinese text.

[3] "China Sea Directory," vol. i, 4th ed. (1896), p. 29.

20 to 30 families, every man of whom calls himself a king. In shallow water sea-trees grow, which are collected by the people, and used as a valuable article of trade, it being coral."[1] It follows, therefore, that *Mau Shan* must be Pulo Wēh, a far larger island (about 11 by 2 to 6 miles in size), and populated withal, although but sparsely, just as the Chinese account says. It is besides very conspicuous, rising in Lemoh Māti, its highest peak, to an elevation of 2,395 feet (730 metres according to recent Dutch maps, or some 100 feet higher than Pulo Brās). Gūnong Merdu, a prominent dome-shaped peak close by on the south, is also pretty high, as well as Ūjong Bahu, the north-western point of the island, which falls steeply from the mountain to the sea. I should accordingly think that either Ūjong Bahu, Gūnong Merdu, or *Lemoh Māti* (the last more likely) is the lofty mountain described by the Chinese. Whether Lemoh Māti be flat-topped or not I do not now remember, but very probably it is. In any case, as the island is very mountainous, and its west coast cliffy, there is great likelihood that it appears flat-topped to those coming from the west. Moreover, *Mau*, 帽, pronounced *Mou*, *Moa*, *Mo* in the southern Chinese dialects, is most probably but a mutilated would-be transcript of *Lemoh*; unless, indeed, the whole term *Mau Shan* is meant for *Masam*, or *Mason* Point, which edges the entrance to Sabang Bay, on the north coast of the island, where the principal settlement is situated (Sabang village).

It is thus almost absolutely certain that *Mau Shan* is Pulo Wēh, just as *Lung-yên Hsü* is Lampuyang or Pulo Brās, and not the reverse or otherwise as some Sinologists have been telling the world for the last quarter of a century or so. The evidence in favour of our identification is overwhelming; for not only resemblance in names, but also the Chinese map itself, where the course is laid down as first running close to the northern coast of *Mau Shan* and then rather aloof from an unnamed island (perhaps Pulo Nāsi) and *Lung-yên Hsü*, confirm the conclusion we have arrived at.

[1] Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 220, 221.

We may therefore confidently pass to a brief consideration of the epithet *T'ai-p'ing-yu-chün* Shan, 'Lofty Island [or Mountain] of Peaceful Presage,' already noticed as applied by the Chinese to *Mau Shan*. This recalls both the Ptolemaic **Agathodaimonos**, the island of 'Good Fortune,' and the *Jibal Khushnāmī*, 'the Auspicious Mountain' of the early Arab navigators, although, judging from our preceding considerations, there can be no connection with them, except in the similarity of the sense conveyed by such epithets. For seafaring men crossing those seas, known but imperfectly in the old days, the first landmark sighted after a long sea passage on the boundless expanse must naturally have been a matter of no little rejoicing, and regarded as a fortunate event presaging their safety. Hence, I think, the origin of the Chinese term above referred to, which need not be sought in more recondite causes. As regards Pulo Wēh being used as a landmark in coming from the west, there is nothing extraordinary in the fact, for owing to its conspicuousness and position northwards of the western extremity of Sumatra, it is usually the first land looming in sight for those coming from the west *viâ* the Great Nikobār, as the Chinese used to do. In the thick weather of the south-west monsoon period, we have had occasion to notice, Pulo Rondo is often the first land seen, and with it, naturally, Pulo Wēh, which lies close by, and is a yet more prominent object.[1]

The ocean stretching boundless to the west of *Mau Shan*, the Chinese accounts inform us, is called the ocean of *Na-mo-li*, 那沒哩, *Na-mei-li* or *Na-mu-li*, 那沒黎. This name, though differently spelled from those employed to represent Lambri, sounds *Na-mut-lei*, *La-mut-lai* in the

[1] The earliest mention I can find of Pulo Wēh in European accounts occurs in Beaulieu's voyage, 1621, wherein it is stated that *Pulo-Ouay*, one of the islands in the roadstead of Achēh, yields sulphur in abundance. Dampier's narrative later on, 1688, merely contains a passing reference to it. (See Prévost's "Hist. Gén. des Voyages," vol. ix, p. 340, and vol. xi, p. 428.) *Wēh* or *Wē* is said to mean 'water,' so that the sense conveyed is that of 'Water Island.' But the old name of the island may have been different. Pulo Wēh is nowadays a pepper-producing island; but formerly it was of more importance from being the place to which criminals were banished.

southern dialects, and is evidently a transcript of *Lamūri*, *Lāmerī*, *Rāmrī*, *Rāmburī*, or *Rāmbrī*, thus corresponding to Nowairī's (A.D. 1332) Sea of *Lārewī*, formed, as he tells us, by the seas of *Kalah*, *Jāwah*, and *Fanṣūr* (see p. 432 *ante*).

The enumeration of the embassies successively sent to China by Lambri from A.D. 1284 to 1423 does not call for special notice here, except in the particular that in 1412 the king as well as the people are spoken of as Musalmāns, the ruler's name being recorded as *Ma-ha-ma Sha*, 馬哈麻沙, which evidently means either Maḥmūd or Muḥammad Shāh, and that of his son as *Sha Chê-han*, 沙者罕, which is clearly Shāh Jehān. In about 1200–40, judging from Chao Ju-kua's account referred to above, Indūism must still have been the prevailing religion, and even in 1292–3 Marco Polo has not a word about Islāmism having as yet acquired a foothold in Lambri, although he mentions this faith as well established among the townspeople (and those only) in *Perlec* (Perlaḳ), whither it was introduced by "the Saracen merchants." The hill-people, he tells us, were pagan and cannibals. Of *Basma* he states the people are just like beasts, without laws or religion; and of *Samara* that they are wild idolaters. West of this kingdom was that of *Dagroian*, i.e. the *Gāyu* country, where, we have seen, the natives refused to embrace Islāmism even when it had been adopted in Samudra. The people of *Lambri* and *Fanṣur* are spoken of as idolaters, so that it is difficult to reconcile his statements with those of the Achinese chronicle ascribing the introduction of the Muslim faith to a Johan Shāh represented to have arrived at Achëḥ in A.H. 601 = A.D. 1205. Of course, this Johan Shāh cannot possibly be the Shāh Jehān still heir-apparent in A.D. 1412, because the former is referred to in the local chronicle as the founder of the Muslim dynasty in the country, whereas the latter evidently was not. Accordingly, Johan Shāh must have been one of the ancestors of this Shāh Jehān of A.D. 1412, and his advent, together with the introduction of Islāmism through his agency, may be safely put down between, say, A.D. 1300 and 1380. Perhaps A.H. 701 =

1302 is the correct date, assuming that an error of 100 years has crept in the native chronicle through a slip of the copyists in taking the figure 7 of the centuries for a 6. In any case, there can be no doubt that Islām reached Achēḥ later than Perlaḳ and Samudra, although in the "Ṣejārah Malāyu" we are told (ch. viii) that the conversion to Islāmism of the States on the northern coast of Sumatra was effected in the order: 1, *Faṣūrī* (Bārūs); 2, *Puloḳ Lamīrī* (Lambri); 3, *Hāru* (Āru); 4, Perlaḳ; and 5, Samudra. But then the name recorded for the legendary apostle of Moslem alleged to have operated such a feat is Sulṭān Muḥammad of Mātabar, and not Johan Shāh. The Pāsai chronicle ascribes the deed to the same personage, but it makes him proceed directly to Samudra, without mentioning the other countries alluded to above. It is thus evident that the whole story is open to serious doubt.

Before closing these observations on the early history of Achëḥ it seems worth while to briefly notice another important event which, in so far as I am aware, has not yet received attention. The event I mean is that recorded in the "Ṣejārah Malāyu" (part ii, ch. iii), where it is stated that upon the downfall of the city of *Bal*, the capital of Champā, one of the royal princes of that country, *Poling* by name, fled with his retinue to *Achi* (Achëḥ), of which he became the original rāja. *Poling* is, of course, meant for *Pô Ling*, i.e. Prince Ling, *Pô* being the usual Chām title we have met with several times already. As a brother of his, Indra Brahma (we should probably read *Indra-varman*), took refuge at the same time at Malacca, where he found a favourable reception at the hands of Sulṭān Manṣūr, whom we know to have reigned between A.D. 1458 and 1475 *circâ*,[1] it is evident that the downfall of the Chām capital alluded to is that of Bal Angwē, which took place, as noticed above (p. 276) in 1471. We thus obtain a date

[1] The "Ṣejārah Malāyu" informs us further that Sulṭān Manṣūr made a *mantri* (counsellor or minister) of Prince Indra Brahma (Indra-varman) after having brought about his conversion to Islām. This is another important bit of information, as it evidences that the Muslimic faith had not as yet been adopted in Champā in 1471, at any rate by the royal family.

for the advent of Pô Ling in Achëḥ and the rise of a dynasty of Chām extraction there, as well as a clue to the chronology of other hitherto undatable events in Chām history referred to in both the "Ṣejārah" and the Chām chronicles.[1] To the fact of a Chām prince having reigned in Achëḥ during the last quarter, or thereabouts, of the fifteenth century the local dialect is no doubt indebted for the introduction of many comparatively modern Chām words which could not very well be accounted for before this, such as, e.g., *pô*, prince; *glē* (Glai), hill, cliff; *lam* (Laŋg), village, etc.

The Chām dynasty, if any, founded in Achëḥ by Pô Ling, seems, however, to have been short-lived, for in A.D. 1507 began the rule of Sulṭān 'Alī Mughāyat Shāh, who seems to have come from Kemangan, near Pedīr, and is reckoned upon as the founder of that native monarchy which continued in power until A.D. 1760. It is exhilarating to notice how the "Bustanu-s-salatīn" naïvely tells us that before Sulṭān 'Alī Mughāyat Shāh—who, it states, first adopted Islāmism —there had been no kings at Achëḥ, but only chiefs (*Marah*, مرة), who ruled each in his own district, and were elected to that office among the elders of the people.[2] Such are

[1] The name of the Chām king reigning at the time Bal Angwē was finally taken and destroyed by the Annamese is given in the "Ṣejārah Malāyu" as *Poǫopoh* (Pô Gopoh or *Gopa*), whereas the Chām chronicle, published by Aymonier (*Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 31, pp. 88, 89), calls *Pô Parichan* the last king of Bal Angwē. Probably Pô Gopa and Pô Parichan are one and the same personage. The dates 1373–97 adopted by Aymonier (op. cit., No. 32, p. 166) for the reign of Pô Parichan thus seem to need considerable amendment, provided the succession is rightly given in that chronicle, which is very doubtful. The chronological milestone we have set up will help to clear up many other riddles of contemporary Chām history, into which we cannot afford here to enter upon. Suffice to notice merely that I have recognized in the *Pogalang* of the "Ṣejārah" the *Pô Klong*-[Garai] of the Chām chronicles who founded Bal Hangov. Similarly, the "Ṣejārah" represents Pogalang as having built the great city of *Bal* (i.e. Bal Hangov or Hinguv), "which included seven hills within its bounds." The succession given is, of course, very defective, several kings being skipped over; but this contribution to Chām history from an independent source is nevertheless important for various details it supplies us which cannot be found elsewhere.

On p. 98 above, misled by a statement of Colonel Low in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* to the effect that Pô Ling came from *Manjung* (Pêrak), I mentioned that this country gave Achëḥ its first king. I take this opportunity of correcting that mistake. No doubt Colonel Low confused Pô Ling with Manṣūr Shāh, who really did come from Pêrak, but who reigned far later on (*circâ* 1568–85).

[2] Millies, op. cit., p. 71.

the tricks recklessly resorted to by native historians in order to palliate their ignorance of past events. It is therefore pretty certain that henceforth a Chām monarchy will have to be added to the number of those so far known to have ruled over Achëḥ. The order of them will thus be: (1) an Indū dynasty (until at least A.D. 1305); followed by (2) a Muḥammadan one, probably also originally from India (with Johan Shāh, A.D. 1305–80 *circâ*); (3) a Malay from Menang-kabau (*circâ* 1380–1470); (4) a Chām (1471–1507); (5) a local Achinese (1507–70 *circâ*); (6) a Pērak one (*circâ* 1570–88); (7) an Achinese again (1588–1760); and, finally, (8) an Arab dynasty (1760 to the present day). The above and such sundry other details as I have been able to collect on Achinese history and onomatology will be found recapitulated and chronologically arranged in the following table, which I subjoin by way of conclusion to this chapter.[1]

OUTLINE SKETCH OF ACHINESE ONOMATOLOGY AND HISTORY.

(SECOND TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY A.D.)

100–50. **Argyrē**, Ἀργυρῆ μητρόπολις, capital of **Iabadiū** or **Sabadiū** (= *Arjara*, *Kṣarjura*, *Arjuna*, *Arkura*, *Rakkhura*, etc.).—Ptolemy (p. 656).

631–40. YEN-MO-NA (or *Yen-mo-lo*) CHOU KWO, 閻摩那 (or 羅) 洲國; or *Ye-mei-ni*, 野寐尼 (= the island kingdom of *Yamana* or *Yamanī*, *Yamana-dvīpa-pura*; perhaps *Yamunā* or *Jamnā*, *Yāminī*; *Yavana*, *Yavani*; *Javana*, *Ramaṇa*, etc.). Hwên-tsang (p. 463). Cf. *Ramaṇaka* Island of Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas; *Yama-dvīpa* of Vāyu P.; *Rāmnī*, etc.

[1] As I have no access to the publications of Dutch scholars on Achinese history, etc., I entirely ignore whether any of the conclusions I have arrived at have already been anticipated by them in their works. Should this prove to be the case I trust they will bear no grudge against me, as my treatment of the subject has been done quite independently, and without knowledge whatever of the results they may have attained by their labours. Works of general reference I have consulted are singularly meagre in details about Achëḥ, and only treat of its history from the sixteenth century downwards. I venture, therefore, to hope that my summary will prove valuable, as it goes back to a far earlier period and some of its features are certainly new to the public.

Also M. Polo's and others' *Gavenis-pola* or *Jāmis-*, *Jāmanis*, *Javanis-pola* = *Yavanasya-* or *Yavanasa-pura*, *Yavanaspur* or *Javanaspur* = the 'City (or Island) of the Yavanas (or Javanas)' = present Pulo Nāsi Besar or Dedap; but more probably Achëḥ Head, the 'Ponta de Gomespolla' of the Portuguese.[1] Cf. also the legend as regards the footprint in the water (bank of *Narmada*, or Yamunā?, River) (p. 665, note).

674. Ta-shih, 大食 (*Dachi*, *Dachëḥ*, Achëḥ, and not seemingly *Tājik* = Arabs in such cases). Its king, afraid of the power of Queen Sīmā of *Ho-ling* (west coast of Malay Peninsula), dares not attack her (p. 505).

851. Ramnī (رامنی) Island, var. lect. *Rāmī*, *Rāmīn*, رامی, رامین (= Lambri, Achëḥ district, and part of west coast of Sumatra). Extent, 800–900 parasangs (= 1920–2160 miles); bathed by two seas, Harkand and Shelāheṭ; with gold-mines, plantations of Fanṣūr camphor, elephants, and an anthropophagous population. — Sulaimān (Reinaud's "Rel. des Voyages," pp. 6, 8).

864. Rāmī (رامی) Island. Rhinoceroses and tailless buffaloes are found there. The natives go naked, are four spans in stature, and have red and crisp hair; their language is an unintelligible hissing.—Ibn Khurdādbih (*Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p. 286, and De Goeje, op. cit., p. 44).

[1] I reconstruct the original name of *Gavenispola* as *Yavanaspur*, *Javanaspur*, or *Yamunaspur*, from the *variæ lectiones* occurring in different authors from Marco Polo downwards, viz.: (1) *Gavenispola*, *Gavenopola*, *Nenispola* (M. Polo, 1292); (2) *Ganispola* (Correa, "Lendas da India," t. ii, p. 792, 1524); (3) *Gamispola* (Castanheda, "Historia da India," lib. v, ch. 13, *c.* 1540); (4) *Jāmis-fulah* (Muhīṭ, 1554); (5) *Gomispola* (De Barros, 1550–60, and Linschoten, 1587); (6) *Gomes-polo* or *Gomez-pulo* (Lancaster, 1592); etc. *Gavenispola* of M. Polo, *Jāmis-fulah* (*Jāmas-pola*) of the Muhiṭ, *Ganispola* of Correa, and *Gomus* or *Gomuis* of Hamilton, are the typical forms which presuppose an original *Jāmanis*, *Jāvanis*, *Jamunis*. I feel therefore unable to accept Colonel Yule's suggested derivation from a hypothetical Malay term *gamās* = 'hard, rough'; nor the form *Pulo Gaimr* he found in the map to Veth's "Achin" and the restoration he proposes as *Pulo Gomus* ("Marco Polo," 3rd ed., vol. ii, p. 307). *Gaimr* must be a mistake for *Jamir*, as a bay bearing this name still exists on the north-east coast of Nāsi Besar Island. The name may have formerly been *Jāmis*, whence perhaps the *Jāmas* of the Muhiṭ and the other forms, *Gomus*, *Gomis*, etc. M. Polo's *Gavenis* or *Gaveno*, being the oldest, is undoubtedly the representative of the earliest name which we have restored as *Javanas*, *Yavanas*. The term *pola*, *pulo*, etc., stands for *pura*, 'city,' from which the Malay *pulo* = 'island' is known to be derived. Hence, the compositum argues the existence, at a remote period, of a settlement of *Javanas* or *Yavanas* (? Greeks, Phœnicians) on that island, but more probably on the opposite coast of Achëḥ (Point of Gomispola), whence the island seems to have got its name. The term may, of course, owe also its origin to some early establishment of the *Java* or *C'hawā* race there, whence Achëḥ came to be named the 'Country of Jāwī,' and afterwards the whole island of Sumatra acquired that designation.

880–916. Rāmī Island. Extent, 800 parasangs (1,920 miles); produces camphor, etc. It belongs to the King of *Zābej*.—Abū Zaid (Reinaud, op. cit., p. 93).

943. Rāmīn Islands. Distant about 1,000 parasangs (2,400 miles) from *Serendīb* (Ceylon). Well populated, and governed by kings; some inhabited by cannibals. Many gold-mines lie near the country of *Ḳanṣūr* (Fansūr), celebrated for its camphor, and are also at a short distance from the *Elenjmālūs* Islands (Nikobārs).—Mas'ūdī ("Prairies d'Or," t. i, p. 339).

955. Lāmerī (لامري) Island (= Lambri). In its valleys one sees large monkeys in troops, each headed by a chief; also *zarāfas* (snakes) and large ants. The natives are anthropophagous, but only eat their enemies. Between Fansūr and Lāmerī, among which communication by land exists, there is the bay of *Lūlū Bīlenk* (Teloḳ Belong), inhabited by a race of caudate man-eaters. *Serīrah* (= Śrī Bhoja) lies at the extremity of the island of *Lāmerī* and at 120 *zāms* (900 miles) from *Ḳalah*.—Captain Bozorg ("Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 66, 125, 176).

circâ 960. Lan-li, 藍里 (= *Rāmrī*, *Rāmbrī*, Lambri). Persian envoys having embarked at Ch'üan-chou (Zaitun?) reached it in some 40 days. After awaiting there the N.E. monsoon they sailed homewards, reaching their own country (Ta-ch'i, 達其) in another 60 odd days more.—T'ang and Sung histories ("Pien-i-tien," ch. 78).

976. Ta-shih (= Achëḥ?). An envoy from this country brings a negro slave from *K'un-lun* (Malay Peninsula) to China, who causes much sensation at Court. (*China Review*, vol. viii, p. 189; see also p. 506 *ante*.)

992. Ta-shih Country (Achëḥ). Lies at five days' sailing from the southern coast of *Shê-p'o* (*Jaba* or *Saba*, west coast of Malay Peninsula).—Hist. Sung Dyn., bk. 489 (p. 511).

? 11th century. Po-sz, 波斯 (= *Vasu*, *Vasudāna*, i.e. either the *Besi* or *Bāsi* [Lam-Besi], or the *Basitang* districts, west and east coast of Sumatra). Doubtful if so called from *Pars*, *Fars*, or Persian colonies established there as suggested (see p. 679).

? 12th century. Ramaṇaka Island (= Ramrī, Rāmana, *Yen-mo-na*, *Ye-mei-ni*, see second entry from top of this table). Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas. (Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 129, and vol. iv, p. 287.)

circâ 1220–50. Country called *Acheh* on the sea-coast of the island of *Percha*.—"Kedah Annals," ch. iii; see *Journal Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii, p. 162.

1240. LAN-WU-LI, 藍無里 (Lamburi, Rambri, Lambri). A State sending yearly tribute to *San-fo-ch'i* (Śrī Bhoja). On a hill called *Hsi-lun*, 細輪 (= Se-lun, Chalang), is a sacred footprint, and a like imprint is visible in the water within about 50 to 60 miles distance from the hill (= footprint on the banks of the Yamunā or Narmadā = *Yen-mo-na*?). *Hsi-lan*, 細闌, a State also tributary to Śrī Bhoja, is probably the same place, and seems to correspond to Chalang or Chellang, west coast of Sumatra.—Chao Ju-kua (see pp. 665, 683).

1263–75. RĀMANĪ or RĀMNĪ ISLAND (= *Ye-mei-ni*, Rāmbrī). Inhabited by hairy little men with a language like birds' chirping.—Ḳazwīnī ("Kosmographie," i, p. 107). See Ibn Khurdādbih above.

1274. LĀMERĪ CITY (= Lam-bari, Achëḥ district). Lies near *Malāyur*, and like this and Fanṣūr is situated on a bay.—Ibn Ṣa'id ("Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 158).

circâ 1280. LAMĪRĪ or PŪLAḲ LAMĪRĪ, لمیری ڤولق لمیری, Island (= Lambri). Converted to Islāmism by a fakir from the Koromandel coast.—"Ṣejārah Malāyu," ch. viii (see p. 696). N.B.—The name is spelled also *Lambrī*, لمبری, in the Singapore edition of the same work, p. 73.

1284. NAN-WU-LI, 南巫利 (Namburi, Lamburi, Lamrī, Lambri). The Fuh-kien Government (i.e. 'Zaitun') sends an officer to summon this and three other States to do homage. (*Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1900, p. 132.)

1286. NAN-WU-LI sends envoys to the Chinese Court, together with those of *Sumu-tu-la* or *Hsü-mên-na* (Samudra). (Op. cit., l.l.)

1292. NAN-WU-LI. An envoy from China despatched to call it into submission.—Hist. Yüan Dyn., bk. 131 (Groeneveldt, p. 155).

1292–3. LAMBRI KINGDOM. Produces sapanwood, camphor, and spices (cf. Dimāshḳī below). In its mountains are tailed men (cf. Captain Bozorg above).—Marco Polo, bk. iii, ch. 11.

1294. NAN-WU-LI. Its envoys who have been detained in China together with those of *Su-mu-tu-la* (Samudra), awaiting the

result of Kūblāi's war with Java, are sent back with presents and an official safe-conduct tally. (*Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, loc. cit.)

circâ 1300. Rāmnī Island. Has a circumference of 500 miles; it produces sapanwood, camphor, pepper, cloves, and cinnamon (cf. M. Polo, above).

circâ 1300. Arshīr Island (Achëḥ ?). Produces camphor of a quality inferior to that from Fanṣūr.—Dimashḳī (Maehren, pp. 127, 205).

circâ 1305. Arrival of Johan Shāh, who is alleged in the native chronicles to have been the first Muḥammadan king of Achëḥ, his date being placed as far back as A.H. 601 = A.D. 1205, which we cannot accept (see p. 695).

1310. Lāmūbri, a very large island, lying beyond Ceylon, and adjoining the country of Sūmūtra.—Rashīdu-d-dīn (Yule's "M. Polo," vol. ii, p. 300).

1321. Lāmrī Island, produces sapanwood and bamboo.—Abū-l-Fedā (Guyard, t. ii, pt. ii, p. 131).

circâ 1323. Lamori Country. Lies north of *Sumoltra* on the same island; the natives are naked, cruel, and cannibals.—Friar Odoric (Ramusio, 1583 ed., vol. ii, f. 248).

1345–6. Lambri. Ignored by Ibn Baṭūṭa, who, however, speaks of the northern part of Sumatra as the island of *Jāwah*.

1375. Leroa City, on the north-west coast of the *Illa Taprobana* (Sumatra). Probably meant for Lambri. — Catalan Atlas (see p. 647).

1399. Nan-wu-li. Chinese map published by Phillips (*Journal, China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, Nos. 5 and 6).

circâ 1400. Acheh was a celebrated place for its numerous stone-cutters and gravers.—"Kedah Annals" in *Journal Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii, p. 259.

1405. Nan-wu-li. A seal and letter sent to it from China through some lieutenant of the famous eunuch Chêng Ho. (*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 359, and *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1900, p. 140.)

1408. Chêng Ho comes in person to *Nan-wu-li*. (Op. cit., l.l.)

1411. The king sends an envoy to the Chinese Court, who goes on along with those of Kayeli (Caïl, India) and Kelantan. (*Asiat. Quart. Rev.*, loc. cit.)

1412. *Nan-p'o-li*, 南浡利, 南渤里 (or 利) (= *Nam-bur-ri*, *Lamburi*, *Lambri*), lies west of *Su-mên-ta-la* (Samudra), whence it can be reached in three days' navigation. The king and people are all Muḥammadans, and scarcely amount altogether to a thousand families. North-west of this country is the lofty island of *Mau Shan*, 帽山 (= Pulo Wēh with Lemoh-mati mountain), and west of this stretches the ocean called *Na-mo-li* or *Na-mei-li*, 那沒黎 (or 嘿) (= *Lāmūrī*).

This year the king, *Ma-ha-ma Sha*, 馬哈麻沙 (= Māḥmūd, or Muḥammad, Shāh), sends an envoy, along with an envoy of Samudra, to bring tribute to China. The Emperor bestows upon them court-dresses, and to the king a seal and an investiture, whilst Chêng Ho is commissioned to transmit the imperial instructions to this country. The latter continues to send tribute yearly until the end of Ch'êng-tsu's reign (A.D. 1424).

The son of the king, Shāh Jehān, 沙者罕, also despatches an envoy to bring tribute.—Hist. Ming Dyn. (*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 357–8).

1415, 1416, 1418, 1419, 1421, 1423. Envoys from *Nan-p'o-li* reach China with tribute. (*Asiat. Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1900, p. 140.)

1416. *Nan-wu-li*, 南巫里, sends an envoy with tribute. Chêng Ho is ordered to take him back to his country.—Hist. Ming Dyn. (*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 359).

1430. Chêng Ho goes on his last voyage, bringing presents to all countries, among which is *Nan-p'o-li*, which gets her share of the imperial gifts. (Op. cit., p. 358; Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 221.) N.B.—This is the last mention of either *Nan-wu-li* or *Nan-p'o-li* in the records of the period.

1471–2. ACHĒḤ, اچه. Upon the Chām capital, Bal Angwē, being taken and destroyed by the Annamese, Pô Ling, a royal prince of Champā, takes refuge in Achëḥ, of which country he becomes "the original king."—"Ṣejārah Malāyu," ch. iii (Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 211).

1507. Sulṭān 'Alī Mughāyat Shāh ascends the throne of Achëḥ, A.H. 913. — "Bustanu-s-salatīn" (Millies' "Monnaies des Indigènes," p. 71).

1516. Achem, a kingdom on the northern extremity of Sumatra Island.—Barbosa (Ramusio, vol. i, 1563 ed., f. 318 *verso*).

1521. Dachem.—"Tombo do Estado da India" (p. 511).

1522. Sulṭān 'Alī conquers Pedīr, Samudra, and other places on the north coast of Sumatra. He dies the same year, being succeeded by Sulṭān Ṣalāh-ud-dīn.—"Bustanu-s-salatīn" (Millies, loc. cit.).

1540. Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn, brother of the preceding, deposes him, owing to his incapability of ruling the kingdom. The dethroned Ṣalāh-ud-dīn dies nine years afterwards. (Ibid.)

1567–8. Sulṭān 'Alī R'āyat Shāh (Ḥusain), son of the preceding, succeeds. (Ibid.)

1567–8. Sulṭān Merad, Sulṭān Sri Ālam, ex-king of Priāman, Sulṭān Zainu-l-'Abidīn, and Sulṭān Janīl succeed, having but short reigns. (Op. cit., p. 75.)

circâ 1569. Pêrak is conquered by the Achinese, who make prisoner, amongst others, the son of the king there. This prince is set up as king of Achëḥ, over which he reigns under the title of Manṣūr Shāh, making himself very formidable to the Portuguese of Malacca. (Op. cit., p. 75; Newbold's "Straits of Malacca," London, 1839, vol. ii, p. 24, etc.)

1585. Manṣūr Shāh is murdered by General Marah Tiza, a quondam fisherman, who places on the throne Sulṭān Būyung, the young son of the murdered king, of whom he becomes the governor.

1586. Dagin, Dacin, Dachien, king of Assí ("Rè di Afsì"). (Gasparo Balbi, "Viaggio dell'Indie Orientali," Venetia, 1590, ff. 129 *verso*, 130, 132 *verso*.)

1588. 'Alāu-d-dīn R'āyat Shāh, the quondam Marah Tiza, having murdered the young Sulṭān Būyung, ascends the throne; he is very cruel and sanguinary. It is of this wicked ruler that the Chinese accounts say: "During the period Wan-li (1573–1620) the reigning family was twice changed, and at last their king was a slave. . . . He slew the rightful sovereign; . . . having obtained command of the army, not long afterwards he killed his master and put himself in his place. . . . He is much given to cruelty; every year he kills more than ten people and washes his body with their blood, saying that this may prevent disease." After the murder of the king the name of the country was

changed into *Ya-ch'i*, 亞 齊 (*A-ts'ai*, *A-ts'i*, *A-che* = Achëḥ). —Hist. Ming Dyn., bk. 325. (See Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 213, 214; also *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 344, 345 and 367, 368, the accounts of which events have been misunderstood by both Professors Schlegel and Parker. See for the latter's mistake the *Asiat. Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1900, p. 137. About the king's origin and his sanguinary crimes see Davis, 1599, who states that Sulṭān "Aladin," i.e. 'Alāu-d-dīn, was originally a fisherman, and rose in rank gradually until he became admiral, when he murdered the heir to the throne; also Beaulieu, *vide* Prévost's "Hist. Gén. des Voyages," vol. i, p. 373, and vol. ix, pp. 350–2.)

1602. Sulṭān 'Alī Mughāyat Shāh, son of the preceding, succeeds to the throne. (Millies, op. cit., p. 84.)

1607. Sulṭān Iskander Mūda succeeds to the crown. Under his rule the kingdom of Achëḥ attains the climax of its splendour. (Op. cit., pp. 84, 85.)

1612. Letter of Sulṭān Iskander Mūda of Achëḥ to King James I of England. In this valuable document the former claims the following possessions:—

A.—Eastern Side of Achëḥ.

1. Lūboḳ, لوبق.
2. Pīdir (Pedīr), فيدر.
3. Semerlāng, سمرلاغ.
4. Pasāngan, فساغن.
5. Pāsai, فاسى.
6. Perlaḳ, فرلق.
7. Basitang, بسيتغ.
8. Tamiyang, تميغ.
9. Delī, دلي.
10. Āsāhan, اساهن.
11. Tanjong, تنجغ } = Tanjongpura?
12. Pāni (Pānei), فاني.
13. Rakan, ركن.
14. Bātu Sāwar, باتو ساور, and all dependent countries.

[15. Pēraḳ, فيرق] } on the Malay Peninsula.
[16. Pāhang, فاهغ] }

17. Indragīrī, اندرڭيري.

B.—Western Side of Achëḥ.

1. Chalang (Chellang), جلغ.
2. Dāyā, دايا.
3. Bārus, بارس.
4. Pasaman, فسمن.

5. Tīku, تيكو.
6. Priāman, فريامن } where, he says, are gold-mines in the mountains.
7. Salīdā, سليدا }
8. Indrapura, اندرڤور.
9. Bengku-ūle (Bengkūlen), بغكوول.
10. Salībar (Selebar), سليبر.
11. Palembang, ڤلمبغ.
12. Jambī, جمبي.

(*Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 31, pp. 123–30.)

N.B.—I have thought it useful to reproduce this as yet little known list, far more complete as regards the northern part of Sumatra than De Barros', not only for the historical interest it presents, but also for the spelling of many place-names it gives, which are often vainly looked for in Malay dictionaries and similar works of reference.

1613. Sulṭān Iskander Mūda makes war upon Johor. (Millies, op. cit., p. 85.)

1618. Sulṭān Iskander Mūda makes war upon Pāhang. (Op. cit.)

1618. *A-ch'i*, 亞 齊 (= Achëḥ). Formerly it was [called?] the '*Ta-shi* Country,' 大 食 國 [= *Tarshish*, *Tājik*, Dachi?]. Ambergris costs 12 golden coins the tael, which makes 192 golden coins a kati . . . . During the Sung dynasty [A.D. 960–1280] this country had the reputation of possessing much gold, silver, and silk, whilst the skill of its artisans was highly praised.—"Tung-hsi Yang-k'au," bk. iv (see *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp. 367, 368, and Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 215, 216). N.B. that since A.D. 1505 Barthema mentions silk as being produced in large quantities in Pedīr (see Ramusio, vol. i, f. 166 *verso*). The reference to silver in the Chinese account is furthermore interesting, in view of the connection of Achëḥ with Ptolemy's **Argyrē**, as well as with a possible Phœnician *Tarshish*.—From this period the history of Achëḥ is sufficiently well known, from both local and Western sources, as not to present any more special features falling within the scope of the present inquiry; hence it is needless to go on summarizing its principal events any further.

1619. Sulṭān Iskander Mūda conquers the States of Kedah and Pērak on the Malay Peninsula (according to the letter quoted above, however, Pērak was already part of his dominions in 1612). (Op. cit.)

1621. Sulṭān Iskander Mūda conquers Padang, Singkel, and other portions of the west coast of Sumatra (see, however, the letter cited above). (Op. cit.)

D. *The Great Anambas or Siantan Group.*

Islands of the Satyrs (No. 125).

Ptolemy reckons three of them and reports:—"The inhabitants are said to have tails like those with which Satyrs are depicted." Legends of savages with tails are current in several parts of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago; but the reference here seems to be rather to some large species of monkeys than to human beings. The centre of this group of islands falls, as shown in the tables and maps, in long. 107° 15′ E. and lat. 3° 40′ N., corrected; that is, just midway between the Anambas and Natunas. I have, however, reason to believe that the Anambas alone are meant, both for linguistic arguments which I shall hereafter bring forward, and because they lie more directly in the track of ships sailing from the Straits to Kamboja or Champā. Speaking of this insular group Crawfurd says: "The islands called by European navigators the Anambas, a name not known to the Malays of the country, are properly called by the various names of *Siantan* [*Syāntan* or *Syātan*, سیاتن], *Jamajah* [more correctly, *Jamāja*, جماج], and *Sarasan* [*Sarāsan*, سراسن], which make the northern, middle, and southern Anambas of our charts. They are, in all, about fifty in number . . . . hilly and sterile, and inhabited by true Malays, always poor, and commonly inoffensive."[1] The correct names and Malay equivalents that I have inserted within brackets actually occur in the Pāsai chronicle in the list of countries conquered by the Javanese army from Mājapāhīt in A.D. 1377 or thereabouts.[2]

[1] "Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China," 2nd ed. (London, 1830), vol. i, p. 455.

[2] See Dulaurier in *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, pp. 554, 555, and 561. Dulaurier was at a loss to identify *Jamāja*, *Syātan*, *Sarāsan*, and several other names in that list, which have been, however, subsequently located by Marre (see "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," Paris, 1874, pp. 97, 107). The list is invaluable, as it undoubtedly goes back to several centuries and supplies us with the forms that such toponymics had then. It is important to notice that the terms *Anamba* and *Natuna* do not at all occur in the list, the principal islands of such groups being each named separately. The Natunas mentioned therein are: (1) *Pulo Lāut*,

Among such names I desire to lay special stress on that of *Siāntan*, which is not so spelled as in the present day, but is written *Syātan* or *Siātan*, a fact upon which we are going to base the etymological discussion directly. As regards Sarāsan, Crawfurd was of course mistaken in making it a southern Anamba; it belongs to the South Natuna group. It should indeed be added, in justice to him, that on pp. 89, 90 of the same volume he classifies it correctly as the most southern island of the Natunas.[1] Groeneveldt has,

ڤولو لاوة (North Natuna); (2) *Bangūran*, بڠكورن (Great Natuna); (3) *Swobi* or *Sābi*, سوربى (the northernmost of the South Natunas); and (4) *Sarāsan*, سراسن (the Sirhassen of our charts, in the South Natunas group), spelt *Sarān*, سران, in Dulaurier (op. cit., p. 554), which is worth noting.

[1] The passage here referred to is interesting as recording two names for the same island, that have now disappeared from our charts. He says: "*High Island* or *Sapata*, so called in the maritime charts, and the most southern of the group denominated the Natunas . . . . *Sapata* is the island called *Sarasan* by the Malays; and the Great Natuna, a very large island, they denominate *Bangoran*. The name *Natuna* is not known in their language, and, it is probable, was imposed by the Portuguese." The name *High Island* we find entered in Horsburgh's charts and directory. As regards *Sapata*, it is undoubtedly a term of Portuguese origin, *Sapato*; Malay *Spātu*, سڤاتو = a 'shoe.' But, concerning the names *Anamba* and *Natuna*, it is difficult to say how they have originated. Probably Crawfurd is right in ascribing their invention to the Portuguese. However, the second one, *Natuna*, seems to be derived from an older term, *tung*, *tong*, *dong*, or *tan*, which occurs, as we shall see, in the designation *Tung-Tung* applied by the Chinese to the Great Natuna, and which may have been borrowed, in imitation, from *Syātan* or *Siantan*. Otherwise, *Tung-Tung* may be but a travesty of *Datu* (Tanjong Datu), the cape forming the northern extremity of the Great Natuna. For it is to be noticed that its homonym, Cape *Datu*, the nearest headland of Borneo, appears in some old maps as *Tanjong Doton* (see e.g. the map at end of vol. i of Sonnerat's voyage, published A.D. 1781). From *Doton* to *Dotun*, *Notun*, and *Natun* the gap is not very wide. As regards the term *Anamba* I am at a loss to suggest a derivation, except from, perhaps, the Malay *Ānam*, انم = 'six.' However, this is a mere conjecture. Neither group of islands appears in European maps until the end of the seventeenth century; neither are they spoken of, in so far as I am aware, by any Western traveller before that period. Valentijn is one of the very first authors to have them on his map, 1726, where they appear as *Anamba* and *Naima* (for Natuna). Next year, in the map appended to Mandelslo's travels (Amsterdam, 1727, pp. 8, 9), they are marked *Anamba* and *Natuna*. Hamilton speaks of them since about 1720 in the following terms: " . . . there are two

contrary to his wont, not gone far wrong in suggesting, this time, wisely followed by interrogation marks, Natuna and Anamba respectively as the equivalents of the *Tung-tung*, 東 董, and *Hsi-tung*, 西 董, Islands mentioned in the account of the Chinese expedition to Java, A.D. 1292–3.[1] He is, however, certainly mistaken in pedantically rendering the second toponymic as 'Western *Tung*,' for there can be no question that this is a mere transcript of *Syātan*, the name of the island in the Northern Anamba group, which may, at best, be meant for that particular group only, and not for the whole of the Anambas. As regards the first toponymic, *Tung-Tung*, it is yet doubtful whether it should be taken as meaning 'Eastern *Tung*,' according to Mr. Groeneveldt's view, or as a transcript of some local name (perhaps of *Datu* Point at the north end of Great Anamba as suggested in note 1 to p. 708). For it is plain to me that this term *Tung-Tung* merely designates the Great Natuna or Bangūran, and not at all the whole group of the Natunas, or even the more tiny cluster of the northern of such islands. Although Sinologists have hitherto rested perfectly satisfied with such vague, generic identifications made *grosso modo* like this, our intention in the present inquiry is to push our investigation to the utmost of our ability, in order to arrive as accurately as possible at identifications of ancient toponymics, thus supplying our readers with genuine, instead of imaginary, fabricated geography, as has hitherto too often been done. This aim, to which we have kept throughout, we intend to adhere to in this section also, which is the last one of the present volume.

That *Tung-Tung*, then, simply meant the Great Natuna is amply evidenced by Chinese itineraries from Champā to Java, as well as by the Chinese map of the period published

clusters of islands . . . One is called *Anamba* and the other *Natuna*, but by the natives *Sciantan* is the common appellation for both clusters. Their inhabitants are called *Bougies*" (Pinkerton's Collect. of Voyages, vol. viii, p. 460). Therefore, *Siantan*, *Syātan* (Chinese *Hsi-tung*) was their common name.

[1] See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 151; and in *China Review*, vol. iv, p. 249.

by Phillips.[1] Starting with this first, I have been enabled to recognize in it two hitherto unidentified islands of the Natuna group, besides *Tung-Tung*, viz., *Sha-niu-p'i*, 沙吳皮 (*Sa-wu-bi* = Suwobi or Subi), and *Tung Shê-lung*, 東蛇籠, or Eastern *Shê-lung* (*She-lung*, *Sha-rong* = *Sarān* of the Pāsai chronicle, i.e. Sarāsan or Sirhassen). Turning now to the itinerary from Champā to Java translated by W. F. Mayers from the chronicle of the Yüan dynasty,[2] and prudently omitted by Groeneveldt, we again find the latter island mentioned, along with two others of the Northern Natunas, which we shall presently identify. The itinerary runs as follows:—[3]

"**Sailing from Champā** [the capital, i.e. Bal Angwē at Kwī-ñön], **the course is steered for** *Ling Shan*, 靈山 [= *Liṅga-parvata*, i.e. Cape Varella]. **Thence fifty watches** [= 500–600 miles] **are required to reach:**

1. *Wu-kung Hsü*," 蜈蚣 (*Wu-kong*, lit. 'centipede') [= *Sto-kong* or *Stu-kung*, the northernmost of the Natunas, situated above the north end of Pulo Lāut. Its distance from Cape Varella is about 485 miles, which, allowing for slight detours in sailing, fairly corresponds with that given in the text]. "**Five watches** [50–60 miles] **westward from the rocks at the point of this island bring the vessel to:**

2. *Mau Shan*" [?帽山 = 'Hat Island.' Evidently Tokong-boro, i.e. the Pyramidal rocks, west of the Great Natuna, which lie at 63 miles south-west of the northern end of Sto-kong Island]. "**Again ten watches** [100–120 miles] **and the** *Eastern Shê-lung Shan* ['Serpent and Dragon' Headland] **is sighted.**" [This must be:

3. *Tung Shê-lung*, 東蛇籠, referred to above, which, with the third character but slightly altered, means instead the 'Eastern Serpent-cage'; to us, Sarāsan Island]. "**After this the vessel passes between:**

4. **Round Island** [? *Yüan* (or *Lwan*?) *Hsü*, 圓 (or 繞?) 嶼] **and**

[1] *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxi (1886).
[2] See *China Review*, vol. iv, pp. 173, 174.
[3] It goes without saying that with the exception of *Ling Shan*, rightly located by Mayers, none of the other toponymics here mentioned have been, so far, correctly identified either by him or others.

5. **Double Island**" [? *Liang Shan*, 兩 山. No sailing distance being stated, it is difficult to say whether South Haycock, St. Pierre, or Marundum are the two islands meant on the one side; or Saddle Island and Camel's Hump on the other. No native names being besides entered in our charts and directories for these islands, identification becomes doubly difficult. It would appear from the sequel, as well as from the Chinese names applied to the two islands in question, that Round Island is Camel's Hump (so named from its configuration), and that Double Island is Saddle Island (so called on account of two hills forming its saddle). Otherwise, Double Island may be meant for the two St. Pierre islands, which appear to be connected by a reef]. "**Passing by:**

6. *Lo-wei Shan*" [? 羅 尾 山, no doubt Pulo Wai, the north-westernmost island of the Tambelan group], "**where there are 18 fathoms of water, five watches more** [50–60 miles] **bring the vessel to:**

7. '**Bamboo Island**'" [evidently 竹 山, *Chu Shan*, which must be Temaju off the west coast of Borneo (Manpāwa district). This island lies at some 90 miles S.E. from Pulo Wai. If, however, *Chu* or *C'hu* is not a transcript of any indigenous name, Direction Island (Pulo Pengiki Kechil), which lies at but 70 miles S.S.E. from Pulo Wai, may be meant]. "**Thence in five watches** [50–60 miles]

8. *Ki-lung Hsü* ('Hen-coop' Island) **is reached.**" [The original characters are evidently 鷄 籠, *Ke-lung*, *Ke-rung*, and Gurong is the island intended; at any rate one of them, for there are two rocky islets of that name, situated north-eastward of Karimāta, and about half-way between Meleidung and Pelapi Islands. Their distance from either Temaju or Direction Island is, however, close upon 120 miles, and as there are no other islands lying half-way between them, we must conclude that the sailing distance has been understated, or that some slip has occurred in the text, which should read ten, instead of five, watches.] "**From this point it is ten watches** [100–120 miles] **to:**

9. *Kau-lan Shan*, 句 攔 山 [or 勾 欄 山, *Ko-lan*, *Keu-lan Shan*], **where wood and water may be procured.**" [This, despite Groeneveldt and, after him, Professor Schlegel, is unmistakably GELAM Island, as the sensible Phillips long ago

doubtfully suggested.[1] The truth of my assertion can be easily ascertained by a glance at the Chinese map published by Phillips, where *Kau-lan* is marked immediately below Karimāta and an hitherto unidentified island named 十二子, *Shih-érh-tsz*, which, I am glad to state, is Serutu, which lies south-westwards of Karimāta, although mapped by mistake south-eastwards in the cartographical document in question. Westwards of Karimāta the map shows *Ma-li-tung*, i.e. Belītong or Billiton, and westwards of this again 彭加, *P'eng-ka*, i.e. Bangkā, so that it clearly follows that the latter is not *Ma-li-tung*, nor Billiton *Kau-lan*, as Groeneveldt would have us to believe. *Kau-lan* is therefore most certainly Gelam (now also called Laag) Island, the largest of a group lying ten miles north-westward of Sambar Point, the south-west extremity of Borneo. And under the said denomination of *Kau-lan* the Chinese probably included also the neighbouring Bauwal or Kumpal Island, lying but six miles northward of Gelam, for it is stated that Bauwal or Kumpal "was, in former times, the rendezvous for the China convoys in case of separation, and then known as Rendezvous Island."[2] This circumstance, as well as the fact that both islands are thickly wooded,

[1] See *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xxi, p. 40. In the Chinese map published therein the name is written slightly differently, viz. 交闌, *Chiao-lan*, *Kau-lan*, which matters very little, as the sounds are very nearly the same in both transcripts, although the former one, *K'o-lan*, better conveys the phonology Galam or Gelam of the original term. The wild attempt of Groeneveldt to identify this island with Billiton (despite the discrepancy in names) in order that he may connect *Ma-li-tung* (which is no other than Blitung or Billiton) with the Bangka of his heart, excites a feeling of commiseration for the poor historical geography of the Archipelago which he has so ruthlessly mangled, and this time, it would seem almost deliberately, perverted (see Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 151, 157, 201). However much we may appreciate the boon he has conferred upon us by placing within our reach, ready translated, so many Chinese accounts of Archipelagan geography, we would be indeed still more thankful had he given us fewer incorrect identifications. For, when critically examined, as we have done in the course of the present inquiry, the equivalents he gives for such place-names, often with much self-assurance, prove, with but rare exceptions, hopelessly wrong. But what are we to say when, simply because he did not find the name of Bangka Island in the texts he worked upon (although it most plainly appears on the Chinese map published by Phillips since 1886, and is also mentioned by Ma Huan, A.D. 1416), he makes the statement that this island is what the Chinese called *Ma-li-tung*, when it is clearly no other than *Billiton*; and then, being in want of a term for the latter, gives it the impossible name *Ko-lan*? A moment's consideration would have avoided this and saved the reader much unnecessary loss of time and inconvenience in his researches. On the other attempt made by Professor Schlegel of connecting *Ma-li-tung* or *Ma-yih-tung* with Bintang (see *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, pp. 365–83) I need not dwell.

[2] "China Sea Directory," vol. i, 4th ed. (1896), p. 492.

agrees remarkably with the account of the rôle played by *Kau-lan* in the Java expedition of 1292–3.[1] So does its sailing distance from *Kī-lung*, given in the text under examination, accord with the distance Gurong–Gelam, which is about 105 miles.] "**Thirty watches farther on** [=300–60 miles] **lies** *Ki-li-mên Shan*, 吉里門山, **i.e. Krīmun or Karimon Java.**" [The distance from Gelam to Karimon Java is only about 180 miles; hence there must be some clerical error in the text, which should read 'fifteen watches.']

We need not follow this itinerary any further, since our object for having introduced it here—which was to show that the Chinese had separate names for each of the principal Natuna Islands, and that *Tung-tung* to them merely meant the largest of these, i.e. the Great Natuna or Bangoran—is now fully attained. Another important result attained is the determination of the sea-route followed by the Chinese expedition to Java, and, no doubt, long afterwards by Chinese junks. Of this sea-route the translations and publications hitherto made by Sinologists gave but the very haziest idea; the Anambas and Natunas are mentioned as passed on the way, but whether through the middle, eastwards, or westwards of them it was left for the reader to conjecture. Thanks to the above inquiry, we are now certain that the Chinese sea-route to Java lay south by west from Cape Varella on the Champā (Cochin-China) coast, straight for Setokong or Stokong, near the northern extreme of Pulo Lāut or North Natuna; after which the course was shaped towards the south-west, in order to clear the Pyramidal Rocks and other dangers, when it was again altered to due south, thus passing between Bangoran (Great Natuna) and the North Anambas (Siāntan group), the *Tung-Tung* and *Hsi-Tung* of the Chinese respectively. Sirhassen

[1] Gelam is the Malay name for *Melaleuca leucodendron*, the Kājapūt oil-tree. Fei-Hsin (1436) describes *Kau-lan* Island as high and covered with trees, affording ample building materials; and adds that the Chinese expedition to Java in 1292–3 being driven by a storm on this island many ships were lost, whereupon the crews landed and constructed new vessels. Both Gelam and Bauwal are low, but in the centre of the latter are two hills.

or Sarāsan (the Eastern *Shê-lung* of the Chinese), with, no doubt, either Seraga (West Island) or Brian Island (probably the unnamed Western *Shê-lung*), being all conspicuous, were then sighted, evidently from afar; and the vessel proceeded between either Camel's Hump and Saddle Island, or the latter and St. Pierre, to the Tambelans. Here, after having passed Pulo Wai, it steered south-east towards Temaju, and continued her course along the west coast of Borneo.

The same itinerary is laid down, although with far less wealth of particulars, in the History of the Yüan dynasty, where it is stated that the expedition in 1292, after having passed Champā, came in the first month of the following year (1293) to the *Tung-Tung* and *Hsi-Tung* islands (i.e. Bangoran and Siāntan, the meaning being that the course lay between them), after which it entered the *Hwên-tun* (lit. 'Chaotic,' or 'Turbid') Ocean, 混沌大洋, i.e. 'Archipelago,' so called, no doubt, by the Chinese, on account of the innumerable islands with which it is studded, forming so many channels, which, naturally, confuse the navigator. Assuredly, 'Labyrinthean' is what the Chinese intended by *Hwên-tun*. Proceeding, the expedition reached the *Kan-lan*[1] Island or Islands, 橄欖嶼 (Kom-lam, Kam-lam, Kan-ran), by which, no doubt, the Tambelans (a name easily corrupted into *Kambelan, Kamblan*) are meant. Next, the fleet came to Karimāta and *Kau-lan* (Gelam).[2]

On Phillips' map—where, by the way, but few of the places named in the above itineraries are shown—a different route is laid down, passing between *Tung-Tung* (Great Natuna) on the one side, and *Sha-wu-p'i* (Suwobi or Subi) and *Tung Shê-lung* (Sarān or Sarāsan) on the other, thus showing that at the period the map was drafted (*circâ* A.D. 1399) the channel between the Great Natuna and Subi had come to be used instead of the earlier one between the

[1] This is the name for the so-called Chinese olive, the fruit of various species of *Canarium* (*album, pimela*, etc.).

[2] See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 151, where he renders, of course, *Hwên-tun Ta-yang* by 'Indian Sea (?),' *Kan-lan* by 'Olive Islands (?),' *Kau-lan* by 'Billiton,' and so forth; with how much profit to the reader I leave it to be imagined.

former and the North Anambas.[1] On this route we need not to dwell any further. What concerns us and is most important for the point at issue are the two facts elicited in the course of the present inquiry, viz., (1) that the Chinese term *Tung-Tung* merely designated the Great Natuna (Bangoran), the other chief islands in the Natuna group being known by different names peculiar to each of them; and (2) that the early Chinese sea-route to the southern part of the Archipelago lay between the Natunas and the Anambas. This was no doubt the course taken during the north-east monsoon, the favourable time for such a passage, and is the very course followed to this day, and during the same monsoon, by sailing-vessels bound from the China Sea to Sunda Strait. We thus have a continuity of tradition for this sea-route extending over the space of six centuries (i.e. from 1292 to the present day). And, as we may well assume that the Chinese did not discover that route themselves, but learned it from either Arab or Persian pilots who had received the knowledge from their predecessors of, say, six or more centuries before that, we can conclude without fear of exaggeration that such a route was already known and followed in Ptolemy's time and even earlier.

Turning now to the next point, namely, the term *Hsi-tung* applied by the Chinese to the Anambas, it is quite possible that, contrary to what we have noticed in the case of the Natunas, this term not only specifically designated Siāntan Island, but probably included the whole group of the Northern Anambas, for these islands (Siāntan or Terampah; Mata, Yang, or Niulūan; Mubur; Kelong or Tabiyan; Mentala or Cocos, etc., to speak only of the largest) lie so close together as to look like one single island to ships passing even within a short distance of them. Moreover, in the Chinese map above referred to, no other island is marked which could in any measure correspond to either these or

[1] There is, besides, a course marked between the Southern Natunas and the Borneo coast, i.e. by Api Passage, which must, however, have been known and used long before that by junks proceeding from the southern part of the Archipelago to Brūnei or Cochin-China, and *vice versâ*.

any other of the Anambas (Siāntan, of course, excepted), a remarkably strange fact, because Jemāja and Riābu, which are somewhat separated from the rest, might reasonably be expected to have attracted attention and won a place in the Chinese maps and itineraries. Perhaps they failed to do so merely through some oversight; in any case, it is a fact that no other name but *Hsi-tung* appears there to represent the Anamba group. Notwithstanding this, we shall not jump at once to the conclusion, which well might be a rash one, that *Hsi-tung* was the Chinese generic term for the whole of the Anambas. The most reasonable course, I think, is to hold that this was the designation for Siāntan, and at best for the other islands lying immediately close by, forming collectively the group now known as the Northern, or Great, Anambas. As to the West Anambas, of which Jemāja forms the principal feature, and the South Anambas, which are but islets of almost insignificant size, we must conclude for the present that the Chinese either had no term for them or omitted to put it on record.

With respect now to the term *Hsi-tung*, there cannot be the least shadow of a doubt that, as already suggested, it is but a transcript of *Syātan*, the old form of the name for the island presently known as *Siāntan*.[1] The characters 西 重 have, in fact, the sounds *Sai-tung*, *Si-tung*, *Sae-tung*, *Sê-tong* in the dialects known to be the best representatives of the old Chinese pronunciation, and the difference between such sounds and that of *Syātan* is very trifling, being easily accounted for by the Chinese desire to transcribe names foreign to them in such a manner as to elicit some meaning out of them in their own language, even at the cost of sacrificing accuracy of rendering in such a process. From the form *Syātan* occurring in the Pāsai chronicle in,

[1] *Siantan* is the present-day Malay name for certain species of Rubiaceæ, viz., *Siantan Jantan* (i.e. 'male') = *Ixora amœna*, *Siantan Hutan* (i.e. 'wild') = *Randia longiflora*; but we should not trust such Malay appellations applied to places in the Archipelago, for they cannot be very old, and in most instances are, in their turn, but Malay transformations of older toponymics similar in sound, but different in meaning. The case in point is very good evidence as to such a transformation having occurred, for the older spelling followed by the Malays themselves for the name of the islands is *Syātan*.

say, the fifteenth century or later, but traditionally handed down from about 1377, the date of the Javanese conquest, and very likely from far older ages; and from the Chinese factitious transcript *Hsi-tung*, or *Sai-tung*, *Sé-tung*, already appearing in the Chinese map of 1399, we acquire the absolute certainty that the toponymic in question is no modern invention, but must have existed under a very similar form for centuries prior to that period.

Such being the case, it is easy to see that from *Syātan*, *Saitun*, and *Satun* the transition to the Ptolemaic **Satyrōn** is easy. Already we have had occasion to notice that the early Greek, or maybe Alexandrine, navigators, were not a whit behind travellers of later ages[1] in 'making up' toponymics in such a way as to extract some

[1] To give but a few instances for this 'striving after meaning' at the hands of comparatively modern Western travellers, Damān, on the coast of Gujarāt, is converted into *Demon* ("The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600–1619," London, 1893, p. 247). Lān-c'hāng (*vide supra*, p. 149) becomes *Lan John* in the "Calendar of State Papers of the East Indies," vol. ii (1617–1621), p. 90. The Mē-nam River of Siām assumes the oracular form *Memnon* with Hamilton ("A New Account of the East Indies," London, 1744, vol. ii, p. 160). Skijang Island in Singapore Strait and Shang-ch'uan Island in the approach to the Canton River become both *St. John* Islands in our charts and the accounts of European travellers (e.g. Dampier, vol. i, p. 406). Rē (*Burmanicè* Yay) on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula rises to the dignity of a *Cidade do Rei* in the early Portuguese maps, and *Cité des rois* in Duval's map, 1686. Old Tavoy, otherwise known as Mro-houng, is transformed into a *Cidade de los Moros* in an anonymous Portuguese map of *circâ* 1580; and an island in front of it is accordingly marked *I. de Moro*. Ayuthia, the old Siāmese capital, is turned into a Far Eastern *Judea* in Cocks' "Diary," 1617 (Hakluyt Soc., vol. i, p. 272), and other papers of the period ("Calendar of State Papers, East Indies," vol. ii, 1617–21, p. 90). Balbi, 1580, mentions (p. 66) an island *Mazzacan* near the Indian Bassein (probably Mazagong, Bombay), and Valentine Moravia, 1515, applies the name *Monaco* to the Moluccas.

Many other instances of amusing perversions of toponymics in Further India at the hands of travellers and geographers have fallen under our notice in the course of the preceding pages; and an exhaustive list of all of them would occupy many pages. The amusement would, however, reach its climax were such a list supplemented by another one exhibiting the extraordinary changes that other names or native words in the same region have undergone whilst passing through the pen of Western book-writers on these countries. Suffice to point out as fairly good specimens the following:—A *Myo-saye*, or town clerk, bailiff, is called a *Mewjerry* by Symes ("Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava," 1795); and *Uparāja* is playfully converted into *Upper Rodger* in a letter dated 1755 from Captain Jackson at Syriam in Pegu (Dalrymple's "Oriental Repertory," vol. i, p. 192). Again, a Malay *gādis* or 'virgin' becomes, *mirabile dictu*, apotheosized into a 'goddess' in the parlance of old British residents in Malaya! Thus even the famous Swiftian *All-eggs-under-the-grater* pales before these achievements, so true it is that truth is stranger than fiction.

amusing meaning out of them in their own language whenever they got a chance for so doing. Hence, it should not be surprising that, having heard the term *Syātan, Saitun, Satun,* or something similar, as being the name of the Northern Anambas, and having noticed at the same time the simian features and habits or the apparel of the natives, who at that time must have been of a Negritic type akin to that of the present Samang of the Malay Peninsula, they thought it a good joke to call the islands they inhabited by the name of *Σατύρων νῆσοι.* From such a stage to the growth of the legend that the inhabitants had tails like the Satyr demigods of Greek mythology it is but a brief step, so easy indeed inasmuch as fabulous stories of tailed men are no less current in the Archipelago than they are on the Indo-Chinese mainland, and have no doubt been repeated by mariners from the remotest period.[1] As

[1] The stories current on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and Sumatra about tailed men have already received attention above (p. 687, note 5). Here it remains to briefly notice those concerning the parts of the Archipelago situated within tolerable proximity of the Anambas and Natunas. Colonel Yule has already given several of them, covering a very wide field (see "Marco Polo," 3rd ed., vol. ii, pp. 301, 302), but the subject is by no means exhausted. Here we shall add a few that have escaped his notice, as well as that of his last editor, connected with the area now under consideration.

1. Ma Tuan-lin, quoting from the "Nan-t'u-hsiu-chuan," an older work (op. cit., p. 299), tells us that eastwards of the *Kou-li,* 拘利 (*Kau-li, Ku-ri*), country there is a land called *P'u-lo,* 滿羅 (Buru, Buro), where the natives all have a tail from five to six *ts'un* [i.e. Chinese inches = 1·41 English inches each] in length, and feed themselves upon human flesh. These people, under the name of *P'u-lo Chung,* the *P'u-lo* Race or Tribes, are again mentioned in the "Yüen-chien-lei-han" cyclopædia as living in a country which was a dependency of *Fu-nan* (Kamboja). It strikes me that the term *Kou-li* may very well be a mere aphæresis of 投拘利, *T'ou-kou-li* (*T'au-kau-lei, Dau-kau-li, T'u-ku-li*), the name for a seaport of *Fu-nan,* which we have already met with above (p. 93). Again, Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 515) mentions a country, *Chü-li,* 拘利 (*K'öü-lei, Ki-li, Kü-lei*), situated to the north of a bay on which lies the kingdom of *Po-li,* 薄利 (*Pok-lei, P'ok-li, Bak-li*), where the natives are black-skinned, go stark naked, and have red eyes. Further, he mentions (p. 511) a kingdom, 九離, *Chiu-li* (*Kau-lei, Kiu-li, Ku-ri*), also called *Chü-k'an,* 拘刊 (*K'öü-hon, Ki-k'an, Kü-k'ang*), which latter transcript seems to be a clerical slip for *Chü-li,* 拘利. Along with it he enumerates the States of *Pan-t'ou* or *Pien-t'ou,* 班斗, 邊斗 (*Pan-tau,*

early as the end of the fifth century B.C., in fact, Ktēsias already hands down a story about a caudate people inhabiting

Ban-dāu, *Bien-dāu*); 都昆 or 都軍, *Tu-k'un* or *Tu-chün* (*Tu-kun*, *Du-kwên*); and 比嵩, *Pi-sung* (*Pei-sung*, *Bi-sung*); all of which, he says, have been known since the Sui dynasty, and lie at about 3,000 *li* (500 miles) southwards from *Fu-nan*, across the Bay of *Chin-lin* (*Kém-lun*, *Kam-run*, Kamalaṅka, or Gulf of Siām? *vide supra*, p. 164). Now, *Pi-sung*, if not exactly *Pulo Pisang*, west of Singapore Strait, must be either the homonymous island at the entrance to the Indragiri River, east coast of Sumatra, or the territory on the *Pasângan* River, termed *Pisângan* in the Pāsai chronicle, westwards of Pāsai, north coast of Sumatra. Both this river and territory (or village) on its banks are called *Pissang* by Hamilton ("New Account of the East Indies," London, 1744, vol. ii, p. 125). *Pan-t'ou* or *Pien-t'ou* may be *Bantau* in Sungei Ujong, on the Lingi River (west coast of Malay Peninsula), but it may as well refer to the *Pandiya* tribe, a branch of the Sambiring division of the Battak. *Tu-k'un* or *Tu-kuṇ*, *Du-kwên*, I would not, of course, identify with the little Dokan Island, or Menali, northwards from Bangka, but rather with the two islands of *Tekong* lying in the entrance to Johor River, Singapore Strait. Otherwise, the place *Tokūn*, in the centre of Province Wellesley (almost directly east of Pinang town), where the ancient inscriptions mentioned on p. 98 *ante* occur, may be meant. (See, however, *supra*, p. 641, note 2.) Finally, *Chiu-li*, *Kau-li*, *Ki-k'an* (Koli or Guri), is, as likely as not, either *Ghūrī* or Hāru, هارو, غوري, or *Jerei*, *Cherei*, *Jerai* (Kedah Peak), the original site of Kedah. Būkit *Choreh*, or False Elephant Mountain, rises but a few miles to the north. In conclusion, all the countries just named were doubtless situated on Malacca Strait. So must have been *Po-li*, which, although a quite distinct place from *P'o-li*, 婆利 (see above, pp. 473 seq.), may correspond to the territory on the Pulai River, south-west end of the Malay Peninsula, in case the latter does not; or else to Bālei, the chief town in Asāhan, east coast of Sumatra. It remains to deal with 拘利, *Kou-li*, which, if not connected with *T'ou-kou-li* as suggested, may or may not be the same as 拘利, *Chü-li*, which it considerably resembles in spelling. However, the situation of the latter to the north of a bay on which lies the kingdom of *Po-li* would argue for it a position on the Malay Peninsula, thus making it more probable that *Chü-li* is Cherei or Jerai, and *Kou-li* is either *T'ou-kou-li* or *Ghūrī* (Hārū). As regards *P'u-lo* (Bulu, Buru), there are many places to choose from (*Bulu* Bay, north-west coast of Bangka; *Bulu* Island, north coast of Billiton; *Buru* Island, Durian Strait; *Būluh* islet, the southern Sembilan; Kota *Buru*, an old place in Malacca; *Buru* Island in Malacca Passage, off north coast of Sumatra); but none seems to answer better than *Pulu* village (Pulo besar) in Bātu Bāra, east coast of Sumatra (about 3° 9′ N. lat.), which lies eastwards (according to Chinese notions, but south-eastwards according to ours) of *Ghūrī* (Hārū), our supposed *Kou-li*. This identification appears the more tempting from the fact that Galvano, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 686), calls his tailed men *Daraque Dara*, which term, if not Arakundur as suggested, may be Bātū Bāra, where Pulu village is. In any case the two places would not be very far distant from each other, and they both lie on the east coast of Sumatra.

2. In the History of the Ming Dynasty, bk. 323, it is stated that far in the

an island in the Indian Sea. Moreover, it is very likely that, in the old days, the Anambas were inhabited by a race similar to the present Semang of the neighbouring seaboard of the Malay Peninsula, and still more so to the Tambusu and Brū tribes of Pulo Tingi and adjacent islands off the Johor coast, which lie quite close by. All these tribes are very ill-favoured; simian, in fact, in appearance and habits, while *Semang* or *Syāmang* is the Malay word for a baboon, and *Brū* (although probably connected with *Prū*, *Brū*, *Brao*, etc., see above, pp. 73, 129, 130) is the name of a large ape in Pahang and Kelantan.[1] Hence it is easy of comprehension

interior of Banjar-māsin, South Borneo, there is a village called *Wu-lung-li-tan*, 烏龍里憚, where the people all have tails; when they see other men they cover their face with their hands and run away; their country is rich in gold-dust, etc. (See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 228.) It does not require great perspicacity, even for a Sinologist, to see that *Wu-lung-li-tan*, or, as it is pronounced in the southern dialects, *O-lang-li-tan*, is merely a clumsy transcript for the well-known term *Ôrang-ūtan*, meaning 'wild man' or men. It could scarcely signify *Ôrang Idān*, for this tribe dwells far away on the northern part of the island. As the *Mai-wa-jou*, 買哇柔 (Be-oa-ziu), i.e. *Beajū*, are mentioned, with their head-hunting proclivities, as living in the neighbourhood, we see at once that the caudate tribe of the story cannot have any connection with the Dayaks and head-hunting Kayans; but must belong to the stock of those Negrito or Negrito-descended aborigines whose presence on the island has been so often talked about and equally as often denied. They may be *Punan* (Orang Punan), a forest race noticed in the interior of Kutei, a territory adjoining the country at the head-waters of the Banjar-māsin River. The Punan wear a headdress and a waist-cloth of bark, and eat monkeys; whence, I think, the legend as to their having tails like those remote ancestors of ours. Meyer asserts that the Punan are pure Malays ("Negritos," p. 25); but this yet remains to be seen, and 'Malay,' as we are well aware, is a very elastic term, still more indiscriminately used by our anthropologists, who, I much doubt, hardly know what they mean by it. While awaiting for further inquiries, we cannot help drawing attention to the similarity of the term *Pu-nan* with *Fu-nan* or *Po-nan*, and the P'hnom, Penong, Bānar (*Vanara*, *Vānara*, i.e. wild or monkey-like) tribes of Kamboja (see above, pp. 207, 208).

Colonel Yule ("Marco Polo," 3rd ed., vol. ii, p. 302) relates that a "Mr. St. John in Borneo met with a trader who had seen and *felt* the tails" of a caudate race inhabiting the north-east coast of that island. "The appendage was 4 inches long and very stiff; so the people all used perforated seats." This Borneo story, he adds, "has lately been brought forward in Calcutta, and stoutly maintained, on native evidence, by an English merchant." We now see, from the passage referred to above from Ming history, that the existence of tailed men in Borneo was credited by the Chinese from at least the fifteenth or sixteenth century; and perhaps it had been current for a long time before that among their teachers in navigation and legendary Archipelagic lore, the Arabs.

[1] See Dennys' "Dict. of Brit. Malaya," pp. 53, 398.

how the legend of the tailed men or satyrs in the Anambas originated.

Passing now from ethnological to geographical considerations, I must hasten to point out that the Ptolemaic mention of these islands discloses to us a very important fact, namely, that the sea-route followed by western ships in Ptolemy's time, on their return journey from China during the north-east monsoon, must have been close to the Great, or Northern, Anambas, thus practically coinciding with the present European sea-route to the Archipelago; hence the reason why the mariners of that remote period became acquainted with such islands. For it can hardly be supposed that the passage between the Anambas and Natunas was then, as nowadays, used on outward journeys made during the north-east monsoon. Navigation was, at that stage, far from perfect, and its main principle consisted in following the trend of the coast, keeping within sight of land as far as possible. Accordingly, the outward journey from the Straits to China would be accomplished during the south-west monsoon, the most favourable time for it, and the course would lie along the east coast of the Malay Peninsula as far north as the Ligor and Bāndōn bights, or, in Ptolemaic parlance, the *Περιμουλικὸς κόλπος*, whence it is easy to sail across the Gulf of Siām to either **Akadra** or **Zabai**, i.e. Ha-tien or Saigon. Thus, while out on this journey, the Anambas would not be seen at all, or hardly at all, on the dim and distant horizon. But, on the return journey, made, naturally, during the north-east monsoon, the adherence, in inverse order, to the above route, would make it impossible for a sailing-vessel to reach the Straits. Necessity would, therefore, compel those navigators to pass close to the Anambas, whether westward of them in making Pulo Aor, or close by their eastern borders in endeavouring to reach the Straits; however, the former course, i.e. westward of them, would be the most advisable, and probably was the one most often followed. In either case, our mariners would have a chance of getting a full view of the islands, and might eventually be forced by stress of weather

to seek shelter in the channels between the northern islands of that group, where Siāntan, above all others, would offer them good sheltered anchorage in the bays and inlets of its north coast.[1] Hence the acquaintance of the early navigators with the Northern or Great Anambas, and more especially with *Syātan* or Siāntan, after which they came to give the name of **Satyrōn** Islands to that group. The three islands reckoned in it by Ptolemy may correspond to—(1) Mobur; (2) Niulūan, otherwise called Māta and Yang; and (3) *Syātan* or Siāntan, now also known as Terampah, from the village and bay of that name on its north coast. However, as these three islands, together with those immediately adjoining of Kelong or Tabiyan, Bajau or Nyāmok, Panjang, Mentala, Tānah-puniat, Ākar, etc., form a surprisingly compact group, so as not to appear as distinct members of the cluster except after a very close inspection of their coastline, I would not be altogether disinclined to assume that the three Ptolemaic islands correspond to—(1) the Siāntan group, or Great Anambas; (2) the Jamāja group, or West Anambas; and (3) the Riābu group, or South Anambas. Nevertheless, for the reasons above specified, I prefer to identify them with the Siāntan group, which itself already includes three large islands, or exactly the number mentioned by the great Alexandrian geographer.

The corrected position obtained for the **Satyrōn** cluster on the basis of the data Ptolemy has supplied us with does, indeed, fall, as already noticed, just midway between the Siāntan group and the Great Natuna; but such a result should not be relied upon, as it is quite conceivable there may yet be a slight error in excess in longitude. It would prove at best that the navigators of that period availed themselves at times of the passage between the Anambas and Natunas, which we already know they sometimes did. But it should be borne in mind that the fairway

[1] The two best anchorages of the whole group of the Northern Anambas are, in fact, to be found in two inlets of Siāntan Island itself, viz., in Terampah cove on its northern and Telok Āyer-bīnī on its southern coast.

in this passage lies on the side of the Anambas, and not of the Natunas; so that Chinese vessels proceeding to the west coast of Borneo were obliged, as we have pointed out, to take a detour to the west of the North Natuna in order to clear the Pyramidal rocks and other dangers, thus getting within no great distance of the Great Anambas. To the navigators of the Ptolemaic period, moreover, the object being to reach the Straits and not West Borneo, their course lay entirely by way of the Anambas, so that their object, after passing Pulo Sapatu and Pulo Condor, must have been to make any point within the channel between the Anambas and Pulo Tyūman or Pulo Aor as their imperfect methods of navigation would enable them to reach. Under such circumstances, the sighting of the North Anambas would be of paramount importance for them in directing their further course to the Straits, because these islands, from the fact of possessing peaks upwards of 1,300 and 1,800 feet high, form very conspicuous landmarks. It would then depend on whether chance had brought them eastward or westward of them as to which they availed themselves of. For these reasons, I very much doubt if they ever caught sight of the Natunas at all; but even admitting they did, they must have had but a very hazy idea of them, and consequently I have been led to exclude this group of islands altogether from the range of their 'Islands of the Satyrs.'

I deem it unnecessary to dwell upon the absurd identifications that have been from time to time propounded for this mysterious insular cluster. The author who most sensibly treated of them is certainly the one who, in Smith's "Dictionary of Classical Geography," surmised that they were perhaps the Anamba group, and the Satyrs who inhabited them apes resembling men. Colonel Yule's passage, still occurring in the third edition of his *magnum opus*,[1] suggesting their possible identity with Marco Polo's

[1] "Marco Polo," vol. ii, p. 277, where it is quoted from the same author's "Oldest Records of the Sea-route," etc., p. 657.

Sondur and *Condur*, and of these again with the *Sandarfūlāt* of the Arabs, is in every way unfortunate.

In conclusion, I trust to have demonstrated that the two terms, to wit, the Ptolemaic **Satyrōn** as well as the Chinese *Hsi-tung*, 西 董, are both intimately connected with the group of the Northern or Great Anambas; and more especially with the most accessible, populated, and hospitable one of them, formerly known as *Syātan*, and nowadays as *Siāntan*. Owing to these islands being, in Ptolemy's time, inhabited by some large species of apes, but more probably by some aboriginal race not far different to them in features and habits, the name *Syātan* readily suggested to the good-humoured Greek or Alexandrian mariners the term Σάτυροι, and Σατύρων νῆσοι for the islands themselves. It is not at all unlikely, however, that either monkeys or simian-like aborigines had nothing to do with the matter; but that the epithet **Satyrōn** for the islands in question simply occurred to those navigators as a felicitous improvement upon the original toponymic, *Syātan* already bearing such a striking resemblance to it; and that the legend of tailed men inhabiting these islands was a sailor's yarn fabricated upon such a coincidence. *Aut ex re nomen, aut ex vocabulo fabula.*

APPENDIX I.

On the Seven Seas of India and Further India.

In order to demonstrate that my identifications of the Seven Seas of Indū, Arab, and even Far-Eastern tradition, referred to above on pp. 80, 91, 164–5, 201, 237, 243–9, etc., are not merely conjectural, I here subjoin the results I have arrived at in a tabulated form, so that one may be able to see at a glance the impossibility of denying the correspondence I have asserted to exist on the whole between the names and locations respectively assigned to the seas in question by different Eastern nations.

Rāmāyaṇa.	Purāṇas.	Buddhist Literature.	Arab and Malay Literatures.	Chinese, etc.
1. ———	1. *Lavaṇa*, sea of salt water, surrounds Jambu dvīpa (India).	*Loṇa-sāgara*, encompassing Jambudīpa. 1. *Khuramāla*, *Khuramāli*, abounding with diamonds.[1]	1. *Lāryān*, or *Lār*, sea.	———
2. ———	2. *Ikṣu*, *Ikṣurasoda*, *Ikṣurasodaka*, sea of sugar-cane juice, bounds Plakṣa dvīpa (Arakan and Burmā).	*Phalika-sāgara*, crystalline and sweet like sugar; it surrounds Amaragoyana. 2. *Aggimāla*, *Aggimāli*, blazing like a bonfire.[1]	2. *Herkend*, or *Harkand*, sea. (From *Uraga*, *Urakenda* = 'snake'?)	*Mare di serpe* (Snake Sea) of Portuguese, according to Balbi (f. 133 *verso*), 1586. Perhaps so named from *Nāga-rāsa* or *Nāga-rāśi* (Cape Negrais).
(from Bengal eastward:)				
3. *Kālodaka*, sea of black water.	———	———	3. *Kalāhbār*, sea of Kalāh. *Tāppān* [= Daban, Dāvan?] sea (Kedah Annals, *circā* 1250–1300 in *Journal Indian Archipelago*, iii, 7).	*Kāla-sindhu*, ocean bathing the Peguan coast (Peguan chronicle).

[1] Suppāraka Jātaka (No. 463). The enumeration in this text starts from Bharukaccha (Bharuch or Bharoach, on the north side of the Narmadā River in Western India).

Rāmāyaṇa.	Purāṇas.	Buddhist Literature.	Arab and Malay Literatures.	Chinese, etc.
4. *Lohita, Śrī Lohita.*	3. *Surā*, sea of wine, encompasses Śālmali dvīpa (Malay Peninsula).	5. *Nalamāla, Nalamāli*, sea, of red colour.[1] *Pavāla - māli*, coral-red sea.	4. *Shelāhet, Selāhit*, sea. *Selat*, sea of the Straits (Malay lit.).	*Ch'ih Hai*, 'Red Sea' (see p. 248 above). *Ming Hai*, 'Sea of Meng' (i.e. the Peguans), bounding Pegu on the south.
5. *Ghṛtoda*, ocean of ghee.	4. *Sarpis*, sea of clarified butter, encompasses Kuśa-dvīpa (Sunda Archipelago).	4. *Kusamāli, Nīlavaṇṇakusa - māla*, green.[1]	5. *Sanf* sea. *Silbou* sea (Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 20).	**Green Sea** (Ptolemy).
6. *Kṣīroda*, ocean of milk.	6. *Kṣīra, Dugdha*, sea of milk, surrounds Śaka-dvīpa (Siām and Kamboja).	*Khira-sāgara* sea, encompassing Pubba Videha (the Eastern continent).	6. *Kerdenj*, or *Kedrenj*, sea.	*Chin-lin* (or *Kömlan*) sea [= sea of Kāmalaṅkā ?].
7. ———	5. *Dadhi, Dadhimaṇḍa*, sea of curds or whey, surrounds Kraunca dvīpa (South China).	3. *Dadhimāla, Dadhimāli*, sea, gleaming like milk or curds.[1] Dadhi-māli.	7. *Sanjī* sea, or Sea of China.	*Chang Hai, Ta Chang Hai.* *Yen Hai*, the 'Blazing Sea' (Annan Chih-lüo, A.D. 1291).
———	7. *Jala, Toyāmbudhi*, sea of fresh water, surrounds Puṣkara dvīpa (North China and Mongolia).	*Pīta-sāgara* sea, yellow, encompassing Uttara-Kuru (the Northern continent).	———	Yellow Sea.
———	———	6. *Valabhāmukha, Vaiabhāmukhi*, sea, with a great pool or maelstrom.[1]	*Mālātū* sea (Captain Bozorg, *circâ* A.D. 955, in Van der Lith and M. Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 20).	*Kuro-shivo.*

[1] See note 1, p. 725.

APPENDIX II.

On Indo-Chinese Terms in the Ptolemaic Geography of extra-Gangetic India.

One of the convincing proofs that the Ptolemaic extra-Gangetic toponomatology is by no means fanciful, as some of our geographer's captious critics have been pleased to insinuate—in order to palliate their inability either to decipher or locate his place-names—is to be found in the fact that many of such toponyms contain terms traceable to the languages of the nations that are, or were in our author's time, settled in the regions he treats of.

On the other hand, the sweeping statement made by some writers that all, or most, of the toponyms mentioned by Ptolemy in extra-Gangetic India are Sanskrit or Sanskrit derived, must be considerably discounted. For, albeit many of the place-names in question owe their origin to the influence of Indian civilization, or to Indū immigrants who transplanted them here from their fatherland, a considerable proportion of them are of genuine local growth and belong to the language of the country, as we have been showing in the course of the preceding pages. The importance of this second class of toponyms cannot be passed over, for in more than one instance they supply us with an ethnographical clue to the sort of language then spoken and the race of people then settled in a particular district, thus throwing glimmers of light into the darkness of the unknown early history of those nations.

1. *Mōñ terms.*

Foremost in number come the toponyms derived from the Mōñ (Peguan) language, which extend from the coast of Arakan down to the Malay Peninsula, thus evidencing that the coastline and some inland tracts of that region were then occupied by Mōñ-speaking populations, a fact which explains the considerable proportion of Mōñ words surviving to this day in the languages of the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula and North Sumatra, as well as in the place-names on the north coast of Sumatra (see p. 656 above).

The Ptolemaic place-names in this region which in our opinion may be traced to the Mōñ language are the following:—

No. 44. **Katabēda** (river), a term connected with *Kutubdia* (=*Kutub-dīva*?) island. It looks like a hybrid Mōñ-Indū compound of *katu*, *kathu* (a junk in Mōñ) + *beḍā*, *veḍā* (a boat

in Sanskrit-Pāli). If so, its second part would be merely the translation, made by the early Indū navigators, of the initial one. No wonder, then, that the foreign rendering was dropped in the course of time and the native one alone, *Katu, Kathu*, preserved. *Kutubdia* would thus mean 'Boat Island,' and **Katabēda** the 'River of Boat Island (*Kutub-dīva*).'[1]

No. 46. **Tokosanna** (river). This term may represent either of the Mōñ compounds: *T'kō San, T'kō-sōn* (*San* Island, or 'Silver Island'), or *T'kō-saiñ, T'kō-'saṅ* ('Elephant Island'). N.B.—*'Saṅ* means 'elephant' in Arakanese, and is merely the local pronunciation of the Mōñ *saiñ, chöiñ, ching*. Otherwise, the *Sakaen* River, a branch of the Lemru debouching in Hunter Bay, may be meant. *T'kō-Sakaen* = 'Sakaen Island' may have been the name of some island in the bay, after which the river was usually designated.

No. 48. **Sados** (river).

No. 49. **Sada** (city).

Thate (*Sate*) or Thaday (*Saday*) River, immediately to the north of the Sandoway River. Cf. Sedu, Sidoh, on north coast of Sumatra (*vide supra*, p. 656).

No. 79. **Takola** (a mart), now Takopa. The etymology is probably *Taik-kulā* = 'brick (or laterite) building of the *Gola* or *Choḷa* people of Coromandel.'

Even more interesting are the following toponyms of the **Bē** or **Bēr** class, from *Bī*, the Mōñ word for 'river,' variously misspelled *Bē, Bēr*.[2]

No. 50. **Bērabonna**. The first part of this name might be traceable to either *bī, bīer* = 'river,' or to *para* = 'mouth' in Naga; and if not to the Bengalese *Bara* and the Sanskrit-Pāli *Bara, Vara*. Cf. Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Barah-nagār* (pp. 400–2, note). I have also pointed out (above, pp. 400–3) a possible connection with the Bharu kingdom of the Phyū or Phrū.

[1] This toponym might, on the other hand, be traced, though very doubtfully I should think, to the Mōñ *k'dop* = 'head.'

[2] To St. Andrew St. John belongs the merit of having first recognized the Mōñ word *Bī* in Ptolemy's place-names of the **Bē** class. I am furthermore inclined to include in the same category such Ptolemaic toponyms as begin with **Bēr** or **Pēr**. This on the strength of the fact that Balbi (op. cit., f. 133 *verso*) mentions a place at the mouth of the Martaban river, called *Cadaperpaiṅ*, as meaning 'head of the sea (or river) mouth.' The correct Mōñ form of the name should be *K'dop-bī-paiñ*; hence we see that Balbi transcribes *bī* by *per*, which would tend to show that in his time *bī* may have been pronounced somewhat like *bīr, bīer*. As a matter of fact, 'sea-mouth' or 'river-mouth' is rendered in Mōñ by '*paiñ-bī*,' and not '*bī-paiñ*,' and the genuine native form of the toponym recorded by Balbi was probably *Paiñ K'dop-bī* = 'Mouth of the sea head,' or else *K'dop Paiñ-bī*, 'River-mouth head.'

In this region exists a village bearing a similar name, to wit, Barrebam, and Mraboong river, a branch of the Lemro further up the coast.

Nos. 57, 58. **Bēsynga** (a mart and a river).

No. 243. **Bēsyngeitai** (people).

In both these names one can unmistakably recognize the Mōñ words *Bī-ching* (*sing*, *saiñ*, *chöiñ*)='Elephant River,' i.e. the Irāvatī (Irawaddy), as connected with the *Siṅguttara* or 'Elephant Hill' of local legend (see pp. 76–7 above). N.B.—The land's point bounding the western entrance to the Rangūn River preserves a relic of this name, it being known to this day as the Elephant Point.

No. 77. **Bērabai** (a town). Similar considerations apply to the first part of this toponym as made above for the initial portion of **Bērabonna**. In the second part, **bai**, we may have either the Mōñ *paiñ*='mouth,' or the Chin *p'ayo*, and, yet better, the Tamil *váy* with the same meaning. On the other hand, a similar term, *paravei*, exists in Tamil meaning 'bird.' On the whole, I am inclined to regard the toponym as entirely Mōñ, and to restore it to the form *Bī-beit* (*Bīer-bait*), where *beit*, *biek*, etc., represent the Mōñ name of Mergui, corrupted probably from *mṛit*, *măṛit* (see above, pp. 82–3). I have now no further doubt that this *Beit* or *Bait* (i.e. Mergui) is the hitherto unidentified seaport of *Māīṭ* or *Māḅiṭ*, mentioned by Ibn Khurdādbih (A.D. 864), Captain Bozorg (A.D. 955), and Edrīsi (A.D. 1154). *Bī-beit* or *Bīer-bait* would thus mean the river of *Mṛit* or *Māīṭ*, i.e. Mergui, nowadays better known as the Tenasserim River.

No. 77. **Bēpyrrhos** (mountain range, corresponding to the Patkoi mountains). While not venturing to suggest a Mōñ equivalent for this place-name, I tentatively enter it here along with the above-mentioned ones of the *Bē* or *Bī* class, on the supposition that it may belong to the same category as might be inferred from its initial syllable. If not Mōñ, it might stand for *Vaibhrāja* or *Vebhrāja*, the name of a mountain in Plakṣa-dvīpa, according to Indū cosmology.

2. *Malay terms.*

We may notice the following:—

No. 84. **Palanda** (an inland town on the Golden Khersonese).

No. 85. **Palandas** or **Palandos** (river).

Both these toponyms embody, as I have but lately discovered, the name of the *Bĕlandas*, *Blandas*, or *Belendas*,

a tribe now still surviving in the Sungei Ujong and Negri Sembilan districts, on the Malay Peninsula, not far from Perak (between Selangor and Malacca). This tribe, of the Mentra or Sakei family, non-Negrito, may have been so named from the Pulindas of India.

As **Palanda** and the **Palandos** River are, in De Donis' map, located further along the coast beyond **Sabana**, the **Palandos** may, after all, be either the Klang or the Langat River, unless it is meant for the Pahang on the east coast of the Peninsula.

Nos. 88, 184. **Attaba** (river). Here we have the Malay word *attap* (*ātap*)=roof, thatch. The name may have been given to this stream from attap palms growing on its banks. See, however, p. 105 above for another possible *raison d'être* of the name. Although in Kamboja a similar toponym exists, viz. *Attapū* (in maps *Attopoeu*), which is in reality a corrupt form of the Khmër *Ach-krabū*, 'buffalo dung,' I but little incline to see a repetition of the same here, on the Malay Peninsula, in the Ptolemaic **Attaba**.

No. 86. **Sabana** (a mart). This name suggests either of the Malay terms: *Sābah*, *Sapang*, and *Saban*. The first two occur as toponyms, while the latter is the Malay corruption of the name of the well-known ancient Indū potentate *Śālivāhana*. Ptolemy mentions another **Sabana** among Indo-Skythian towns, but the correct original of this may be *Savana* or *Śravaṇa*.

3. *Tamiḷ terms.*

A number of Choḷa settlements of immigrants from the Coromandel coast had grown on the seaboards of the Malay Peninsula, as evidenced by many a place becoming known as *Taik-kulā* (Choḷa brick buildings), viz. in the neighbourhood of Tathôn, at Tagala, at Takôpa, etc. Accordingly, we find many place-names transplanted from the Coromandel coast to the Malay Peninsula, among which I believe may be reckoned the following ones recorded by Ptolemy:—

No. 83. **Tharrha** (an inland town or village on the Golden Khersonese). The word meant is probably *Tarangam*; cf. *Tarangam-bāḍi* = 'Wave Town,' the name of Tranquebar, Skr. *Taraṁga* = a wave. We have identified it with Trāñganū, Malay Treng-ganū, of the present day.

No. 87. **Maleu-kōlon** (a cape) = *Malai-kūṛṛam* or *Malai-kollam*. In Tamiḷ *malai* means 'mountain,' and *kollam* = 'western.'

Hence *Malai-kollam* = 'Mountain of the West.' The view adopted in "Hobson-Jobson" (2nd ed., p. 545) that *Malāyu-kulon* means 'Malays of the West' in Javanese is therefore, to say the least, very strange. On *Malaikkūṟṟam* or *Mala-kūṭa* see Burnell, op. cit., p. 127, note.

No. 90. **Perimūla** and **Perimūlik Gulf.**

Cf. the *Perimuda* of Ælian in the south of the Coromandel coast; also the *Perimula* of Pliny = Ptolemy's **Symilla** (Tiamula), now Chaul. The location corresponds, on the whole, to the one we have assumed for the *Mula-Jāvah* of Ibn Baṭūṭa, in which the first portion, *mula*, of the name is, as likely as not, a survival of either of the two Ptolemaic toponyms forming the object of this paragraph (see p. 444, note 2, and p. 517).

4. *Khmër terms.*

No. 96. **Akadra** = *Kå-trål* ('Shuttle Island'), or *Kå-Trang* ('Trang Island,' as opposite to the Trang district on the main).

No. 123. **Zabai, Zaba** (a city) = *Svāi* ('mango-tree'), or *Svāi-thāp* ('dwarf mango-trees,' the name to this day of a district in Kamboja). The term *Svāi* probably still survives in the name *Soi-rap* (*Svāi-rāp*?) of the Saigon River.

We have, furthermore, some terms of the **Bā** or **Pa** class, where this syllable stands for *bā, pā, bah*, meaning 'great,' 'chief,' 'noble' in Khmër, Chām, and some of the Malay dialects, especially Javanese ('abundant'); and 'river-mouth,' 'confluent' in the Bahnar and other dialects of the semi-wild tribes in the interior of Kamboja.[1] To such a class presumably belong the following toponyms:—

No. 91. **Balongka** (an inland town on the Golden Khersonese) = *Bā-laṅkā* ('Large Island,' or 'Noble Island')? Probably the capital of the *Laṅkā* or *Kāmalaṅkā* State mentioned in this region by Hwên-tsang (Yüan Chwang).

No. 93. **Pagrasa** = *Bā-krāṣ* ('Great Krat,' or else 'Krat river mouth').

An example of a Sanskrit-Pāli name in Khmër form is:

No. 95. **Pithōnobastē** (a mart) = *Banthāi-māś* or *P'thai-māś* ('Golden Citadel').

N.B.—In Malay *pantei, pantai*, means 'coast,' 'beach,' 'shore,' and *Pantai-mās* occurs as the name of a village on the west coast of Pinang Island; but the etymology is, as in the Khmër toponym above referred to, traceable to Sanskrit *bhikti*

[1] Cf., however, the Mōñ *paiñ*, the Tamil *váy*, and the Chin *p'ayó*.

. (Pāli *bhitti*) = 'wall' + Skr. *māṣa* (Pāli *māsa*) = 'gold,' 'golden.' **Pithōnobastē** is, nevertheless, a transcript of the Khmër form of this Sanskrit-Pāli expression, and not of the Malay one.

5. *Chām terms.*

No. 125. **Balonga** (metropolis). Here we assuredly have the Chām *bal* ('palace,' 'capital,' 'royal residence') + *Angwē* (the Chām corrupted form of *Aṅga*, the adopted Indū classical name for the Champā kingdom).[1]

No. 117. **Pagrasa**. *Prakan* or *Pakan*. Chinese, *Pi-king*; Annamese *Tí-kañ*. Hence it may be seen that the toponym is neither Chinese nor Annamese. It might at first sight appear to be of Khmër origin, like the seemingly etymologically identical one, **Pagrasa** (No. 97), on the coast of Kamboja (= *Bā* [or *Pā*]-*krāṣ*, *Pā-grāṣa*). But we have noticed that the same prefix *Bā* or *Pā* occurs in Chām as well. I might suggest, as nearer the mark, *Pā-Kazëḥ* ('mouth of the *Kazëḥ* [River],' see above, p. 310).

A trace of tampering through Chām lisping of the *s* has been noticed by us in:

No. 122. **Thagora**, which we believe to be meant for *Thāgara*, in Sanskrit *Sāgara*.

6. *Terms from other languages of Indo-China.*

No. 76. **Lasippa, Lassypa**, or **Lasyppa** = Si-poḥ (Thibo), or else [Wīeng] Sipu-kai, Lā-sīep, Lā-sīet (?); probably a Thai term.

No. 74. **Doana** (town).

Nos. 118, 182. **Doanas** (river).

No. 226. **Doānai** (people).

From the *Tuan* or *Thüang* tribes. The *Doans*, or **Doānai**, are the *Tuan*, 段, of the Chinese, one of the original ten families of the Ai-Lao, mentioned since before the Christian era.

No. 75. **Bareukora** (*var. lect.* **Bareuaóra**), or **Bareuathra**. The first form of this toponym is probably connected with the name of the *P'hū-ör*, *P'hū-ŏ*, or *P'hūen* tribes (see next paragraph). If not, we must assume a derivation from *Bharu-vara*, *Bharu-vāsa*.

No. 224. **Barrhai** (people) = the *P'hū-ŏ* or *P'hūen* tribes, in Chinese: *P'u-érh*, *P'u-'rh*.

[1] To C. O. Blagden belongs the merit of having first discerned the Chām name *Bal-Angwē* in the Ptolemaic disguise of **Balonga** (see the *Journal R.A.S.* for 1899, p. 665).

No. 172. **Damassa** (*var. lect.* **Damasa**), or **Dobassa** (mountain range).

No. 218. **Dabasai**, or **Damassai**? (people).

The name assuredly survives in that of the *Tamansai* of the Indaw-gyi lake valley, Mogaung (Upper Burmā), evidently a tribe of Lawā. Either may, moreover, be traceable to Dava, Ḍavāka, Lāu, Lawā; or to *Dārva*, a people in the north-east region according to the Bṛhat Saṁhitā.

No. 220. **Kakobai** (people). Seemingly the Kiu-ku Miao of West Kwei-chou. Possibly also the *Khakhu* or northern branch of the Kachins. *Khakhu* means 'head of river,' 'up-river man.' There seems to be no possible etymological connection with the *Kokabakas* of Sanskrit texts (cf. Wilson's "Viṣṇu-Purāṇa," vol. ii, pp. 179, 341)."

No. 216. **Indaprathai** (people). Evidently meant for *Sinda-prathai* = the Sinphos or Chingpaws, i.e. the Southern Kachins.

No. 223. **Kudutai** (people). The *K'a-t'o* or *Kadu* who are probably the *Kuluta* mentioned by the Bṛhat Saṁhitā in the north-east region. With them might also be connected the modern *Lo-tè*, whose country lies on the border of China proper near Sz-mao (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, pp. 595–6).

No. 73. **Lariagara** = Müang Lëm, originally a Lawā town. The Ptolemaic designation, though traceable to a Sanskritized form *Lāri-āgāra*, *Lārāgāra*, seemingly contains in its initial portion *Lari*, the name of the Lawā tribe in north-east Burmā, formerly known to the Chinese as *La-wu* or *La-lu* (=*La-ru*?).[1] Less probably the *Lahu* of Upper Burmā are implied, who appear to be ethnographically connected with the Kui or Mu-Hsö, whom the Chinese term *Lo-heir* or *Lo-hê*, i.e. 'niggers,' according to the "Upper Burma Gazetteer" (part i, vol. i, pp. 576, 578–9). The same work relates (p. 608) that the Panthay or Hui-hui of Yün-nan claim to be descendants of men from the *Lerru* country. Have we here a dim traditional reminiscence referring to the ancient *La-ru* or *Lari* country alluded to above?

No. 39. **Tugma** (metropolis) = Tummu or Tamu in the Kubo valley. The Ptolemaic toponym might be the transcript of a Sanskritized form, *Tugāma*, or *Tugrāma*, of the name,

[1] See Sainson's transl. of the "Nan-Tchao Ye-che," Paris, Leroux, 1904, p. 176.

which seems, however, to belong to the language of the country, whether Mōñ or other. There exist, in fact, similarly named villages in several parts of Burmā, among which are: a Tokamā (Tawkama) in Bhīlū-gyun Island; a *Tokma* or *Taukma* in Kāma township, Thayetmyo; and again in Sinbaungwè, Myedè. See, however, Addenda below, note to p. 471, for a possible form *Tumigāma*.

No. 54. **Arisabion** = Shenbo, or Sinbo. The name may be, however, Sanskrit-derived (see p. 63 above), or else it may be native in origin and Sanskritized afterwards.

7. *Sanskrit and Pāli terms.*

The outcome of the above cursory examination is that the proportion of genuine Sanskrit or Pāli terms in the Ptolemaic lists of toponyms of his extra-Gangetic India is very small indeed, especially if it be taken into account that some of his place-names which at first sight would be thought to be Sanskrit in origin turn out, after a diligent inquiry, to be merely Sanskritized forms of some native name. These facts well evidence that Indian influence, though already considerable in Further India in Ptolemy's time, had not yet spread so widely and deeply in that region as it did in the subsequent centuries.

It would be beyond the scope of the present appendix to deal with the Sanskrit and Pāli derived toponyms occurring in the Ptolemaic geographical lists of this region, especially as they have been already thoroughly noticed and discussed in the foregoing pages. Suffice it to summarily subjoin here the principal of them:—

No. 47. **Sambra** = *Sambrā* (or *Śambhu*?).

Nos. 51, 52. **Tēmala** or **Tamala** (a river and a town) = *Tamāla*, *Timira* (Ch'ī-mī-ḷa).

No. 55. **Marēūra** or **Malthūra** (metropolis) = *Mayūra*, *Moriya*; or *Mathurā*.

No. 56. **Sabara** = *Śabara*, *Śavara*.

No. 69. **Adeisaga** = *Vidiśa*, *Vaidiśā*, or *Vedisa*; perhaps *Vaideha*, *Videha*, or [*Pubba-*]*Videha*.

No. 72. **Rhingibēri** = *Raṁga-vāri*, or *Raṁga-pura* (C'hīeng Ruṇg).

No. 74. **Dasāna** = *Daśārṇa*.

No. 89. **Kōli** = *Koli*, *Kolī* (Kelantan).

No. 92. **Samaradē** = *Sāma-raṭṭhē*, *Sāma-raṭṭha*, *Śyāma-rāṣṭra*.

No. 93. **Sōbanos** (river) = *Śobhaṇa* (Kap'hong Sôm River).

No. 41. **Trilingon** = *Tri-*[*Ka*]*-liṅga*, *Teliṅgana*.

No. 113. **Sēros** (river) = *Śarayū*, *Sarjū* (Chinese *Hsi-yü*).

No. 114. **Aganagara** = *Agganagara*, *Agranagara* (or *Nāga-nagara*, *Uraga-nagara*?).

No. 115. **Sinda** (town)
No. 225. **Indoi** (**Sindoi**?) tribes } = *Sindhu*, *Sindh*.

No. 116. **Dōrias** (river) = *Tūryā*? (in Thai, *Tāu*; in Annamese, *Dàu*).

No. 117. **Kortatha** (metropolis) = *Kuṭhāra*, *Kauṭhara* (Kůu-dŭk).

No. 120. **Throana** = *Toraṇa*, *Turaṇa*, *Tūrān* (Turān, or Touron).

No. 122. **Thagora** = *Sāgara*, *Sagara*.

No. 129. **Aspithra** (a river and a town) = *Vanaspati* (Ho-p'u, Hĭep-phộ).

No. 242. **Zamīrai** (people) = *Samīra* (Zabaing, Sa-mi, Sa-mei).

8. *Hellenized terms.*

I cannot conclude this review without devoting a word of notice to Hellenized terms, that is to say, to sundry attempts to render into Greek the meaning of Further Indian toponyms, and at times to disguise them in a Greek garb so as to express a meaning therefrom when their real purport proved to be unintelligible. There can be no doubt that this process of Hellenization was in most instances the work of the Greek-Alexandrine navigators and travellers who, for many years before Ptolemy's time, had been journeying to the Further Indian region, and should by no means be ascribed *in toto* to our geographer. To this desire of striving after meaning, which, being general in travellers of all times and countries, cannot very well be held to form an exception in the case of the Greek ones, we have already made allusion on p. 412 above, quoting in support of our view several Ptolemaic toponyms which appear to exhibit unmistakable traces of Hellenization. We shall here revert only to such as belong to Indo-China proper,[1] of which the following is a list:—

No. 41. **Triglypton.** If this is to be read, as Lassen does, *Triglyphon* = 'a trident,' in Sanskrit *Tri-śūla*, it would prove to be a translation of the term *Triśūlika* occurring in ancient records as a name for Burmā (see above, p. 31, n. 1, and p. 467, n. 7), and still surviving in Andrea Corsali's *Disuric* (1515, *vide supra*, p. 468, note). Otherwise it must be referred to a form *Trikaliptī* as surmised above (p. 31, n. 1).

[1] As regards those pertaining to the Indo-Malay region, to wit, *Agathodaimonos* and *Satyrōn* Islands, they have been discussed in full on pp. 412 et seqq. and pp. 716–17 respectively.

No. 43. **Pentapolis.** Seemingly a translation of the Sanskrit *Pañca-palli* = 'five cities' (*vide supra*, pp. 35, 36).

Argyra Khōra, 'the Silver Country' = Arakan.

No. 127. **Argyrē** (the capital of Iabadios, or Sabadios, Island).

I have coupled with the continental toponym the second one from the insular region, in order to show that 'Silver' is very probably out of the question for both places, and that its introduction into the two toponyms is merely the outcome of Greek fancy, struck, as it must have been, by the impressive resemblance of the corresponding native place-names to the Greek word for the white metal. On pp. 40–1 and 658–9, 667–8 above, I have tried to demonstrate the linguistical identity of **Argyra** with *Parakṣa*, *Arakṣa*, *Arakkha* = Arakan, and of **Argyrē** with *Accharē*, *Acchayira*, *Acchera*, Achëḥ = Achīn.

Nevertheless, I do not absolutely exclude a possible connection with *plakṣa*, *palakṣa*, 'white,' from which *parakṣa*, *arakkha*, *rakkha*, as surmised above (pp. 39–40 and 658–60, 668), in which case both Arakan and Achëḥ would mean 'the White (or, Silvery?) Region,' of which meaning the Ptolemaic toponym would be a Greek rendering.

Khrysē Khōra, 'the Gold Country.'

Khrysē Khersonēsos, 'the Golden Khersonese.'

Nos. 81, 186. **Khrysoána** (river).

I also group together these three toponyms, which evidently have analogous derivations. They are, in fact, either translations of the Sanskrit and Pāli terms *Suvarṇa-dvīpa*, *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, *Suvarṇa-nadī*, etc.; or mere Greek travesties of place-names sounding more or less like the Greek word *Khrysē*. What such place-names might be it is not easy to determine; but, arguing from the fact that Valentijn has disguised into *Chrysorant* the name of the *Kesang* River (see Addenda and Corrigenda, *infra*, note to p. 97), Ptolemy's **Khrysoana** not unlikely is a rendering of some similar local name: *Kasang*, *Ḳasom*, *Kusan*, *Kṛṣṇā*, etc. On the possible etymological connection of **Khrysē** or **Khrusē** (Island and Peninsula) with *Kuśa* or *Kuśa-dvīpa* (= Sumatra), see pp. 670–672 above. As regards **Khrysē (Khōra)** in Lower Burmā, cf. the [*Tsing-*]*kutsā* district about Rangūn (see p. 76 above), and the *Katha* (*Kasa*) district west of Tagaung.

No. 222. **Khalkītis** (people). Though at first sight the Ptolemaic designation of this people appear to be based upon *Khalkos* or copper, the metal which, according to our author, was mined

in large quantities in their country, there seems scarcely any doubt as to the real derivation being from the name *Kālakā* (= 'squirrel'), or *Kara* (*Kāla*?)-*laka*, i.e. Black *Laka* (or *Laka-Lolo*), of the Black Lolos inhabiting the same country (Eastern Yünnan), the *Kara-jang* of Marco Polo. Their name *Kālakā* or *Kāla-Laka*, coupled with the information that their country produced copper (*khalkos*), naturally suggested the connotation *Khalkītis* for them to the Greek travellers, and, if not, to Ptolemy himself. See pp. 356 and 358, n. 2.

No. 227. **Lēstai** (people). The conjecture put forward on p. 156 above that this Ptolemaic ethnonym may really be meant for 'robbers,' being possibly at the same time the transcript and rendering of some term current in the country (such as e.g. *laṭṭa* or *laṭaka*) and having the same purport, seemingly receives further corroboration from the fact that Chou Ta-kuan in the account of his travels in Kamboja (A.D. 1296–7) refers to the C'hōng as *Chwang Tsei*, i.e. the 'Chong (or C'hong) Robbers' (see *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extr.-Or.*, t. ii, No. 2, p. 156). It is, of course, possible that by 撞賊, *Chwang Tsei*—in Cantonese pronunciation *Chong-ts'ak*—this writer may mean both the *C'hōng* and *Sak* tribes. If not, it seems pretty certain that Ptolemy's ethnonym **Lēstai** should really be taken in the sense of 'robbers,' and that the people meant are principally the *C'hōng*, as I have on other grounds inferred above (pp. 157–9).

APPENDIX III.

On the date to which Ptolemy's information on Further India is to be referred.

I thought it might be interesting to see whether the approximate date at which the information on Further India embodied in Ptolemy's work was collected can in any way be deduced from the indications he gives, or ascertained by way of inference from certain of the capital towns he names of which the date when they became the seat of government happens to be more or less accurately known from historical sources and falls not far earlier than Ptolemy's time. Such an inquiry as this presents a two-sided advantage, for in cases when the dates supplied to us by Oriental records are reliable they afford a clue wherewith to determine the approximate date to which Ptolemy's information goes back; whereas when they are doubtful they may be to some extent checked and rectified by the mere fact of the event to which they refer being alluded to or not in Ptolemy's work. It may, indeed, in such cases be possible to class the event as a *pre-* or a *post-*Ptolemaic one.

Subjoined are the few results so far obtained from the inquiry, which, no doubt, are capable of further extension when the ancient history of the less advanced Eastern countries shall be better known and the chronology of events shall have been more accurately fixed.

1. Ptolemy mentions a **Marēūra** (or **Malthūra**) **Mētropolis** as the capital of Pegu-Burmā, which I have shown (p. 67) should be identified with either Old Prome or Mengdūn on the Ma-htūn (= *Mathurā*?) River. Now, according to Burmese tradition, Old Prome ceased to be a capital in 95 A.D., the last of its kings having fled to Mengdūn, which he founded in *circâ* A.D. 100. But in 108 A.D. he founded Lower Pagān, to which he transferred the seat of government. If these dates be correct, we must conclude that the sources of information to which Ptolemy had access must have been fresh enough for his times of no telegraphs, 'iron horses,' and motor-cars, ranging down, as it seems, till the dawn of the second century.

2. He locates **Sēra Mētropolis** on a site which we have shown (pp. 15, 16) to correspond to Lo-yang, whereto the seat of government for the East Han dynasty was removed in A.D. 26 (i.e. in the second year of Kwang Wu Ti's reign).

3. If the Ptolemaic toponym **Aganagara** (located by us at Hà-nôi) is to be taken in the sense of 'Chief City,' i.e. of Kiao-chi,

now Tonkin, as we have suggested on p. 332; and furthermore, if the seat of government for the Kiao-chi district was really removed in *circâ* A.D. 25 thence to Mĕ-liñ as some historians assert (see pp. 323, 324), it would follow that Ptolemy's information on Tonkin would date from some time prior to that removal—say, from the first quarter of the first century A.D.

4. Ptolemy mentions, in W. Yünnan, a town **Posinara** which I have identified with the capital Pêh-ngai of the *Péh-tsz* State (B.C. 109 – A.D. 225), corresponding to the present Hung-ngai about 20–5 miles south-west of Chao-chou in the Ta-li prefecture (see below, Addenda and Corrigenda, note to p. 121). Now in A.D. 69 the Yung-ch'ang prefecture was formed by the East Han, with the modern Chao-chou (in Ta-li Fu) as its capital, out of eight neighbouring districts mostly belonging to the ancient Ai-Lao country (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 176). As Ptolemy seems to ignore this large Chinese circumscription of Yung-ch'ang, his information on this part of the country must date back to some time prior to A.D. 69.

In conclusion it may be inferred from the above indications that Ptolemy's information was based upon data which go back—

(*a*) To the first quarter of the first century A.D. for Tonkin and Southern China, and these were probably taken from Alexander, whom he quotes from Marinos on the subject of the passage from **Zaba** to **Kattigara** (see p. 221 above).

(*b*) To the second quarter of the first century A.D. for Northern China, the information in this case being presumably derived from the actual data collected by his predecessor Marinos.

(*c*) To the dawn of the second century A.D. for Burmă and Southern Indo-China in general, the fresh knowledge in this case being obtained first-hand by Ptolemy himself.

Subsequent inquiries may somewhat confirm or disprove the above deductions; while a similar investigation regarding Farther Asia, not dealt with in the present volume, may lead to novel and important disclosures.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

p. 6, bottom. Our subsequent investigations have proved that even such a connection suggested by Yule of **Zabai** with Campā is inadmissible. See article s.v., pp. 213 et seqq.

p. 9, l. 18. **Kambērikhon.** It strikes me that the last syllable of this toponym may stand for *gāon*, the local (Bengalese) corruption of Skr. *grāma* = a 'village.' If so, the name might be a loose transcript of *Kāma-vari-grāma*, *Kamberi-gāon*, or something similar. This being the case, it is worthy of remark that a village Kewari (*Kewari-gāon* ?) exists near the left bank of the Haringhāta River, on the Delta, after which this outlet of the Ganges may have been anciently termed the '*Kewari-gāon*' (River), whence Ptolemy's **Kambērikhon.** In the event of this conjecture proving from local inquiry to be well founded, Ptolemy's **Kambērikhon**, or middle mouth of the Ganges, would become identical with the lower course of the Haringhāta River, the true longitude of which is 89° 50′ E.; and a corresponding correction would have to be made to our **Kambērikhon** base meridian, for which we have adopted a longitude of 89° 30′ E. only.

p. 35. **Pentapolis.** The Catalan Atlas has a town *Penta* below *Bangala*, which might have been the historical continuation of the Ptolemaic one. The northern entrance point of the Chittagong (Karṇaphūli) River still bears a similar name, to wit, *Patunga* Point. Furthermore, a somewhat similar toponym, *Patikkarā*, identified with Chittagong, occurs in a Burmese inscription of A.D. 1184 (see "Inscriptions of Pagan," etc., Rangoon, 1899, p. 4). See for other linguistical remarks Appendix II, section 7, above.

p. 36, l. 8 from bottom. Kutubdia. In recent maps this name is spelled *Kutabdia*, a still closer approach to Ptolemy's **Katabēda.** The correct form may be *Katabdia*, if not *Kāṭābaidā*, as Wilford wrongly suggested for Cheduba. The river Ptolemy had in mind was apparently the Mamuri, which debouched by several outlets abreast of Kutabdia Island. For other linguistical considerations see Appendix II, section 1, above.

p. 39, note 1. As regards silver in Arakan, the "Sommario dei regni e popoli Orientali," translated from the Portuguese by Ramusio (vol. i, p. 334 *verso*), says of *Araquam* (Arakan) that "vi si trova anche qualche argento." Numerous are the silver-mines in the adjoining Burmese territory, for which see the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. ii, pp. 301, 302, 304, and part ii, p. 527. McLeod, in his Journal, p. 79, mentions one in Müang Lĕm, and Dr. Richardson likewise in his "Journal," p. 143,

speaks of an old silver-mine lying abandoned since A.D. 1780 near Ye-ngan. Silver-mines in the Patkoi range, between Assam and Burmā, have been noticed by Colonel Woodthorpe (Proc. Geol. Soc., Jan. 1887).

I may further call attention to the fact that the Irāvatī (Erāvatī), the continuation of the Chindwīn, in the valley of which exist several old silver-mines, is in the "Sāsanavaṁsa" (p. 108 of Mrs. Bode's transl.) called *Rājata-vāluka*, i.e. 'River of Silver Sand.' To the Chinese it was known instead as the Great *Kīn-sha* (Gold Sand River), for the sake of contradistinction, however, from the Upper Yang-tsz, termed simply *Kīn-sha* (Kañcana-vāluka). See, however, on this debatable point my remarks on p. 286 above, note.

p. 39, note 2. Balas rubies. From *Balakshān*, a form of the name of *Badakshān* (see Ibn Baṭūṭa, in Defrém. & Sang. transl., vol. iii, pp. 59, 394; Barbosa in Ramusio, etc.). The stones from that district, which is on the banks of the Shignān, a tributary of the Oxus, are said, however, not to be rubies, but spinels; and the term *balas* seems to have been transferred to true rubies of a particular shade of colour. Chardin in his "Voyages" (t. iv, p. 70, Amsterdam ed. of 1711) says in fact—"On l'appelle aussi *Balacchani*, Pierre de *Balacchan*, qui est le Pegu, d'où je juge qu'est venu le nom de *Balays* qu'on donne aux Rubis couleur de rose" (see Ball's "Tavernier," vol. i, p. 382, and Yule's "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed., 1903, p. 52, s.v.).

p. 40. *Balakṣa*, *Balassia*, *Baluchin*, etc., as names for a part of Upper Burmā. Traces of them may survive in the [Nam] *Philu* or *Balu*-chaung stream flowing west of the In-le Lake, south of which latter spinels occur (in the west of Nam-më-kôn State, see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part ii, vol. i, p. 310, and vol. iii, p. 381). Again, there is the *Maw-li-hsat* River, a little to the north of the Yōng Hwe Lake, of which Richardson in his "Journal," p. 137, speaks as the "*Bora-that* [Borasat] or Neaung Eue River." This is also called the Ta-Yaw or Taw-Yaw-chaung; the lake once extended up to Maw-li-hsat or Ta-Yaw village, and there are traces of a large fortified town in the neighbourhood (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part ii, vol. iii, pp. 381 and 392). It will thus be seen that Barbosa did not make such very bad geography as he is taunted with in "Hobson-Jobson" (new ed., p. 52), when locating *Balassia* or *Balaxayo* in Upper Burmā. I may add that the Chinese records[1] mention a kingdom *Po-lo-so* or *P'o-lo-sa*, 波羅娑,

[1] See D'Hervey de Saint-Denys' "Ma Tuan-lin," p. 466; and *China Review*, vol. xiii, p. 384.

婆羅娑 (= *Pa-la-sa* or *Ba-la-sa*), lying to the west of *C'hih-t'u* (*Sukhada*, Siām, see p. 182, note 1), which evidently corresponds to Dr. Richardson's *Borathat* (*Borasat*), now *Maw-lihsat*, and to Barbosa's *Balassia*, district. These terms, if not derived from the Sanskrit or Vedic *Plakṣa*, *Balakṣa*, and *Palakṣa*, meaning 'white,' as surmised by us on p. 39 above, may somehow be connected with *Palāsa* or *Parāsa*, the well-known name of Magadha (derived from the *Palāsa* = *Butea frondosa* tree), which may have been of old introduced and applied to the district in question. It is interesting, nevertheless, to remark that the "Bṛhat Saṁhitā" mentions a people *Puruṣāda* in the eastern region.

p. 44. **Tokosanna** River. See Appendix II, s.v., for further linguistical remarks.

p. 45. **Sambra** (city). A not very dissimilar toponym is that of the *Surma* Mountain on the coast below Rāmrī harbour. It may, on the other hand, be observed that *Sambrā* is the name of the tutelary deity of the Chauhān Rājputs (see Crooke, i, 55). Other possible etymologies of the toponym may be found in *Śambhu*, *Śambhura*, *Śamba*(-pura).

p. 45. **Sada** (city) and **Sados** (river). The name, better than in Sandoway and its river, appears to survive in that of the *Thate* (*Sate*) River (Thate-chaung), flowing immediately to the north of the Sandoway River and connected with it near the mouth through one of its branches.

As regards the legend told of Sandoway, see for ampler details the "Monograph on the Pottery and Glassware of Burmā," Rangoon, 1895, pp. 9, 10. I have since discovered that the whole story has been borrowed from the Ghata Jātaka (No. 454), q.v. Therein the city *Dvāravatī* is described as having on one side the sea and on another the mountains. By goblin magic it used to rise in the air and deposit itself on an island in the midst of the sea; when the foe was gone it would come back and settle in its own place again. Therefore it was bound with iron chains, etc. There can thus be no doubt that the legend was, by local simple-mindedness, transferred to the credit of Sandoway merely from the possible fact of this city having at some time or other been named after the Indian Dvāravatī. If such a name was really borne by Sandoway, it must have been after Ptolemy's time, for our author mentions it and its river by names similar to the common ones they bear to this day. N.B. that the Mōñ name it bears is commonly pronounced *Sandóa*. There exists, moreover, a circle in South Sandoway district called *Satthwa*, သတ္ထွာ။ As to the

identity of the *Thate*-chaung or *Sade* River with Ptolemy's **Sados**, there seems to be but little doubt, considering the fact that the latitude our author assigns to the mouth of the latter suits the embouchure of the former better than the entrance of the Sandoway River (see our remarks already made in this sense on p. 47).

p. 47, ll. 7–9. **Palūra** or **Pakūra** (a town). This name, I have since discovered, still survives in *Paloor* (*Palūr*) village, marked in sheet 107 of the Indian Atlas in long. 85° 11′ and lat. 19° 27′, just above the mouth of the Ganjām and close by Palur Bluff, better known to navigators of the Bay of Bengal. It is, in fact, already mentioned by Linschoten as *Serra de Palura*, a name evidently applied to it by the Portuguese since the dawn of the sixteenth century, after the neighbouring Paloor village. There can thus be no doubt as to this village being the historical continuation of Ptolemy's **Palūra** town. His **Aphetērion**, or point of departure for ships bound for **Khrysē**, must, accordingly, be located at Gopālpur, just a little below the mouth of the Ganjām.

p. 47. **Bērabonna**. See Appendix II for further linguistical remarks on this toponym.

pp. 48–51. **Tēmala**. A people *Ḍāmara* are mentioned in the "Bṛhat Saṁhitā" and located in the north-eastern region. Dr. Leyden ventured the hypothesis of a derivation of **Tēmala** from "the Malay vocable *tema* [*tīmah*], which signifies tin," and he accordingly inclined to identify this supposed 'tin country' with the Malay Peninsula, which is, of course, inadmissible (see "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. i, p. 88). For further remarks and its identification with the *Chou-mei-liu* or *Tan-mei-liu* of Chinese records, see p. 523, note 2.

p. 52, l. 7. Cape Negrais. This name has also been conjectured to be derived from *Nāga-rāśi*; but I now think it was borrowed from *Nāgarūsa*, the famous lake of Nepāl, where dwelt the serpent king Karkotaka (see Crooke, vol. i, p. 42). The derivation from *Nāgarāṣṭra* proposed in "Hobson-Jobson," p. 623, is inadmissible, as this word would become *Nāgarāṭ* in the vernacular, and not *Nāga-rās*, *Negrais*.

p. 52, l. 17. Yaw (Yo) tribes. From the fact that the Karens call the Shans *Yó* (see *China Review*, vol. xvi, p. 380) these tribes may be inferred to be of Thai stock. *Yó* is, however, also the name by which Northern Chins call themselves (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, p. 454); whereas the *Yaw* or *Yō* proper claim descent from the Palaung (op. cit., p. 569).

p. 53. List of peoples. I have now to offer the following additional remarks on the subject:—

(1) *Tīragrahas* as onomatologically connected with Ptolemy's **Tilogrammon**, identified by Yule with Jessore. I have since discovered that such an identification is untenable, for Ptolemy locates **Tilogrammon** but 20′ of his longitude (= about 9′ true) west of the **Pseudostomon** mouth of the Ganges, and one half-degree of his latitude (= about 18′ true) further to the south of such an embouchure which, I am now pretty certain, corresponds to the mouth of the Tetulia River flowing to the east of Bakarganj. It should be noted that a branch of this river, detached but a short distance to the east of Bakarganj, bears the name Dhulea, and flows into the Radnabad, which debouches into the Bay behind Radnabad Islands. Now, this name Dhulea (if not that of the Tetulia River itself) forcibly recalls the Ptolemaic one **Tilogrammon** (= *Tila-grāma*, 'Sesamum Village,' or, more likely, *Tīra-grāma*, 'Shore Village'?); hence its position must be sought for somewhere between Bakarganj and the Radnabad islands.

(3) *Ījikas* or *Itīkas*. These are evidently the *Ijakās* of the Mahābharata (vi, 360) and the *Izi* of Pliny; perhaps also the *Aiṣīkas* or *Iṣīkas* of the Vāyu Purāṇa. I strongly incline to identify them with the *Izi*, *Szi*, or *Ithi*, a Lepai (Kachin) sub-tribe now settled south of Mogaung in Upper Burmā (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, pp. 336, 374, 376–8).

(4) *Kanyakāguṇas* = the Khakhu (Chingpaw)?

(5) *Tilabhāras* = Ptolemy's **Tiladai** and Pliny's *Thalutæ*? According to Longhena these would be the Kuki of North Kachar and of the hills near Maṇipur, who have the god *Thila* among their deities. Kuki is one of the terms by which the Chin-Lushai tribes are collectively designated, whereas they call themselves *Zhó* (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, p. 452).

(6) *Samīras* = Ptolemy's **Zamīrai**. Rather than with the *Zabaing* or *Yabein* I now somewhat incline to identify this people with the *Thama* (*Sama*) Lepai, a branch of the Kachin, who are partly cannibals and are settled near the Chindwīn River. The *Thama* and *Szi* (see above) are the most powerful and prominent of the Lepai sub-tribes (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, p. 377).

As to the Yabein, they are referred to in a recent monograph on "Silk in Burma" (Rangoon, 1901, pp. 11, 14, 56, 57) as a curious race of misty origin, and believed to be a relic of the many broken clans like the Danus and the Danaws, of whom little is known. In 1891 they numbered 2,197 persons in Lower Burmā (chiefly in the Tōngū and Pegu districts).

With their name may be connected the term *Jabrang*, applied, according to Balfour's Cyclopædia (vol. ii, p. 393), to "a coarse description of silk, made by a wild tribe, who are the only people in Pegu that rear the silkworm and cultivate the mulberry." Evidently the Yabein or Zabaings are the tribe here alluded to.

p. 56, l. 17. *T'u-lo-shu* = *Triśūlika*, *Tulākṣetra*? See pp. 31, note 2, 468, note, and Appendix II, section 7, s.v. **Triglypton**. Andrea Corsali's letter therein referred to is dated January 6th, 1515, and says (Ramusio, vol. i, p. 180):—"Pegu confina per la costa col regno di Bengala & Liqui [=Arakan?] . . . Tiene dalla parte della costa Malacha, & da quella di terraferma il *Disuric* . . . , il quale è signore infra terra, fino alla Cina." Evidently, *Disuric* or *Difuric* = *T'u-lo-shu*, *Triśūlika*. Furthermore, *Tu'-lo-shu* and *Shê-p'o* suggest, respectively, the *Tharshish* and *Sōpheir* of Biblical fame (cf. our remarks on p. 598, note).

p. 57. *Dava*, *Ḍavāka*. The "Bṛhat Saṁhitā" mentions a people *Darva* in the north-east region. *Darvī* as the name of a region occurs in both the Mahābharata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The terms *Thafec* and *Tafan* referred to on the same page should be more scholarly spelled *Ṭafek*, *Ṭāfan*, or *Ṭāban*. Cf. *Ḍāwëk*, *Lawëk*, *Lavaka*, on p. 163, note. Not only *Dava*, but also *Dāva* means a 'forest,' in both Pāli and Sanskrit. For other and like forms *Dabag* (= Ḍābag?), *Zābag*, *Jāvaka*, etc., see pp. 624, note 1, and 633, note 2.

p. 58. **Dabasai** or **Damassai** (people) = the *Tamansai* tribe of the Lawā, or the *Dārva*? see Appendix II, section 6, s.v. Cf. also this and the name of the **Damasa, Damassa,** or **Dobassa** range with *Dumai*, *Tamai*, the term by which the Khamti Shans denote the eastern branch of the Irāvati (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, pp. 7, 391).

p. 61, l. 20. *K'ia-t'o*. Cf. the *K'a-t'o*, Kado, or Kadu tribes on p. 357. In the *Katha* (= Kasa) district are Kadus and Kachins. Tagaung is in the Katha district; but according to an inscription of A.D. 426 (see below), this territory was called *Brahmadeśa*.

p. 61, last line of text. Shenbo. Spelled *Sin-bo* in the "Upper Burma Gazetteer" (part ii, vol. iii, p. 170, q.v.), which says it was founded over 100 years ago by a Shan (p. 171); but I doubt the correctness of this statement.

p. 62, l. 15. Tagōng or Hastināpura. According to the Burmese Royal Chronicle ("Mahārājavaṁsa"), Dhajarāja, a king of the Sākya race, settled at Maṇipura about 550 B.C., and later on conquered Tagaung (Old or Upper Pagān). In *circâ* A.D. 300,

a Gopāla of Hastināpura, on the Ganges in India, left his original home, came to Burmā, and after various successful wars with the semi-civilized natives founded New Hastināpura on the Irawaddy, apparently on the same site as the earlier Tagaung, or close to it. This is related in an inscription dating from A.D. 426, discovered among the Tagaung ruins, the author of which is King Jayapāla, a lineal descendant of Gopāla, the town founder, of the Candravamsa or Lunar dynasty of New Hastināpura. This, in the inscription, is stated to be in *Brahmadēśa*, on the Erāvatī (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. ii, p. 193). In A.D. 610 Hastināpura still existed, as evidenced by an inscription of that date found at Pagān (op. cit., p. 186); but the seat of power was evidently already at Pagān (*Arimaddana-pura*).[1]

This later capital is already referred to in an inscription discovered in one of its ancient Buddhist monasteries, dating from A.D. 481, and recording the erection of the temple of Sugata by Rudrasēna, the ruler of *Arimaddana-pura*. In the later inscription of A.D. 610, already referred to, the reigning king's name is given as Adityasēna.

As to the term *Pagān*, more properly *Bhukām* or *Bukām*, cf. *Vugama* or *Bugamati* in Nepāl (see Foucher, op. cit.). A Pagān inscription of A.D. 1242 gives, however, an *ad usum Delphini* interpretation of the term, as follows: "This kingdom of Pagān is so called because it is the most pleasant and beautiful of all kingdoms [*Bhū-kāma*?]. It is also called *Arimaddana* because it is inhabited by people who are warlike and brave and are able to vanquish their foes" (see "Inscriptions of Pagan," etc., p. 134). Evidently the derivation of the name is here assumed to be from *Kāma-bhū*, by inversion: *Bhū-kāma*. Cf. *Kāmalaṅkā*.

p. 62, n. 2. The classical name *Cinaraṭṭha* for Bhāmō already occurs in an older inscription dating from A.D. 1387 (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. ii, p. 194). The Kaung-hmu-daw inscription of about 1636 states that: "all within the great districts of *Bhan* [= Bhāmō?] and *Khwelaun* [= Kwe-lôn village, on the right bank of the Taping River] is the kingdom of *Zein* [*Cina*]" ("Upper Burma Gazetteer," part ii, vol. i, p. 340). At a short distance to the north of Bhāmō are the ruins of Sampanago (*Campanagara*?), and at about sixteen miles further to the east the remains of the old town of Kôktha (*Kōksā*), the rival of Sampanago in its flourishing days. Furthermore, at some ten miles to the

[1] According to the "Thayet-myo Gazetteer," p. 30, the classical name of Old, or Upper, Pagān, was *Saṅkassa-raṭṭha*; but on what evidence this statement is based does not appear.

south-south-west of Bhāmō lies the town of Sawadi (= *Sāvatthī*?), and below this are the ruins of Old Kaungtôn or Koungtaung, which I identify with the *Kadunaw* (*Kantunau*)-gyī mentioned in a 1284 inscription of King Narapati of Pagān as then bounding his kingdom on the north.[1]

Again, near Myothit up the Taping are the ruins of an old town which might be identified with old Bhāmō or Man-mō (Bān-mō), according to the "Upper Burma Gazetteer" (part i, vol. ii, p. 194).

p. 63, n. 2. Thamien or Thaman-gyī. The "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part ii, vol. iii, p. 275, spells this toponym *Thamaing-gyi*, and states it to be a Shan village of twenty-nine houses.

p. 64, l. 4. Yung-ch'ang. This name was applied to the district under the Ming dynasty, when Pao-shan, its prefectural city, was established. Old Yung-ch'ang of the Han dynasty, a prefecture founded in A.D. 69 on Ai-Lao territory (see pp. 59, 60), is now Chao-chou, south-east of the Ta-li Lake.

p. 64, ll. 5–10. *Videha* as the western part of Yünnan seems more particularly to mean *Pubba-Videha* or *Pūrva-Videha* (= 'Eastern Videha'), the supposed fabulous continent of Buddhists. That it was not altogether mythical appears from the statement, occurring in Paramārtha's (499–569) Life of Vasubandhu, to the effect that Piṇḍola, the famous Arhat, was in *Pūrva-Videha* in Vasubandhu's time (see *T'oung-Pao*, 1904, p. 273).

Otherwise, Ptolemy's **Adeisaga** may be a clumsy rendering of *Ahikṣatra* (or *Ahichchatra*, *Ahicchatrā*), the name of the ancient capital of *Uttara-Pancāla* north of the Ganges, in India, transplanted here.[2]

As regards the other suggested derivation from *Vaidiśā*, compare also *Vedisa* in India, where the famous Bhilsa Topes have been lately found. If not in *Yi-hsi* as suggested on p. 64, line 11, local traces of the name may be found perhaps in *Yüek-hsi*, 越析 (or *Yüt-sik*, *Wiesz-shak*), the name of one of the ancient six Chaos of

[1] See "Inscriptions of Pagan," etc., Rangoon, 1899, p. 4, where the date of the inscription is wrongly made out to be A.D. 1184. By turning to the printed Burmese text of this inscription, p. 13, I found out, however, that the date is given as 646 of the Burmese Civil Era = A.D. 1284; while the name *Kadunaw* reads, literally, *Kantunau*. It is, probably, the *Kiang-t'ou* of Chinese records, though this may, on the other hand, correspond to Kantaw, a place on a tributary of the Irāvatī flowing further to the north of the Taping, in Chinese territory.

[2] The chiefs of C'hieng Tung and C'hieng Cheng (Keng Cheng) are described in their titles as *Pañcāla-raṭṭha* governors (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, p. 290). Their territory may have been likened unto Southern Pancāla, in which case the region to the north of it may have become known as Northern (Uttara) Pancāla.

the Nan-Chao kingdom, also called *Mo-hsie*, and occupying part of the territory of the present prefecture of Li-kiang (see Sainson's "Nan-tchao Ye-che," Paris, Leroux, 1904, pp. 10, 11). In this part of North-West Yünnan is also a district bearing a similar name, to wit, *Wei-hsi* (for which see *T'oung-Pao*, 1904, p. 500).

p. 65, l. 6. *Suvaṇṇabhūmi.* Cf. *Suvarṇa-bhu*, a region in the north-east of India according to the "Bṛhat-Saṁhita," xiv, 31. "*Suvaṇṇabhūmi* is, in the Aṭṭhakathā, identified with Sudhammapura, that is Thātôn" (Mrs. Bode's "Sāsanavaṁsa," Introd., p. 4); but this does not seem to be quite correct.

p. 65, l. 12. *Timira.* A *Timirā* is mentioned in the "Kathā Sarīt Sagara" (see Tawney's transl., vol. i, p. 117).

p. 65, ll. 16, 17. *Sunāparanta.* More correctly, *Śoṇāparāntaka, Śroṇāparāntaka* = 'west of (or, beyond) the Śroṇī River, in India.' Cf. the *Aparanta-raṭṭha* or *Aparāntaka* of classical (canonical) Buddhist texts. When transplanting this name to the tract west of the Irāvatī in Burmā, the latter river was seemingly assumed to be the Śroṇī, not improbably from a likeness of its Mōñ name *Bī-Sing* (or *Söiñ*) to *Śroṇī, Soṇī.* The Kaung-hmu-daw inscription of about 1636 gives a somewhat different list of the districts comprised within *Sunāparanta*, to wit: Sagu, Salin, Lēgaing (Minbu district), Paunglin, Kale, and Thaungthwut (Chindwīn); see the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part ii, vol. i, p. 340.

p. 66, ll. 2, 3. As to gold in Burmā, it is found in slight and unpayable quantities in most of the rivers; but washings of it from sands are "carried on fitfully in many parts of the country, especially in Katha [about Tagōng] . . . in several streams of the Ye-u subdivision, as well as in many parts of the Shan States" ("Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. ii, p. 304).

p. 66, l. 13 from bottom. **Mareūra**, *Mayūra.* A *Mayūra-pura* was on the Ganges, above Hastināpura (cf. Tagaung), and another in South India, i.e. Meliapur (St. Thomé). N.B. that the peacock, *mayūra*, is called *merāik, m'rāik* in Mōñ, the ancient language of Pegu and Burmā.

p. 66, ll. 1–7 from bottom. *Maurya, Moriya. Moriya* still appears in the titles of the chiefs of Kalē and Sōng-sop (Thaungthut or Sumjok) on the Upper Chindwīn (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, p. 291). This shows that the *Maurya* or *Moriya* region comprised most of the Kubo and Chindwīn valleys, from Mwê-yin and Kalē on the south, up to Song-sop (Thaungthut or Sumjok) on the north; and that it thus lay above *Sunāparanta.* On p. 65 we have pointed out that Kalē and Teinnyin were mentioned as part of Sunāparanta in the

Po-U-Daung inscription; but from the fact that the chief of Kalē and Teinnyin bears in his title the qualification of *Moriya*, we think ourselves justified in locating the northern limit of Sunāparanta below, not only Kalē, but also Mwê-yin (= *Moriya*), which lies yet further to the south.

p. 68, l. 2. The derivation of *Marammā* or *Mranmā*, the name of Burmā,[1] from Brahma, may be accepted only provided it can be proved that the term *Brahmadeśa*, which we have seen applied in the fifth century to the Tagōng district, has been subsequently extended to the whole country. This does by no means seem to have been the case, especially if the *Brahmadeśa* district be identical with the *P'o-lo-mên* (= *Brāhmaṇa*, *Brahman*) of Chinese records, as we have suggested on p. 471; for in A.D. 802 these records speak of *P'iau* (Lower Burmā) bordering on *P'o-lo-mén* (= *Brahma-deśa*, i.e. Tagaung?).

p. 68, l. 14 et seqq. *Marai*, *Mro*, *Mru* (see also p. 55). It should be noted that a race of people bearing the name of *Maru* (so called by the Chingpaws; they speak of themselves as *Lōng-wō*) are still living at the present day in the basin of the Nmai-kha River or eastern branch of the Upper Irāvatī. They are similar to the Burmese, so much as to suggest to Captain Pottinger the theory that both these races originally migrated from Tibet by the valley of the Nmai-kha. Are these people in any way connected with the older *Mro* or *Mru* of Arakan and the Chindwīn valley, who seem to have been the pioneers of the Burmese race?

p. 72, l. 2 from bottom. **Sabara**, *Śabara*, *Śavara*. Cf. the town of *Savāravatī* in India, to the south of the Middle Country (see *Journal R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 538).

p. 73, l. 13. *Śabara* or *Śavara* tribes. The "Bṛhat Saṁhitā" mentions a people *Śava-giri* in the eastern region, and *Nagna-parṇa-śavara* (= naked and leaf-wearing—and not, I believe, 'leaf-eating' as has been said—*Śavaras*) in the south-eastern.

p. 74, l. 16. The correct date of the conquest of *P'iao* by Koh-lo-fêng (= *Kālavarṇa*?) is A.D. 763 (see Chavannes in *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 388, 430–1). On that occasion he conquered also the *Hsin-fu* tribes (= Sinphos, or Kachīns), and the *Lo-man* or *Yue-man* settled further west in the mountains (= the Nāgas).

[1] Houghton, in his "Essay on the Language of the Southern Chins" (p. xi of Appendix), gives the etymology *Myamma* = *Myó-ma*, the great tribe or race, which does not seem very tenable.

In A.D. 832, says the Nan-chao Chronicle, Fêng-yü abducted back with him from *P'iao* 3,000 people, and established them near the present Yün-nan Fu (see Sainson, op. cit., p. 64).

In A.D. 858 Fêng-yü, yielding at last to the entreaties of *Mien*, which, having been already several times invaded by Ceylonese forces, implored assistance, sent his general Tuan Tsung-pang to bring relief (op. cit., p. 66). Here, it should be noticed, the term *Mien* or *Mien-tien* begins to make its appearance in lieu of *P'iao* hitherto used.

In A.D. 1103 *Mien*, along with *Po-sz* and *K'un-lun*, sent white elephants and perfumes as presents to the Nan-Chao king (op. cit., p. 101).

Another attack by Ceylon seems to have taken place in A.D. 1153.

In *circâ* 1165 (or in 1180 according to the Mahāvaṁsa), "two ships [from Ceylon] arrived at the harbour *Kusuma* [harbours *Kusumi* and *Papphāla* according to the Mahāvaṁsa] in *Aramana* [Rāmaññā], and took in battle and laid waste country from the port *Sapattota*, over which Kurttīpurapam was governor" (*Journal A.S. of Bengal*, vol. xli, pt. 1, p. 198; quoted in "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed., p. 259). Whether *Papphāla* and *Sapattota* represent here two distinct places or a single one, *Sapapphāta*, *Sapa-pabbata* (?), which would be suggestive of the doubtful *Shê-p'o-p'o-ta* or *Shê-p'o-ta* of Chinese records (see pp. 469, 470 above), I cannot say. In any case, it seems legitimate to connect the toponym *Sapattota* with the Chinese *Shu-po* as part of the *P'iao* kingdom, and with Ptolemy's **Sabara**.

Indeed, the already quoted 1284 inscription of King Narapati mentions that his realm was then bounded on the east by *Capipati* (reading *Sapipati* in Burmese), which is to some extent suggestive of the puzzling Chinese *Chu-po* or *Shu-po*; but I do not think that a connection between the two districts can be seriously maintained. According to an old Chinese account *Chu-po* was on the *Ch'ih-shwei* (*Ch'ik-*, or *Shak-*, *sui*) = 'Red-water' or 'Red River' (see *China Review*, vol. xiii, p. 342, No. 84), by which the Sit-tang (*Chit-taung*) or some other stream debouching in the Gulf of Martaban may be meant. Compare, however, with *Ch'ih Hai* on p. 248.

p. 75. **Bēsynga** (river). For the linguistical identification of this term with the Môn *Bī-ching*, *Bī-sing*, etc., i.e. 'Elephant River' = *Airāvatī*, *Erāvatī* (Irawaddy), see Appendix II, section 1, s.v.; and as to the legend concerning it, see pp. 76, 77 and remarks in next paragraph.

p. 77, ll. 3–4. Another legend relates that in 470 B.E.

(= A.D. 1108) Along-sithu, king of Pagān, on his return from a journey to Ceylon and various parts of India, saw a huge white object near the sea-shore. On approaching he perceived it to be a mound of ivory, which a gigantic centipede had erected for its residence. Such was the size and strength of the monster that it was in the habit of catching and devouring elephants, the tusks of which it used to form a wall around its place of abode. (See H. S. Pratt's "Monograph on Ivory-carving in Burma," Rangoon, 1901, p. 1.)

These legends of the elephant and centipede appear to have an old origin. The germ of them is to be found in the Milinda Pañhā, where there is a hypothesis of a *sālaka* (some unknown sort of *kimi*, insect, or vermin, whose name puzzled the eminent translator Rhys Davids, see vol. ii, p. 180), attempting to drag the elephant towards itself with a view to swallowing it. As the simile was evidently widely employed in Eastern literature and folklore, the *sālaka* is very probably a sort of centipede or milleped.

At all events, the above legends sufficiently explain the name of 'Elephant River' (*Bī-ching*, *Erāvatī*, etc.) given to the Irawaddy, and perhaps also why the western point of entrance to the Rangoon River is called to this day 'Elephant Point.'

p. 79, ll. 5, 6. Travelling by boat between Pāk-lāu and Bān-Dōn is absolutely impossible at any season, as I have more recently ascertained. In the "China Sea Directory," vol. ii, 4th edition, p. 338, it is stated that the watershed between Trang and the eastern main branch of the Bān-Dōn River is so low as to allow of a boat being taken across with a very short portage. I now believe, however, that the old water communication between both sides of the Malay Peninsula was between Trang and the inland sea of Singora.

"Many of the legends of the Pêrak Malays refer to a remote period when what is now dry land was covered by water, and when the lofty mountain peaks were islands divided one from another by the sea. Miles up country, at Changkat Rambian, in the Batang Padang district, a rock is pointed out which is declared to be the petrified hull of an Indian ship which came trading to those parts in the ancient days, and in explanation of her fate the following story is told. In the day when Changkat Rambian was a seaport, Indian traders came across the Bay of Bengal to barter their gay chintzes and cottons for the tin of the Malays . . . in those days Bukit-Tunggal, which now stands far inland on the left bank of the Pêrak River, was an island,

and men called it *Pulau*, not *Bukit*, Tunggal" ("Notes and Queries," No. 1, *Straits Br. R.A.S.*, pp. 19, 20).

p. 81, l. 1. *Garuḍa's* abode. See p. 487, note, as to the legends about the home of the bird Garuḍa being on Langkāwī Island.

p. 82, last line. *Mṛttikā*. This is also the name of the earth deity of the Indūs, worshipped in the form of a snake of clay, or as a clay image of Kṛṣṇa or Ganeśa (see Balfour's Cyclopædia, vol. ii, p. 1000).

p. 83, l. 9. *Ch'ih-t'u* is not mentioned by the Chinese as a seaport, but as a kingdom (see pp. 178, 179).

p. 83, l. 2 from bottom. **Bērabai.** See further linguistical remarks in Appendix II, section 1, s.v.

p. 84, l. 18 et seqq. Mergui is, we have shown (Appendix II, section 1, *supra*), already mentioned since A.D. 864 by Ibn Khurdādbih as *Māṭ*. In about 1250–1300 the Kedah Annals refer to it as a seaport, the port of *Mrit* (see *Journal Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii, p. 6). A possible reference to it is contained in the Chinese records dating from the T'ang dynasty, as *Mi-li-ch'é* or *Mi-li-kü* (see p. 490). So much for the antiquity of the name.

Turning to modern times, we may notice the etymology given by Gervaise, who says ("Histoire du Royaume de Siam," Paris, 1688, p. 14) that the harbour of *Myrguim*, or *Mygri*, "tire son nom d'une petite Isle voisine, que les Siamois appellent *Mygri*, et nous *Myrguy*, laquelle le met à couvert des vents." Whether the small island meant is, as it seems, Madramakan,[1] or the larger one of Pari-gyūn, it is difficult to say.

As regards the possible connection of Mergui with the mythical country called by the Siamese *Më-mài* (see p. 384, note), I should point out that this country is evidently meant for *Müang Më-mài* (the 'Country of Widows') or *Müang Lab-lë Më-mài* (the 'Seesaw

[1] *Madramakan* is the form of the name appearing in Horsburgh's map of the northern part of the Mergui Archipelago, February 1st, 1830. The small island is by the natives now called *Pataw*, *Pauta*, or *Pa-htau*, after the peak of that name. Its two prominent points are *Pauta* and *Patit*.

It is noticed by Céberet, who arrived at Mergui overland from the Gulf of Siam on January 1st, 1688, as *Badracan*. He says in his journal of Mergui: "Ce port est fermé par une petite isle nommée *Badracan* qui est vis-à-vis de Mergui" (*Revue de Géographie*, Paris, Dec. 1883, p. 426).

As to the spellings *Banda-makhon*, *Buddha-makhan*, and legends about a Buddha image and footprint on the north-east side of the island, see Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," pp. 338, 339. Major-General J. G. R. Forlong mentions a *Budr* or *Bud-ā* (sacred rock or *Badstone*) called *Madra* (a favourite name for the old Dravidian Śiva) near Mergui, upon which Major Temple remarks that on the Mergui coast he found *Bud-ā-r Makāms* called '*Madra Makām*' (see *Journal R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 205). This evidently refers to the Madramakan islet alluded to above.

Country of Widows'), which is the hidden or vanishing city of Siāmese folklore and works of fiction, inhabited only by women. In Khmër folklore it is called *Srok Lovū*, and described as a legendary and fairy country where are only women, and where nothing can float on the waters (see Conte d'Âlêv in Aymonier's "Textes Khmers"). Whether this legendary country was supposed to be at or about Mergui as located in the map referred to on p. 384, and reputed besides to be the home of Hanumān, I am unable to say. According to Marsden's "Sumatra," the people of Sumatra believe that the inhabitants of Engano (see pp. 409, n. 2, and 422, n. 1, *supra*) are all females, and, like the mares of ancient story, are impregnated by the wind. Friar Jordanus ("Mirabilia Descripta," Hakl. Soc., 1863, p. 44) speaks of islands of women. So Marco Polo, who represents them to be fully 500 miles out at sea, south of Mekrān. Captain Bozorg in his "Ajāib," in *circâ* 955 (Van der Lith's transl., pp. 19, 20), also refers to an 'Island of Women' in the sea of *Mālātū*, which we have identified with Maludu Bay, N. Borneo. In more recent times an 'Island of Amazons,' inhabited only by women, is mentioned as being not far from Samar, Eastern Philippines (see Prévost's "Hist. Gén. des Voyages," t. x, p. 394).

p. 84, n. 2. A connection between *Varavārī* and Mergui is very doubtful: see p. 495, n. 2.

p. 85, ll. 14, 15. Kháu Mŏn or Kui pass. The correct name of this pass was *Śiṅkhōn* (= *śikhara*, a 'peak'). It is recorded as Singkhor-tep in Leal's account (see Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 397). Cébéret crossed this pass—to which he simply alludes as "la montagne d'où on peut découvrir les deux mers, sçavoir celle de Siam du costé de l'est, et celle du golphe de Bingalle du costé de l'ouest"—on December 24th, 1687 (see *Revue de Géographie*, Paris, 1883, p. 423). A village named *Müang Singkhōn* stood in this neighbourhood in the eighteenth century (it being mentioned in Khún Lúang Hāwat's Memoirs, p. 308), and perhaps even earlier, though not noticed by Cébéret.

p. 85, n. 1. *Taik*, I furthermore discovered, is used also to denote laterite. Its related word *Tika*, *Teka* (likewise derived from *mattikā*) has the same meaning in Pèrak (see *Journal Straits Br. R.A.S.*, No. 16, p. 320). Analogously *Tük* in Siāmese means both a brick and a laterite building.

p. 86, ll. 2–4. *Kulā* (see also p. 34, ll. 7–10). Under the form *Kala*, which this term has assumed in Burmese, it already appears in epigraphic evidence in the twelfth century in the word *Kala-gyaung* used to denote a brick (or laterite) monastery built

by Dravidians from India. (See Pagān inscription of 1170 in "Inscriptions of Pagan," etc., Rangoon, 1899, p. 26.)

The 古 剌, *Ku-la*, people and country of Chinese records (see Parker's "Burma," p. 60, and *Journal Asiatique*, 1878, pp. 142–4) are evidently the people and country of Ayetthema and Thâton alluded to on p. 86, l. 4 et seqq., being described as settled to the south of Taungu on the sea, and divided into *Ta Ku-la* = *Taik-kulā* on the coast of Pegu, and *Hsiao*, or Little, *Ku-la*.

p. 87, ll. 10 et seqq. *Takola*, etc. The Pāli *takkóla* = Sanskrit *kakkola* is a "drug so called from its colour, which is black like that of the crow" (Balfour's Cyclopædia, s.v. *Kakkola*). It, or the plant from which it is derived, is the *Lavanga scandens*, Hesperideæ (see *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, t. iii, p. 466), and is called *kakor*, *gagar* (= bastard cardamom) in Kamboja.

Further, *tagara* in Kanarese is a *tadbhava* corruption of the Sanskrit *tamara*, *trapu* = 'tin' (see *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1901, p. 540, note). But we have in India the town *Tagara*-pura = *Kola*-pura or *Kōlhā*-pur; whence the equation *kola*, *kōlhā* = *tagara* = 'tin.'

p. 87, n. 1. In Chinese also we have *Ch'ien-lien* (*K'an-lien*, *K'a-lien*), a metal frequently mentioned in connection with the alloy of copper money (*China Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 101). *Kalien* means a 'mine' (more properly, 'tin-mine') among the Chinese of Pêrak (*Journal Straits Br. R.A.S.*, No. 16, p. 316). In Manchu *sakhalien* = 'black.'

According to Dozy & Engelmann's "Glossaire," p. 245, the Portuguese *calain* = 'tin' is from the Arabic *qal'ī*, which comes from the Malay *kalang* = 'tin,' according to Newbold (vol. i, p. 426). Certain Arabic writers state that *qala'i*, 'tin,' was so called from a mine in India called *Kala*. "In spite of the different initial and terminal letters, it seems at least possible that the place meant was the same that the old Arab geographers called *Kalah*, near which they place mines of tin (*al-qala'i*)" ("Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed., p. 145, s.v. *Calay*).

There can be no doubt that the Malay *kalang*, as well as its congener *karang* (used to express the lower beds of the tin-bearing drift in mines), are both loan-words or, at any rate, derived also from *kola*, *kāla*, *kakkola*, *takkola*, *tagara*, etc., as above, which plainly are all related together.

p. 89, l. 2. According to Kazwīnī (A.D. 1263–75), who reports a statement from the traveller Misar, "le port de *Kalah* serait tombé au pouvoir des Chinois, qui y auraient introduit leurs croyances et leurs usages" (Reinaud, op. cit., p. lxiv). It does

not seem at all unlikely that Chinese immigrants had already settled on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in the thirteenth century, without, however, holding sway there. In A.D. 1511, we know for certain, the alluvial tin-mines in the Malay Peninsula were already worked by Chinese labourers (see E. H. Parker in the *China Review*, vol. xxiii, p. 258).

p. 90, note. On *Mi-ch'én*, etc., I subjoin translated the following extract, dating from A.D. 802, given in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extr.-Or.*, t. iv, pp. 222, 223: "From *Mi-ch'én* one reaches *K'un-lang*, where is the tribe of the *Hsiao K'un-lun*. Their king's name is *Mang-hsi-yüeh* (Mōng Saigar?). From *K'un-lang* one arrives at *Lu-yü*, 祿 羽 (*Luk-vo*), where is the realm of the *Ta K'un-lun*. The king's name is *Ssu-li Po-p'o-nan-to-shan-na* (Śrī Bhavānandaśāna?). The plain is larger than at *Mi-ch'én*," etc., etc.

On the *K'un-lun* people and kingdom see further: pp. 103, 260, 507–9, and 574, n. 3. In 1103 it offered, along with Burma and *Po-sz* (a state bordering on it, see p. 471), white elephants and perfumes to the king of Nan-Chao; a fact showing that *K'un-lun* must have been a continental (and not an insular) country, situated almost certainly on the Malay Peninsula. This view finds further corroboration in the fact recorded in the *Man-Shu* of Nan-Chao having waged at one time war against *K'un-lun* (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 226).

On *Lu-yü*, or *Luk-vo* (Nago, Nagor), where is the *Ta-k'un-lun* (Takkola) kingdom (according to the *Bulletin* above quoted), see p. 525, n. 1. According to Ma Tuan-lin's translator, however, *Ta-k'un-lun* (Takkola) lies between *K'un-lang* and *Lu-yü* (see Hervey de St. Denys, op. cit., p. 231, note).

p. 93, l. 13. For further particulars as to Takôpa or Kôpa, its magnificent harbour, antiquities, etc., see Supplementary Note to my article on "Siāmese Archæology," published in the *Journal R.A.S.* for April, 1904, pp. 242–7.

p. 93, l. 21. *Tau-kiao-le.* I now find that the Chinese characters for this are 投 拘 利, which more correctly read *T'ou-kou-li* (*Dau-kau-li*, *T'u-ku-ri*), making it very improbable that Takkola is meant. Some port of *Fu-nan* proper on the Gulf of Siām is evidently intended; not unlikely the mouth of the Rach-gia or Kien-giang River, which lies opposite *Takere*, or *Tekere* Island. The embassy despatched by the *Fu-nan* king went to India between 240 and 245 A.D. (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 271). For a possible identity of *T'ou-kou-li* with *Kou-li*, see p. 718 above, note, section 1.

p. 94, l. 10 from bottom, add:—This notwithstanding the clause in Article 10 of the British Treaty with Siām concluded in 1826, which was retained in the new treaty of 1856, with the further addition that "traders under British rule may cross from the British territories of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, Tenasserim, Pegu, or other place, by land or by water, to the Siamese territories, and may there trade with facility," etc.

Captain Forrest, in the Introduction to his "Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago," London, 1792, says (p. iii): "the country about Kraw [Kraḥ] was well inhabited, and the road across the isthmus much frequented, before the wars which, thirty years ago, between the Peguers and Birmahs or Burmahs, had greatly depopulated this quarter."

The account by Messrs. Harris & Leal (1825–6) reproduced in Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam" says of C'hump'hōn (p. 395): "It was formerly the entrepot of a very valuable trade with the coast of Tenasserim, but subsequently to the subjugation of Tenasserim by the Burmans, Ch'hoomphon has been little else than a military post, where a force was stationed to watch the proceedings of the Burmans."

p. 97, ll. 16, 17. *Kokanagara.* Cf. *Kokkonage* or *Kokrah* = Chutiā Nāgpur in Tavernier (Ball's transl., vol. ii, pp. 457–9). The northern point of entrance to Girbi Bay is called in Siāmese *Lĕm Hŭa-Nāk* = *Nāga*-Head Point. As regards *Kukkuras*, the "Bṛhat Saṁhitā" mentions *Kālakoti-kukkuras* in the Central region. The name may be connected with the worship of Bhairava, who is said to be represented with a dog's head. Dog appreciation, if not worship, seems to survive in Indo-China among the Karens only, who still have prize-dogs. As regards Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Ḳāḳula*, which, he says, lay in *Mul-Jāvah*, see p. 444, n. 2, and p. 518, n. 1, where I have given my reasons why it should preferably be identified with Ligor.

p. 97. **Khrysoana** (river). If a rendering of some local term meaning 'Gold River,' such as e.g. *Sungei Mās* in Malay, no such name now occurs, so far as my knowledge goes, in the tract where Ptolemy locates his **Khrysoana**, although it may have once existed and be now forgotten. The northernmost watercourse named *Sungei Mās* is a small stream falling into the old channel of the Mūda River, where buildings for a capital of Kedah began to be erected of old (fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth); see Kedah Annals in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii, pp. 256, 258.

However, **Khrysoana** may represent some local river-name

disguised by the Greek navigators in Hellenic vesture in order to express a meaning in a similar manner, as was done by Valentijn with his *Chrysorant* (see *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S.*, No. 13, p. 50), which I take to be the Kesang just below Malacca, the *Caçāo* of Portuguese writers (see Danvers' "Portuguese in India," vol. ii, p. 529, where, however, *Kesana* is incorrect for Kesang). Further up the Malay Peninsula we have a similarly named river, the *Kasom*, in the Takūa-thùng district, where is also Kasom town, the governor's residence. It is not unlikely that in or about the Trang district a river may have existed with a somewhat similar name, which Ptolemy transformed into **Khrysoana**.

p. 97. **Palanda** (city) and **Palandas** or **Palandos** (river). See Appendix II, section 2, for these toponyms, which survive to this day, as I have pointed out, in the name of the local *Bĕlanda*, *Blanda*, or *Belenda* tribes, about which see the *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S.*, No. 33, p. 250, and No. 34, p. 35. Cf. the *Pulindas* of India. Their correspondence to Pahang and its river is not altogether improbable, judging from the location assigned to them in De Donis' map.

p. 97, n. 1. *Pĕrak*, *prak* = 'silver.' The word is found as far as the Philippines in the slight disguise of *Pilak* (see Dennys' "Descriptive Dict. of Brit. Malaya," p. 347).

p. 98, l. 8. The Achëḥ or Achīn king here alluded to as having come from Pêrak is Sultan Mansūr Shāh, who was murdered in about 1585. See note 1 to p. 697 above.

p. 98, l. 11. 1030–50. These dates must be corrected to something like 1330–50, if Rāja Sūran of Bijnagar is, as I take it, the same personage as Buka I, the founder of Vijaya-nagara (Bījanagar) in India, in 1354.

According to local native tradition, the district of Brūas, on the coast of Lārut, was the place where a kingdom and a rāja were first established in Pêrak. Temong, a few miles above Kwāla Kangsa, on the Pêrak River, was afterwards the seat of government (see Dennys, op. cit., p. 287).

p. 98, note, l. 5. *P'o-li*. Not Pêrak, but the *Pulai* River (*Sungei Pulai*), near the western entrance to the old Singapore Strait (see p. 495 and my article in *Journal R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 719, 720).

pp. 99, 100. **Tharrha** (town). See Appendix II, section 3, s.v., for further linguistic remarks on this toponym. Not very dissimilar names occur on the Malay Peninsula, viz.:

(1) Sungei *Thara*, a petty western affluent of the Kinta River, south-central Pêrak (see Dennys, op. cit., p. 395).

(2) *Tawaran* River (see *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S.*, No. 11, pp. 123–42).

(3) *Tahan* River and Gūnong *Tahan* Mountain (ibid., No. 23, pp. 67–76).

None, however, suits as well as *Tarāṅganū* or Tringano, in the immediate neighbourhood of which we have, moreover, such place-names as Kampong *Tiroh*, K. Lubok *Tirok*, K. Pan *Tari*, the Trengan and *Tarong* Rivers, with K. *Tarong*, now destroyed, on the latter, etc.

p. 100. **Sabana** (a mart). See also Appendix II, section 2. Similar toponyms in this tract are—

(1) *Sapang* River, a small northern affluent of the Bernam River (Dennys, op. cit., p. 391).

(2) *Sepang*, Bukit, a hill in North Sungei Ujong (op. cit., p. 63) and a small river in extreme South Selangor (ibid., p. 393).

(3) *Sempang* (='cross-roads'), a hamlet in Sungei Ujong (ibid., 343), on the Bernam River, Selangor (p. 393), and on the east bank of Selangor River (pp. 343, 344).

(4) *Sembah* River, a petty northern affluent of the Bernam River (p. 392).

(5) *Sabba*, an important village (ibid., p. 332), apparently the same as *Sābah*; besides a host of similar names: *Sapetan* or *Sapetang*, *Sabatang*, *Sebang*, *Sipang*, *Subang*, *Semanda*, *Sapam*, *Sembilan*, etc., in neighbouring districts. *Samawa* also, the old (*Benūa*?) name of the Lingi River, according to Newbold (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 376), who says the name *Salangor* is not to be found in the early Malay records,[1] the old name of the country being *Negri Kalang*, 'Land of Tin' (ibid., vol. ii, pp. 30, 376). Finally, we might mention *Ṣabon* or *Sabong* Strait at the east entrance of the Straits of Malacca, recorded as *Saban* by Galvano (1511, p. 115), and as *Sabam* by Teixeira (see my article on "Some unidentified Toponyms," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 723).

p. 101. Cape **Maleu Kōlon**. See Appendix II, section 3, s.v. For a probable survival of the name in Tanjung Gelang, see below, note on p. 104.

p. 103, ll. 17 et seqq. For *K'un-lun* see pp. 89, 90, 260, 507–9, and 574, note 3.

[1] *Salāng*, *C'halāng*, *Chellang* are, however, congeneric forms which occur on the west coast of both the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra; possibly connected with the name of the *Selung* or *Ṣalon* tribes (see my "Historical Retrospect of Junkceylon Island" in *Journal Siam Society*, vol. i, pp. 123–6); and not unlikely with that of the *C'hadāng*, *Salang*, etc., in the west of Campā (see pp. 262, 272 above).

p. 104, ll. 19–23. In the more recent map of the Malay Peninsula, issued in 1898 under the auspices of the Straits Branch of the R.A.S., Tanjong Puling, or South Cape, is called *Tanjung Gelang*, and located in 4° N. lat.; while the Tanjong Kuāntān of older maps is called Tanjung Tembeling, and located further to the south, just above the mouth of the Kuāntān River. Such being the case, I think that Ptolemy's Cape **Maleu Kōlon** should be identified with Tanjung Gelang, so called from Būkit Gelang, the hill forming the promontory, which seems to preserve in its present name the old Tamiḷ and, withal, Ptolemaic designation. In fact, *Būkit*, a 'hill' or mountain = Tamiḷ *Malai* = Ptolemaic **Maleu**; while *Gelang* resembles well enough, allowing for secular corruption, both *Kūṛṛam* (or *Kollam*) and **Kōlon**. Thus: *Būkit Gelang* = *Malai-kuṛṛam* (or *Malai-kollam*) = **Maleu Kōlon**. If *Malai kollam* be its correct original name, meaning 'Mountain of the West' in Tamiḷ, this may have been applied to it from its lying in the western part of the Gulf of Siām, where it probably formed a landmark, pointing out to navigators the almost unique place of refuge on that coast. In fact, the neighbouring port of Kuāntān, a short distance below the cape, "is about the only safe port on the east coast [of the Malay Peninsula] during the north-east monsoons, the high promontory which stretches into the sea to the north of the *Kuala* forming a most efficient protection against the wind" (*Straits Times*, 1902).

There is further up the coast (in 4° 14′ N. lat.) Tanjung Guliga, bearing a similar name, but I should think Tanjung Gelang to be almost certainly the cape Ptolemy had in view. See p. 535.

p. 105, ll. 1–10. Malacca. A Punic name (?); see p. 598, note. In Malay *Malaka* is the *Phyllanthus pectinatus* (Hook.). Cf. also *Mālavaka* = the country of the Mālavas; also, its inhabitants.

p. 105. **Attaba** (river). See for further linguistic remarks Appendix II, section 2, s.v. In De Donis' map this stream is marked between **Tharrha** (i.e. Tringano) on the south and **Kōli** (i.e. Kelantan) on the north; hence it must be, as pointed out by us, either the Trengan (Tringano River) or the Kelantan with its principal tributary the Lebeh or Libih, which takes its rise in the northern watershed of Mount Bātu Ātap. Between the two above-named large streams we have on the coast but petty watercourses, such as the Tarong and the Besut, which are absolutely ineligible.

p. 106, l. 3. As to *Kola-budara* = *Kāḳula*, *Kākola* = Ligor, see p. 444, n. 2, and p. 518, n. 1. As to **Kōli** = Kelantan, see p. 518, n. 1.

p. 106, l. 16. Two places *Kū-lo* are mentioned. One is

古邏, mentioned since A.D. 971 (see p. 515, n. 1) as lying midway between *San-fo-shih* and *Ch'ai-lih-ting* (Hervey de St. Denys, op. cit., p. 496). This I have identified with Gūroh village in Rhio Strait (see p. 514).

The other one is 古羅, mentioned in A.D. 1015 as the name of a high mountain and a kingdom called after it (op. cit., p. 514). This may be some place on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula (Kraḥ, Kurau River above Lārut, etc.?); in any case it has, like the first one, nothing to do with Kelantan. N.B.—*Kūrau* in Pérak is nowadays denoted with the characters 古樓 by the Chinese settled in the Straits (see *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S.*, No. 42, p. 186). There is, finally, a doubtful mention of Kelantan as 訶羅旦, *Ho-lo-tan*, in the account of *Ch'ih-t'u* (Sukhôthai) at the dawn of the seventh century (op. cit., p. 466); but as *Ho-lo-tan* is said to be located to the south of *Ch'ih-t'u*, whereas the sea is placed to the north, a clerical error has probably crept in here, so that the location intended may be quite the reverse. Cf., at all events, the State of 呵羅單, *Ho-lo-tan*, located on the island of *Shê-p'o*, and mentioned A.D. 430 and 452 (see p. 469, n. 3).

p. 107, ll. 19 et seqq. Ligor. For other particulars on its history, antiquities, etc., see pp. 444, n. 2; 518, n. 1; and, above all, my article "The Nāgarakretāgama List of Countries," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, p. 487, s.v. *Dharma-nagara*.

p. 110, ll. 13 et seqq. **Perimula**, etc. For further linguistic remarks see Appendix II, section 3, s.v. On *Permātang* see Dennys' "Descriptive Dict. of British Malaya," p. 299 s.v., also p. 309. There is further a (Malay?) term *Pemuda* occurring in names of reefs, etc., e.g. Karang *Pemuda* (see "China Sea Directory," vol. i, p. 289). On *P'o-li* (= *Pulai* River) see p. 495 and above, Addenda to p. 98; and on *P'o-lo* (*Bara*, *Baru*) and *Po-lo* see p. 366, note; and p. 403, note.

On *Lo-yü*, or *Lo-lü*, and *Lu-yü* (*Lungu* River?) see p. 525, n. 1.

On *Lo-yüeh* see pp. 525, 526, note.

Neither of the above names seems to be in any way connected with Ligor.

p. 111, after line 2, add:

Perimulik Gulf, Head of (97).

The figure for the longitude (169° 30′) given in Nobbe's edition, tom. ii, p. 162, and presumably misprinted (as 168° 30′) in McCrindle (op. cit., p. 198), is evidently a clerical slip for 162° 30′ that has crept in some of the Ptolemaic MSS. For, not only in the Ptolemaic list of lib. vii, ch. 2, § 5, the **Perimulikos Kolpos** comes in between **Perimula** (long. 163° 15′, lat. 2° 20′) and **Samaradē**

(long. 163°, lat. 4° 50′); but in De Donis' map the head of the gulf is actually placed in long. 162° 30′ (= 101° 6′ true) and made to bend in bow-wise, towards the west, between **Perimula** and **Samaradē**.

Such being the case, and the rectified latitude as found in our Tables (see Table IV, No. 97) being 9° 52′ N., it will be seen that the head of the **Perimulik Gulf** almost exactly corresponds to the deep indentation of Bān-Dōn Bight stretching between the mouths of the Bān-Dōn and C'haiyā Rivers, the most pronounced incavation of which lies in latitude 9° 12′ to 9° 18′ N., just below C'haiyā. This is the region of *Mula-Jāvah* of Ibn Baṭūṭa (see pp. 444, n. 2, and 517, n. 1); and the **Perimulik Gulf** is unquestionably the Gulf of Siām, while its head corresponds to what is now called Bān-Dōn Bight.

p. 111, l. 11. **Balongka**, being an inland town, corresponds more exactly to Kraḥ on the homonymous isthmus, and not to C'hump'hōn. As regards the old name of the latter, *Udumbara*, it is worthy of remark that it still appears in K. L. Hāwat's Memoirs, p. 307 (list of provinces of the south; date, shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century). In A.D. 1675 it was already known, however, to Europeans as *Champone* (see Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," pp. 125, 126).

p. 111. ll. 24–6. *Kraḥ* is the Siāmese name for the hawk-bill turtle, and not for the land-tortoise; I must therefore correct this gross mistake.

p. 111, n. 1. See the chronological errors referred to here duly exposed and corrected in my article on "The Nāgarakretāgama List of Countries," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, p. 487.

p. 113, l. 9 et seqq. *Kāmalaṅkā*. Cf. the name of Pagān, *Bu-kām*, explained as *Bhū-kāma* (*Kāma-bhū*), see above, in these Addenda, note to p. 62. Eitel, in his "Handbook of Chinese Buddhism" (2nd ed., p. 69, s.v.), locates *Kāmalaṅkā* at Chittagong! It should be observed that the Cantonese pronunciation of the Chinese transcript is *Ka-mo-long-ka*, which comes considerably near to *Kraḥ-palānga* or *Kraḥ-pallaṅka*. In the "Sāsanavaṁsa" (Mrs. Bode's transl., p. 71) occurs the toponym *Polloṅka* [Pallaṅka?]-*desa*, which, however, probably is meant for the country of the Palaungs or Paloungs. In the Haṁsāvatī and Pegu districts are circles now called *Kāmakaluk* (Kāmakalôk) and *Kamāce* (Kamasë), whereas there is a *Kamāke* in Bhīlū-gyun (Balūgyun) Island. This shows how names similar to *Kāmalaṅkā* are not uncommon in this region.

p. 113, l. 18. *P'an-p'an*. I have since shown how this State, *P'an-p'an* or *P'an-p'ūn*, is to be identified with the *Sup'han-p'hūm*

(Suvaṇṇabhūmi) of the Sukhôthai inscription of 1306, more commonly known as *Sup'han*. (See my articles on "Siam's Intercourse with China," in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1902.)

p. 113, n. 3. *Camelan*. Being described as a province lying on the coast (v. loc. cit.), it very likely corresponds to Kamanlay. Cf. this *Camelan* with *Chin-lin*, *Kin-lin*, or *Kam-lan* of Chinese records (see p. 164, n. 1).

p. 115, l. 7. After 'spoken,' add: '*supra*, pp. 93, 94.'

p. 115, ll. 5–8 from bottom. Both the old "India Directory," by Thornton, and Capt. Forrest ("Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago," London, 1792; Introduction, p. iii), call '*Larchin* Islands' the islands in front of C'hump'hŏn. Evidently *Lar-chin* stands for *Lank-chiu*, *Langkachiu*, of which it is a mere corruption and partly *lapsus calami* (i.e. *chin* for *chiu*).

p. 119, n., l. 6. *C'hieng*. See in *China Review*, vol. xxi, p. 56: "暹 [*Shan*, *Sieng*] (generally miswritten 暹) in Chinese histories, stands for a Shan sound *shieng* or *xieng* [*C'hieng*], and practically means 'state,' 'town,' 'province,' etc." Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 92) and Sainson (op. cit., p. 17) have 暹, *chien*, *kien*, for 'department,' which Sainson (loc. cit., n. 17) pretends is the same as *Keng* or *Xieng* (C'hĭeng) in C'hĭeng T'ung (Keng Tung), etc.

p. 120, n., l. 4. See also Richardson's "Journal," p. 115. Further, on the bronze drums of Indo-China, see Dr. Hirth's article in *T'oung-Pao*, 1890, No. 2; De Groot (in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 363); and Dr. Heger's valuable monograph, "Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südost-Asien" (Leipzig, 1902).

p. 121, l. 5 and n. 1. **Posinara**. It is not a question here of the 僰 子, *P'u-tsz*, *Peh-tsz*, or *Fu-tsz*, that they, being settled in A.D. 796 at T'êng-yüeh or Mo-mien, where the Jwan-hwa prefecture was established that year by Imousün, the Nan-Chao conqueror, do not at all appear to have been the ruling Nan-Chao tribe (see Parker in *China Review*, vol. xx, p. 393; also p. 130, n. 1, above.) I think, on the other hand, that **Posinara** is meant for 白 子, *Péh-tsz* (or *Puk-tsz* as it is locally pronounced), the name given by the Han emperor Wu Ti to Jên-kwo's State (see pp. 123, 291) when investing him king over it in B.C. 109 (see "Nan-chao Ye-shih," Sainson's transl., pp. 28, 29). Now, as *Péh-tsz* (*Ba-tsz*, *P'ak-tsz*) means 'White Sons (or Gentlemen)' it will be seen that **Posinara** is merely the gross transcript of the Sanskrit-Vedic *Balakṣa-nara* or *Palakṣa-nara* = 'White People,' 'White Men,' or of their locally corrupted forms *Prakṣa-nara*, etc. It should not surprise to find Sanskrit-derived toponyms in this part

of Yün-nan at that period, since Jên-kwo claimed descent from the dynasty of Magadha in India (see p. 123). Jên-kwo's capital was at 白崖, *Péh-yai* or *Péh-ngai* (='White Cliff' or 'White Precipice'), 90 *li*, i.e. about 30 miles, south-west of Chao-chou in the Ta-li prefecture, and is nowadays called Hung-ngai. Jên-kwo appears, later on, to have transferred his residence to C'hêng-chiang, south-east of the Yün-nan Lake (see Sainson, op. cit., p. 28), which is, as likely as not, Ptolemy's **Pandasa**. However, as in A.D. 225 the capital of the State was again at *Péh-ngai* (op. cit., p. 30), the above change was only a temporary one, and Ptolemy's **Posinara** must, from its geographical position, be identified with Pêh-ngai. See above, Appendix III, No. 4.

p. 124, ll. 4–7 from bottom; p. 121, first top l.; and *passim*; **Doānai**=*Ts'wan*. I have since recognized that this is a mistake, that the *Ts'wan* were really Lolos, and that the **Doānai** must be identified with the *Tuan*, 段, or *Duan*, a people of Thai stock (see p. 126, n. 3), and one of the ten original clans of the Ai-Lao descended, with Kiu-lung, from Mêng-chü Tu, long before the Christian Era (see Rocher in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. x, p. 13).

This family reigned, later on, over Yün-nan from 938 to 1094 A.D. As regards the term *Duania* in Assam, it is employed to denote half-breeds (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, p. 371).

p. 124, last line, and p. 125, ll. 1, 2. *Kāu*, *Lāu-Kāu*. This tribe apparently settled at first in the Nān district in Siām, for the Nān king is styled *Kāva-rāja* in the "Jīnakāla Mālinī." The Kāu are also mentioned in the A.D. 1306 Sukhôthai inscription, in a list which runs: "*P'hamā* [Burmāns], *Kāu*, *Lāu*, *Thai Yāi* [the so-called 'Shans' of Burmā], *Thai Nọ̄i* [the Thai of Sukhôthai]," etc.

p. 125, ll. 8–10. *Sui-shu*. The Sui-shu embraces the period 581–617 A.D.

p. 125, l. 5 from bottom. *Huang-dóng*. In Chinese 黃洞, *Huang-tung*. Also *Hwang-chia-tung*, the 'Yellow people of Caves,' according to the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (Sainson's transl., p. 365), where it seems to be a question of an individual and not of a people.

p. 126, l. 7. *Ngīu*. Also *Ngāu*: the 'Gwē Shans' of the Burmese.

p. 126, n. 3. Besides the *Tuan*, cf. also the *Thüang* (Khā Thüang or *Chüang*), a vanished tribe, to which are ascribed the large stone jars employed as receptacles for rice-wine (*Làu Ūh*), found in groups in the country of the P'hūen, on high plateaux (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, 1903, pp. 89, 90; Raquez' "Pages

Laotiennes"; and McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 186, 187). The jars were probably originally intended for burial. Jars are, in fact, used by the Yau tribes to keep the ashes of their deceased chieftains (see *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 165).

p. 127, ll. 1–4. I must here correct a gross mistake. The first character in the name of Dĩen Bĩen-p'hú is neither *Tien* nor *T'ien*, but 電, in Annamese *Dĩen*.

p. 127, l. 18. *Ho-chê*. In Ann. *Hak-ja*; referred to in the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (Sainson's transl., p. 443) as the name of a district (?) in A.D. 1011, on the Tonkin borders which they had invaded.

p. 128, l. 3. See Marini (op. cit., p. 456), who says that monarchy in Laos dates from about 600 A.D. Formerly the country was ruled after the manner of a republic (more correctly, of a federation of petty states) in which the Siāmese (read *Thai*) element gradually predominated. Shaking off the yoke of China (Yün-nan), a king of Siāmese (*Thai*) race was then elected.

p. 128, ll. 7 and 10. *Kanrāng*. Cf. Karen and *Karang* (a tribe of these) in Western Siām.

p. 128, n. 2, l. 9. *Khach*. The Annamese *'khach*, 客, is the Chinese *k'é*, and the Siāmese *khẽ̀k* = a stranger, guest, visitor, or new arrival. It is a polite term by which the Annamese designate the Chinese. Cf. *Hsin-k'é*, new guest, greenhorn, etc. It is, on the other hand, used in China to designate the Hakkas (*K'é-chia* or *K'éh-kia* = 'the guest families' or the 'recent arrivals'), who, in Siām, are similarly called *Khëḥ* (or *Chek-Khëḥ*, *Chin-Khëḥ*). Shans call the Chinese *Ke* or *Kieh* (*China Review*, vol. xvi, p. 380).

In Annam *Chĕ̀k*, 隻 (in Chinese *Chih*, Cantonese *Chek*), is the impolite nickname employed to designate the Chinese. So in Siām, where the latter are in polite speech called *Chīn* (i.e. Chinas).

p. 130, last three lines. *Ngüyên*. Read 阮, *Ngwĩ̂en*, in Chinese *Jwan*, a name most spread among the Annamese, and that of the reigning dynasty. The name *Yuan*, *Ywan* (Yavana) for the Annamese apparently originates from the fact that a large part of them bears the name of *Jwan*, i.e. *Ngwĩ̂en* (= Javana, Yavana). See the *China Review*, vol. xvi, p. 380. The term *Ywan*, *Yuan*, or *Yavana*, already occurs in an inscription of 987 A.D. in Eastern Kamboja (see Aymonier's "Le Cambodge," t. i, p. 283), and makes its appearance in Chām inscriptions in A.D. 1159. See, for more particulars, my article, "The Nāgarakretāgama List of Countries," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, pp. 486, 487.

p. 130, n. 1, l. 4. *Och'ang*. These are the 哦 昌, *O-ch'ang*;

or 阿昌, *A-ch'ang* (see Devéria, op. cit., p. 167; and *Chinese Recorder*, vol. xv, p. 386, where they are noticed near Nan-tien). They evidently are the same tribe as the *Asong* now at P'hū Fāng, Lai-chou district.

p. 131, l. 2. *Tai-ngüyén.* Read *Töi-ngwïen*, 西原, *Hsi-Yüan.* A district of this name was in Southern Kwang-hsi and is now called Hsin-ning Chou. *Yüeh-hsi* (see l. 10) is the literary name for Kwang-hsi.

p. 131, n. 2, ll. 1, 2. Moreover, the Karens call the Chinese *Si*, which reminds one of the Miao-tsz word *She* (*China Review*, xvi, p. 380).

p. 131, n. 2, l. 11. *Sia-po*, or 'Heterodox Females,' said to be the descendants of the ruling race of the Mongol dynasty of Yüan, A.D. 1280–1333 (see *China Review*, vii, p. 350). Their name is written 邪婆, *Hsie-p'o* (ibid., x, p. 74). An aboriginal race not far from Hui-chou Fu, near Canton, is similarly called *Ping-p'o* (ibid.).

p. 134, l. 7 from bottom. Dahan or Thuān-an River. Read *Dā-hàn* ('Coral, or Rocky, Bank') and *Thwŏn-ān.* Kŭa Thwŏn-ān is the port of Hwē.

pp. 135, 136. On the names of the Më-Khōng River, see again p. 286, n. 1. As regards the Chinese characters for *Lan-ts'ang* given in n. 1, l. 1, on p. 135, I notice that in the "Nan-chao Ye-shih," the second one is written 滄, which means an 'expanse of water' (see Sainson, op. cit., p. 50, n. 15). The same work thus accounts for this name of the river (p. 208): "It [the Më-Khōng] enters the country of *Tien* [Yün-nan] by the Li-kiang prefecture, in the now suppressed *chou* of Lan-chou [蘭州, which lay to the south-west of Li-kiang]; accordingly the river has been called *Lan-ts'ang*, and still nowadays it is erroneously termed *Lang-ts'ang* and *Pĕh-li-kiang* [白麗江] . . . It is stated in the 'Shan-hai-king': 'The Êrh-hai [Ta-li Lake] flows westwards towards *Lo* [洛, *Lok*, *Lãk* = the Red River;[1] or else 貉, *Lo*, *Lãk*, the ancient name for Tonkin? see above, p. 321], wherein it enters; thence it is called *Lo-shwei.*'" But the Lan-chou district only dates from the Yüan dynasty, whereas we know the name *Lan-ts'ang* to be much older; and the same work adds that the river is, in its upper course

[1] In the *Journal China Br. R.A.S.*, vol. xxv, p. 87, it is stated that the Êrh-Hai or Ta-li Lake is drained by two streams into the *Hei-Kiang* or Black River! The mistake is here probably caused by the fact alluded to on p. 286 above, n. 1, of the Më-Khōng being above the Kau-lung Hills called *Hĕh-Shwei*, i.e. the 'Black Water.'

in Tibet, termed *Lu-ts'ang*, 鹿 滄, presumably from the *Lu-shih* Shan range, in which it is believed to rise (see op. cit., pp. 50, 208).

The name *Khara-nadī*, alluded to on p. 136, l. 15, also occurs in the Jinakāla Mālinī, fasc. iv.

p. 138, ll. 7 and 9. *Jotana-pura* and *Joti-nagara*. In the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, p. 290, the name *Joti-nagara* occurs in the title of the C'hīeng Rung Chief.

p. 140, last three lines. For further linguistic remarks see Appendix III, section 6 above, s.v. **Lariagara.** As regards a possible Sanskrit derivation of this toponym, cf. the following similar ancient ones in India:—

(1) *Lauṛiyā*-Ararāj and *Lauṛiyā*-Nandangaṛh, on the road from Pāṭaliputra to Nepāl (see *Journal R.A.S.*, April, 1902, pp. 270, 271).

(2) *Lāra*, *Laḍa* = Mālava (South Lāra) and Vallabhī (North Lāra).

(3) *Lāṭa* = Karṇasuvarṇa, an ancient kingdom in Gundwana, near Gangpoor.

(4) *Lari* (or *Lāri*?), in East Tibet.

p. 141, l. 11 from bottom. *Müang P'hōng.* More correctly Müang *P'hōng Tài* (= South P'hōng) or *Pòng-Tai*; it was founded in A.D. 1311.

p. 141, l. 7 from bottom. *Rājagṛha.* A *Rājagṛha*, commonly Yazagyo, village exists also in West Burmā in the Kalē township and Upper Chindwīn district. The "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part ii, vol. iii, p. 393, speaks of it as having been "the ancient capital of almost forgotten kings, as it was in more recent years of the *Sawbwa*." *Rājagṛha* is a name, however, applied to both Legya and Kassay (*Kaseḥ*, i.e. Maṇipur).

p. 142. **Lasippa, Lassypa,** or **Lasyppa.** A similarly named village, *Lo-si-pa*, is mentioned by Lefèvre (op. cit., p. 60) between Müang Ha-hin and M. Ngai, in the Ū River Valley, lat. 22°, and described as inhabited by Khā Halos, a variety of Khās much resembling the Lolos.

The present capital of Sī-poḥ, Thibo, or Hsi-paw, was founded only in A.D. 1636; but an older one some two miles to the northward or westward called Ông-Pōng or Unbaung is said to have been built in 1210. Local chronicles, however, pretend to trace the existence of Ông-Pōng and Sī-poḥ as far back as B.C. 58 and B.C. 423 respectively (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part ii, vol. i, pp. 217–22). Sī-poḥ is rendered in Chinese by 錫 箔, *Hsi-po*[1] (see *China*

[1] It is, however, in my opinion, probably already referred to in 1280 under the form 思 播, *Sz-po*, *Shi-p'o*, in the account of the Mongol campaign against Burmā (see Sainson, op. cit., p. 116).

Review, xvi, p. 379). The classical name *Siri-raṭṭha* occurs in the titles of the Chiefs of Sĕn-wī and Thong-c'hai Thônzê or Hsum Hsai), see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, pp. 290, 291; whereas the Sī-poḥ Chief bears in his title the term *Kamboja* (op. cit., p. 291), which evidences that his district is part of the tract so called (which includes also Yawng-Hwe, Müang Pai, M. Pan, Legya, M. Pu, and Mawk-mai). The classical designation *Kamboja* for this tract can be traced back to at least the twelfth century, for the *Kamboja-saṅgha*, which was named after it, took its rise in modern Legya towards 1300 A.D. (see Forchhammer's "Jardine Prize Essay," Rangoon, 1885, p. 63).

Arguing from the fact that **Lasyppa** is, in De Donis' map, located immediately westward of the northern spurs of the unnamed mountain ridges which, according to Ptolemy, overhang the Golden Khersonese (and which evidently correspond to the mountain ranges dividing Siām from Burmā), it seems logical to identify it with Sī-poḥ (Thibo) rather than with any similarly named town on the Siāmese watershed. On this latter we find mentioned in the Chinese records, as far back as 1280 A.D., the State of *Pa-pê-hsi-fu*, which corresponds, however, to C'hīeng Sĕn (*Jayapavara-nagara*, *Pavara-jaya-pura* [or *Jayasena-pura*], whence the Chinese transcript, hitherto unexplained and unidentified),[1] and therefore does not suit. On the other hand, the A.D. 1284 inscription of the Pagān king Narapati-sithu mentions that the latter's realm was bounded on the east by *Sapipati* (*Capipati*), which may be Sī-poḥ, and may somehow be historically connected with Ptolemy's **Lasyppa** or **Lasippa**.

p. 144, ll. 10–12. *Lakṣa-guhā*, *Lakṣa-gṛhā*. Perhaps a corrupted form (through Lāu faulty pronunciation) of *Rājagaha*, *Rājagṛha*, so called from its being the capital of Eastern Magadha, i.e. the part of Yünnan about the Ta-li Lake (cf. p. 123 above).

p. 144, n. 2, ll. 4–5. *Ho-chê*. This name appears in the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng Chronicle under the form *Hŏ-tĕ*, and is made equivalent to Nŏng-Sĕ, i.e. the Ta-li Lake or *Êrh-Hai* (see p. 64 above), the *Aravāla-daha* of the "Sāsanavaṁsa" (see Mrs. Bode's transl., pp. 164, 165).

p. 146, n. 1, ll. 1–9 from bottom. Buffaloes are sacrificed also

[1] It is quite unreasonable to continue to identify it, as Sinologists do, with C'hīeng Māi, for the town of this name was not founded until A.D. 1296, and it was only in 1367 that it became the definite capital of Western Laos. It in the Yüan-shih-lei-pien *Pa-pê-hsi-fu* is stated to be 景邁, *King-mai*, i.e. C'hīeng Māi (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 244, n. 4), this must refer to a later date than 1367.

by the Wa tribes (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, pp. 505, 506) and in Kamboja.

p. 148, ll. 17, 18. The forms *hsiang*, *c'hang*, *ds'ing*, etc., may be linguistically connected, if not actually derived, from the Sanskrit-Pāli *Sindhura*. The Khmër language forms an exception, for an elephant is in Kamboja called *Damrei* or *Tamrei*.

p. 149, n. 1, l. 16. "The sacred *Bāng* statue." *Bāng* means 'hidden,' and the statue is so-called from its having had to be hidden many times in order to save it from being stolen by invaders. In Khmër *Băng* has the same sense.

p. 149, note 1, ll. 19–23. *Wan-hsiang*, 萬象 (= a 'Myriad Elephants'), also occurs as a name for the Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng-Wīeng Chan State, and should not invariably be applied to Wīeng Chan alone, as is done in the *Bulletin École Fr.* (t. iii, p. 473). This transcript shows that the Chinese had also heard of the wrong interpretation put by foreigners upon the term *Lān-c'hāng*. Teixeira, in his turn, mentions this State under the name of kingdom of *Olanion* (= *O Lanjão*), producing benjoin (see my article on "Some unidentified Toponyms," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, October, 1904, p. 719).

p. 150, ll. 6–8. *Müang C'hawā*. Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng is already mentioned under this name of *Müang C'hawā* in the A.D. 1306 Sukhôthai inscription, as a dependency of the Sukhôthai kingdom.

p. 151, n. 1, l. 9. *Lou-wen* River. Loureiro, in his "Flora Cochin-Chinensis" (1793), speaks of the large river '*Lavum*,' flowing between Cochin-China and Laos; evidently the same as Wusthof's '*Lou-wen*' (see *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S.*, No. 35, January, 1901, p. 77).

p. 152, ll. 12–15. *Dvādaśan*, *Daśan*, *Daśārṇa*. Cf. the *Daśārṇa* country and people of India, the name of which is said to be derived from *daśan* = 'ten' + *ṛṇa* = 'a fort,' thus meaning 'the ten forts.'

p. 152, n. 1, l. 2. *Daśa-rāja*. Here *Daśa*, as I subsequently discovered, is merely the Burmese corruption of *Dhaja*; hence the correct Sanskrit form of the name is *Dhaja-rāja*.

p. 154, n. 1, ll. 17–20. The seat of the *Kin-ch'ih* or 'Golden Teeth' Province was originally (A.D. 1271) 2,000 *li* from Yung-ch'ang, near *Pa-pê-hsi-fu*, i.e. C'hīeng Sĕn (see above, in these Addenda, note to p. 142). Proving untenable, the 'Golden Teeth' public offices were transferred to Yung-ch'ang (in 1274 or rather later); which has thus been falsely supposed to be the *original seat* of the 'Golden Teeth' government (see *China Review*, vol. xxi, p. 54).

p. 155, ll. 9–12. **Bareukora**, Barikan. The district now known as Barikan or Borikhan was formed only in about A.D. 1860 at *Nā-Nê* (Bân Nā-Nê) village; it cannot, therefore, be Ptolemy's **Bareukora** or **Bareuaóra**, which I have more aptly identified with Müang *P'hūen* or *P'hū-ör* (see above, p. 295, n. 3; and p. 364, n. 2). See also Appendix II above, section 6.

p. 155, l. 6 from bottom. *Po-lo-la.* In Chinese characters, 波羅剌. Cf. the *Palola*, *Bhilla-palola*, or *Apalola*, a people located by the Bṛhat-Saṁhitā in the north-east region, presumably Pliny's *Uberæ*, Ptolemy's **Barrhai**, and the present-day *P'hūen* or *P'hū-ör*. Cf. also the *Vṛlaḥ*, *Bīla*, *Bhīl*, etc., on pp. 163 and 257, n. 1, above; and the *Pu-la*, *P'u-la* in these Addenda, *infra*, note to p. 364).

p. 156. The **Lēstai** Country. Porcacchi (1576) mentions (op. cit., p. 196) the kingdom of '*Letturo*' or Siām, a term evidently borrowed from Ptolemy's **Lēstai**, **Lestōn**. J. Schouten (1636) names (op. cit., p. 28) '*Lydure*' among the principal cities of Siām, but this information is probably culled from Mandelslo, who writes '*Lidure*' (op. cit., p. 306), and who in his turn has possibly drawn in this instance upon Mendez Pinto. This famous traveller refers, in fact (op. cit., pp. 275–6), to a fortified town, '*Lautor*,' in A.D. 1545, situated about Bisṇulôk and C'haināth, which I take to be *Lakhōn-thai* (Lacontai). For **Lestōn**, see again p. 258 above, note, ll. 1, 2.

p. 157, ll. 1–12 from bottom. *C'hōng.* These people have been fortunately recently studied by my late friend Dr. J. Brengues, whose premature death has been a sad loss for Indo-Chinese ethnology. In his most valuable paper upon them (published in the *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. ii, Bangkok, 1905, pp. 19–47), he has proved them identical with the tribes termed *Porr* in Kamboja, and says they name themselves *Tamrët*, often transcribed *Samret*, *Samrëk*, *Samrel*, and *Samrë*. He has also shown that they actually occupy the whole tract from the Kampōt district, on the east coast of Siām, to the mountains lying westward of the great inland lake of Kamboja. But by far the most important result of Dr. Brengues' researches is the ascertainment among the C'hōng or Chong of a remarkable proportion of individuals (about one-twentieth) of unmistakable Negrito type: low stature (1·595 m. on the average), flat nose, very dark skin (Nos. 41–3 of Broca's scale), and crisp, frizzly, almost woolly hair and mesaticephalic skull (maximum index 79, or 78–82); all characters which forcibly differentiate them from the taller, lank-haired, and sub-brachycephalic Khmërs. My conclusions as to a Negrito population

occupying of old the Kambojan coast have thereby received a most ample confirmation, and there can be now no further doubt that the forbears of these dusky robber (and perhaps also to some extent piratical) tribes are in the main the population described by Ptolemy as being in occupation of his Λῃστῶν χώρα, i.e. 'Robber Country.'

p. 157, ll. 3-5 from bottom. Such traditions can be correct only in so far as they refer to the immigrated non-Negrito element now forming so large a proportion of the present C'hŏng. Other traditions state, on the other hand, that the Radē have been the first batch of immigrants that reached Kamboja from the north.

p. 157, n. 1, ll. 3, 4. As regards the origin of the name Kamboja, cf. *Kāmboja* in the Mahābharata, etc.; and *Kāṁroja*, a country and a people in the south-west region, according to the Bṛhat Saṁhitā.

p. 158, l. 6 from bottom. Cuirasses seem to have been almost generally employed of old in Indo-China, and are yet the fashion in some parts even nowadays, as may be gathered from the following evidence I have collected:—

(1) "Au Nan-tchao, tout homme arrivé à l'âge adulte et suffisamment robuste est soldat . . . Ils portent des jambières et des casques rouges, des *cuirasses en peau de rhinocéros* et des boucliers de cuivre. Ils marchent pieds nus" ("Nan-chao Ye-shih," composed in 1550, Sainson's transl., p. 19). This refers to the period 649–1382, during which the Nan-chao kingdom in Yün-nan lasted, and probably applies also to an earlier epoch.

(2) "Cuirasses faites de lames d'ivoire" were taken by the Chinese from the Chām at the time of the latter's defeat in A.D. 808 (Bouillevaux in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, t. iii, p. 79).

(3) The cannibal and caudate P'u, 濮, "portent des cuirasses de cuir cru" (Ma Tuan-lin's "Ethnography," published 1319, Hervey's transl., p. 299). In the *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 293, it is stated that these tribes "were clad in *coats of mail*." The above extracts refer to a period going as far back as the third century A.D.; and these caudate *P'u* or arboreal *P'u*, located at 1,500 *li* south-west of Yün-nan, were evidently Lawā or Wah.

(4) The *Ko-Kuo-lo*, 葛 猓 玀, a tribe of Lolos, "portent *cuirasse*" ("Nan-chao Ye-shih," 1550, Sainson's transl., p. 169).

(5) The *T'u-jén*, 土 人, i.e the *Thổ* of North Tonkin, "emploient comme présents de fiançailles des couteaux et des *cuirasses*" ("Nan-chao Ye-shih," 1550, Sainson's transl., p. 183).

(6) The *Li-su* employ hides hardened in the sun as *cuirasses* (E. Roux' "Aux Sources de l'Irraouaddi," p. 27).

(7) The *Breḥ*, *Brëḥ*, or *Lakü*, a tribe of Karens, "a generation or two back carried *shields* made of plank covered with buffalo hide and studded with brass nails" ("Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, p. 533).

p. 159, l. 3. "Inland sea of Kamboja." This is an oversight on my part, and must be corrected into "inland sea of Singora," to which the generic term *Thalē Sab* is also applied. On its cave-dwellers, see Annandale's criticism of Warington Smyth in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. xvi, 1900, pp. 519–520.

p. 159, ll. 7, 8, and n. 1, on cave-dwellers. Add, furthermore, the following evidence:—

(1) According to a Chinese account, the "inhabitants of Pulo Condor subsist by fishing and gathering fruits. They have their abodes in nests and *holes*. Their appearance is monstrous and their colour black" (*China Review*, vol. iii, p. 325). This trogloditism of the Pulo Condor people is further confirmed by Dampier in his account of that island.

(2) It is stated of the old kingdom of Ai-Lao on the coast of Annam (corresponding to the territory of the present Müangs Kham Köt and Kham-Müen on the Lāu-Annamese watershed): "Les habitants de ces territoires habitent pour la plupart *dans des grottes*, et ces troglodytes cultivent les rizières sans instruments aratoires" (Dumoutier's "Un Portulan Annamite du XVe Siècle," Paris, 1896, p. 50).

(3) In the *Wu-ko*, 烏戈, country, whither Mêng-hu proceeded for assistance against K'ung-ming (in A.D. 225), according to the "San-kuo Chih," were no houses, every one living in *caves* or *holes* (see *China Review*, viii, p. 49). This country of *Wu-ko*, *U-ko*, *U-ka* (lit. 'Black Spear' or 'Crow Spear'), the name of which at first sight would seem to be the transcript of some Sanskrit-Pāli toponym (e.g., *Utkala*, *Ukkala*, *Ukkaka*, see p. 94 above), was probably on the upper waters of the Red River not far from modern Yüan-chiang, judging from the fact that the San-kwo Chih locates a river, *T'au-hwa Shwei*, 桃花水, in the said *Wu-ko* country, which strikes one as identical to the *T'au-chiang* or Red River (see p. 317 above). N.B., moreover, that there were then *Wu-mo* tribes settled about Yüang-chiang, and *Ko Man* (probably *Ko* or *Aka*) quite close by to the westward. Hence, *Wu-ko*, *U-ka*, may mean country of the Akas (*Akha*, *Akhö*). The original home, or at any rate the last centre of emigration, of the Akas is, in fact, believed to have been at, or round about, Ta-lang, which lies but a short distance to the south-west of Yüan-chiang (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, p. 590).

(4) On the cave-dwellers of Eastern Sz-ch'wan, see Parker's "China," p. 9, where it is further stated (loc. cit.) that "some of these tribes still exist to the extreme south-east, near the Kwei Chou frontier."

(5) At Long-Po, on the Red River, on the Yün-nan frontier; and at Tu-yên-quan and elsewhere in Upper Tonkin, prehistoric stations have been discovered in caves.

p. 159, n. 2, l. 1. *Kan-chō.* Read *Kon-chō*, which appears to be but the Khmër-Annamese detractory corruption of their name *Kan-c'ho*, or *Kañja* as Aymonier prefers to write it (see his "Cambodge," t. i, p. 296). They don't seem, however, to be so uncouth and brutalized as Moura described them.

p. 160, l. 7. On the possible identity of the *C'hōng* or *Chong* with Chou Ta-kuan's *Chwang Tsei* (A.D. 1296–7), i.e. '*Chong* Robbers,' see Appendix II above, section 7, s.v. **Lēstai**. But I have my doubts as to whether the expression *Chwang Tsei* or *Chong-t'sak* really should be so interpreted, or else taken to mean the *C'hōng* and *Sak* tribes as I have already observed (loc. cit.). It should be noticed, in fact, that the *C'hōng* and *Sak* are often spoken of together in popular ditties, as, e.g., to point out an instance which may easily be verified, in the extract from the versified story of Mahā Janaka, quoted by Leyden, "*Chong-sak nă-lāi*" (see "Essays relating to Indo-China," ser. I, vol. i, p. 146), which means, "the *Chong* and *Sak* with tattooed faces." For the *Sak* tribes see p. 165 above, last five lines at bottom. Chou Ta-kuan actually says: "The savages are people of the mountainous solitudes. They form a separate race called *Chwang-tsei* [or, *Chong Ts'ak*]"; without adding any further comment as to their possessing robbing proclivities or not. This seems to me almost an indication that what he means is, the '*Chong* and *Sak* tribes,' and not '*Chong* Robbers.' Of course, if the latter interpretation could safely be maintained, it would establish a most valuable historical and ethnographical link in the connection between Ptolemy's **Lēstai** and the present *Chong* of unhybridized Negrito blood.

p. 162, note, ll. 10–14. *Bā-löi.* This is the Annamese way of reading the Chinese 婆利, *P'o-li*, the name of the State which I have since identified with the territory of the *Pulai River*, north of the old Singapore Strait (see p. 495, and Addenda to pp. 98 and 110 above). It has therefore nothing at all to do with Campā: this is a pure fancy of the author of the "Gia-dinh Thung-chi."

p. 163, l. 2 *Vṛlas.* These people are mentioned in a Po-Nagar

inscription of King Vikrāntavarman. Finot ("Album Kern," p. 383) renders the expression *Vṛlaḥ-kirāṭa-vṛta* as "sauvages montagnards appelés *Vṛlas*." On these, see further, p. 257, n. 1; and these Addenda, note to p. 155, above).

p. 164, n. 1, l. 4. *Kim-trân.* This is the Annamese way of pronouncing the Chinese characters 金陳, *Chin-ch'ên* (*Kêm-ch'ên, Kim-chin*), constituting an alternative name for *Chin-lin*, according to Chinese records. *Kim-chin* may be an attempt at rendering the Sanskrit *kāncana* = 'gold' = *Suvarṇa*[*-bhūmi*]? Kāśyapa, the commentator, lived in the eighteenth century. For a possible identity of *Chin-lin* (*Kam-lan*) with *Camelan*, see p. 113, n. 3; and these Addenda, note to p. 113, above.

p. 165, note, l. 1. After "Chindwīn valley," add: "and the Shan States."

p. 168, ll. 10–12. *Chên-la.* The Chinese characters for this toponym, 眞臘, *Chön-la*, represent, in my opinion, allowing for differences inherent to old Chinese pronunciation, a form *Chön-rā, Chön-rāi*, or *Sön-rāi*, evidently intended to render the name *Sörāi* by which the Stiengs to this very day designate Kamboja. I have good reason to suppose that this name for Kamboja, which appeared in the seventh century A.D., originated from the *Charāi* or *Jarāi* tribes which must have invaded it and held it under their sway, and which to this day hold the privilege of possessing Fire kings (see pp. 342, 343 above). I cannot here dilate any more on this subject, which I am working at and fully developing in a paper I am preparing for the press.

p. 175, l. 13, and p. 176 *passim*. *Syām-kak.* M. Finot, who has again verified these inscriptions, says that *Syāṁ-kak* is a misreading, and that *Syāṁ-kut* is the correct one for both (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 236, n. 2).

p. 175, n. 2, ll. 9–12. On face-tattooing of the *Li* of Hainan. The *Tan-êrh* (people of North Hainan) tattooed their ears, according to a Chinese writer of the sixth century (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 281). As regards the *Liau*, the "An-nan Chih-lüo," p. 96 transl., states that some of them "tattoo the forehead and file their teeth."

p. 177, n. 2. The original expression for the 'Great Black Mountains' in I-tsing's text is, as I found out elsewhere, *Ta-hêh Shan*, 大黑山. These are also mentioned by Kia Tan in one of his itineraries, compiled during the period 785–805 A.D., as lying between *P'iao* (Lower Burmā) and *Kāmarūpa* (Asām). (See *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 371.) They must correspond, therefore, to the Lushai Hills bounding on the west the Kubo valley.

p. 178, ll. 1–5. *Śyāma.* Cf. on this term:

(1) *Śyāmāka,* a people in the Northern region, according to the Bṛhat Saṁhitā.

(2) *Sāmagāma,* one of the townships of the Śākya clan mentioned in the most ancient Buddhist texts.

(3) *Sāyam* = 'the black One,' Skr. *Śyāma,* is the godling of the land and soil (*Bhūmiya*) in the hills of North India (Crooke, vol. i, p. 105).

(4) *Dàng-thổ* = 'Black Earth' (*Śyāma-bhū*). An Annamese expression at times employed to designate Kamboja and her people (see Bonet's Dict. Annamite, vol. i, p. 134).

p. 181, ll. 7–10 from bottom. The countries of *Lvo* (= Lavô), *Dvār* (for Dvārapurī, Dvāravatī ?), etc., are mentioned in a Lop'hburī (Lavô) inscription of *circâ* 950–1000 A.D. (see Aymonier's "Cambodge," t. ii, p. 83).

p. 181, l. 3 from bottom. *Sīem.* Cf. *Sim* of Hayton the Armenian, who states it to be a kingdom lying between China and India (see De Backer, op. cit., p. 127). This may, however, refer to *Chin* (Pegu).

p. 183, ll. 18–20. The designation *Śyāma-padeśa* for the Sukhôthai kingdom occurs under the date of about 1360 in the "Jinakāla Mālinī" (composed A.D. 1516).

p. 184, l. 3. *Thai.* The terms *Thai* and *Mūang Thai* ('Country of the Thai, or Freemen') already occur in the oldest Thai inscription of A.D. 1306 found at Sukhôthai.

p. 185, n. 1, ll. 7, 8 from bottom. *Thai* has been thought to be represented by 柴, *Ch'ai* or *Ts'ai,* in *Shan Ch'ai,* 山 柴, 'Mountain *Thai* (?),' the name applied to themselves by the Mān Kao-lan tribes, who speak a modified Thai jargon (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.,* t. ii, p. 268).

Add *Thời* (*thầy*) = a 'master,' in Annamese.

p. 190. For a much fuller treatment of the historical questions connected with ancient Siām which have been hardly touched upon in this section (pp. 169–90), I must refer the reader to several of my publications quoted in the foregoing pages, and chiefly among them to my articles on "Siam's Intercourse with China," which appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1900–2; also for January, 1898, and January, 1899.

p. 190, ll. 9–14 from bottom. As regards the *Vijaya* of Chām inscriptions, see, however, below, note to p. 281.

p. 190. **Pagrasa.** For further linguistic remarks on this toponym, see p. 309 above. *Krās* in Khmër means 'thick,' 'dense,' 'hard'; *sat-krās* = 'sea-turtle' (Siām. *kraḥ*), and a 'shell.'

p. 192, ll. 12–14. The form **Sōbannos** also occurs in some of

the Ptolemaic MSS., which argues a derivation from *Sovaṇṇa*. Cf. also *Suparṇā* River in India (Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 154). *Suparṇa*, *Supaṇṇa*, *Suban*, is an epithet of Garuḍa. As to its identity with the Kap'hong Som River, it is worthy of remark that Hamilton, in 1720, refers to this stream, even though by mistake, as the *Cupang Soap* (see Pinkerton's "Collection of Voyages," vol. vii, London, 1811, p. 477).

p. 193, ll. 2, 3. *P'thāi* and *Banthāi* mean in Khmër, besides a 'wall,' a 'citadel.'

p. 193, ll. 1–5 from bottom, and p. 194, ll. 1–6 from top. In a separate paper, now in the press, I have gathered all necessary information and historical references to prove that a branch of the Western Më-Khŏng, detached a little above Chaudoc, flowed through an old channel (corresponding roughly to the present C'hŏng Kanc'hum canal) into the Banthai-māś River, thus discharging its waters into the Gulf of Siām. Suffice here to point out that in 1544 and 1595–6 Siāmese fleets proceeded from Banthai-māś to Lawĕk, the then capital of Kamboja, through the above-mentioned old channel of the Më-Khŏng, as recorded in the "Ayuthia Annals," vol. i, pp. 161 and 194. The dates I have given are corrected ones. The discovery I have made of the existence of the old channel is likely to help in the better understanding of the hitherto obsoure routes followed by ancient sea-trade in those parts.

p. 195, n. 2, "after 1715." Read "in 1714."

p. 197, l. 16. *P'hu-Kuok*. This name came to be given the island from P'hu-Kuok (Phu-quôc) village, founded thereon by Māk-Kŭu, 莫 玖, in about 1700–15. It is therefore a modern one. Māk-Kŭu also founded Kampōt, Rach-jā, and Kamau villages.

p. 198, l. 2. *Trol*, or *trål*; hence, *Kå-trål* or *Koh Trol* = 'Shuttle Island.' N.B. that in Mŏn *darā*, *dharā* = a 'spool' such as put into a weaver's shuttle, and that this term even more approaches in sound to the final syllable of Ptolemy's **Aka[dra]**. Thus, in Mŏn [*T'*]*kå-darā* or [*L'*]*Kå-darā* (**Aka-dra**) would mean 'Spool Island.' Garnier, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1872, p. 144, spells the name of the island '*Ca Tron*.'

p. 199, l. 12. *Jakatra*, or *Jakarta*; but both are a corruption of Skr. *Jayakarta*.

p. 199, l. 4 from bottom. *Ujong Tānah* corresponds to Johore territory, and is distinct from *Tamasak*, the old name of Singapore Island. For the identity of this with the *Tumasik* of the "Nāgarakretāgama" (*circâ* 1380), etc., see more fully my paper "The Nāgarakretāgama List of Countries," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, pp. 500–11.

p. 200, note, last 5 lines. Cf., however, the Strait of *Chih* (*Cheik* or *Sik*), 質, mentioned by Kia-tan in one of his Itineraries (A.D. 785–805, see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 231), which seems to be somewhat onomatologically connected with the [*Tuma*]*sik* of the Nāgarakretāgama, although it may be intended to be an abbreviation of *Chih-li*, *Sik-lit* (*Selat*).

p. 201, ll. 10–20 from bottom. *Komār*, more correctly *Kmar*. De Barros (Dec. iii, lib. ii, ch. 5) has a curious passage as follows: "There are two kingdoms adjacent to each other, and *both of them maritime*, which have each a peculiar language; the first is termed *Como*, and the second *Camboja*" (see Leyden's Essay in "Essays relating to Indo-China," ser. I, vol. i, p. 150). Here *Como* (unless intended for *Khōm*, another name for Kamboja, which is unlikely) presumably corresponds to the territory of the Khmau district; and, taken in a more extensive sense, to the western part of the Mē-Khōng Delta; and thus to the *Kmār* of the Arabs which we have located in the same position. N.B. that although in a preceding note (to p. 197) the foundation of *Khmau* village is put, after the "Gia-dinh Thung-chi," to the credit of Māk-kŭu, and does not go further back than A.D. 1700–15, the name *Khmau* for the district, the river flowing through it, and the cape, is far older.

Another name similar to De Barros' *Como* is that of the *Kramūen Sō* (now Rach-jā) district, spelled *Kramonsa* by Garnier in his translation of the "Chronique Royale du Cambodge," and *Kar-mun-sa* by Crawfurd (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 235). Its river, now called the Tek-sia, or Rach-ja, I have elsewhere identified with the *Man-shan*, 蠻 山, River of Chinese records (A.D. 1015; see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 578). But I think that De Barros' *Como* is really *Khmau*, as I have hinted at above.

p. 202, ll. 7–11. Compare Mas'ūdī's passage here with the following one from Aubaret's "Gia-dinh Tung-chi," p. 86: "Les Chinois avaient autrefois l'habitude de donner le nom de *va-nu-pieds* aux habitants de *Gia-dinh* [Lower Cochin-China], et cela tenait à ce que les mandarins seulement ou les personnes fort-riches, ou bien les grands marchands, portaient seuls des chaussures."

p. 202, l. 6 from bottom. *Kih-mieh*. In Chinese characters: 吉 篾, *Chi-mie* (*Kit-met*, *Keik-miek*, *Kil-miöl*; Ann. *Kiet-miet*), which is the spelling made use of in the "T'ang Shu," both old and new recensions, compiled during the ninth and eleventh centuries respectively (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. ii, p. 125). This seems to represent the form *Kmir* (for Khmër) appearing in some

of the Chām inscriptions, but certainly neither *Kvir* nor *Kur*, which have quite another origin (i.e. from *Kuru*, the *Kuru* people of the Indo-Chinese *Indraprastha*, the mediæval capital of Kamboja), as I shall more fully explain elsewhere.

p. 217, l. 19. *Zapa*. Cf. Friar Jordanus' *Chopa* (Hakl. Soc. ed., p. 41).

p. 217, l. 11 from bottom. *T'o-pei*. In the Sung Annals (see extract in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 380) this toponym is spelled 施 備, *Shih-pei*, *Sz-bei*, a form yet more approaching to Ptolemy's **Zabai** (*Zabi*, *Zabei*). Cf. with Dimāshḳī's *T'ubā*, one of the cities of *Ṣanf* (Campā). See Mehren, op. cit., p. 228.

p. 220, l. 12 from bottom. The stela here referred to has since been (1902) transferred to Hanôi, into the Museum of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

p. 221, l. 14. Johor. This is not the *Betūmah* of the old Arab navigators, which must be identified instead with Singapore Island, as I have more recently shown (see these Addenda, note to p. 199).

p. 225, n. 1, last line. See further *T'oung-Pao*, May, 1903, p. 140, where a Chinese official, author of a voyage to Tonkin, scouts the usual interpretation put upon the term *Kiāo-chī*. See also Chavannes in "Se-ma Ts'ien," vol. i, p. 38, quoted there. On *Kochi*, *Kuchi* = Cochin-China as derived from *Kiāo-chī*, *Kāu-chī*, and not from *Kúu-chön*, see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 299. See also *Koki*, *Kochi*, p. 95 above; and p. 321 for other remarks. In the "An-nan Chih-lüo," *Yüan-chī*, 鳶 趾 (in Annamese, *Zïen-chỉ*), and *Nan-chiao*, 南 交, are given as ancient names for Tonkin (see Sainson's transl., pp. 11, 12, 50, 51, 131, 132), date A.D. 975–80. The first one is, I think, connected with the *Chu-Yüan*, 朱 鳶 (in Ann. *Chóu Zïen*), tribes, said to have been settled of old on the slopes of Mount Bā-vì (see Dumoutier's "Étude hist. et archéolog. sur *Cổ-loa*," Paris, Leroux, 1893, pp. 3, 4. The same writer, p. 3, states that the *Kiāu-chī* (*Jāu-chỉ*) tribes occupied the territory of the modern districts of Hà-nôi, Hüng-yên, and Nam-dïñ. Cf., anyhow, *Senjī* and *Chenchỷ* on pp. 245–6, note, *supra*; and remark, moreover, that the second character 趾 in *Yüan-chī* is the same as employed betimes in writing the term *Kiāu-chī*, thus: 交 趾.

As regards the term *Yüeh* (*Vïet*), this occurs in *Yüeh-shang*, 越 裳 (Ann. *Vïet-thüöng*), or *Yüeh-shang Shih* ' = 'Yüeh-shang tribe'), the name of a people and district mentioned in history from B.C. 214, which Dumoutier (op. cit., p. 4) renders as 'Those beyond

Vīet' (i.e. the *Yüeh* country = South China, but more precisely Chehkiang in South-East China; in my opinion, however, *Yüeh-nan*, 越南 [Vĭet-nam] = Annam, 'Southern *Yüeh*'). He places the *Yüeh-shang* tribe in Kwăng-bĭñ and Kwăng-trĭ, whereas Chinese writers variously identify it with *Nung-nai*, 農耐 (i.e. Dồng-nai = Bien-hwā, a term which hopelessly puzzles Mr. E. H. Parker), and even with Lao Chua, i.e. Lúang P'hraḥ Bāng or East Laos, probably on account of a faint resemblance between *Yüeh-shang* and *Wĭeng-Chan* (see *China Review*, vol. xviii, p. 38). See, however, my remarks on p. 227 above; although it is possible that the name survived in that of the old seaport of *Vĭet* (*Yüeh*), which is the embouchure of the modern Kwăng-trĭ River (see Dumoutier's "Portulan Annamite," dating from 1477 A.D., p. 53).

Judging from the fact that in the Chinese transcript *Yü-tan-yüeh* of *Uttara-kuru* (see Eitel, op. cit., p. 189), the term *Yüeh* = *Kuru*, it is not improbable that *Yüeh-shang* stands for *Kuru-jāngala*. We would have, furthermore, the equivalence *Yüeh* = *Vĭet* = *Kuru* = *Kur*, *Kvir* (see in these Addenda, note to p. 202). Anent the other one I have earlier put forward (pp. 134 and 221, note), of *Yüeh* = *Yavana* (*Yuan*, *Yona*) = *Javana* (*Javan*, *Java*, *Jāu*, etc.), cf. the Hebrew *Javan* (Genesis x), in which *v* is *w* as in *Yavana*, = (in Greek) *Ion*, *Ionia* (the scholiast on Aristophanes remarks that "omnes Græcos barbari *Iaones* appellabant").

p. 228, l. 1. In A.D. 347 the northern limit of *Lin-i* and *Jih-nan* was at the *Hwāñ Sön* (*Héng Shan*) Range, in 18° N. lat. (according to the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 190).

p. 228, l. 17. *Huan-wang*. The character 環, *Huan*, in this name, meaning a 'ring' or 'bracelet,' and being variously pronounced *wān*, *gwān*, *kwān*, may be a transcript of Skr. *valaya* (= a 'ring,' 'bracelet'), or else of *vana*, *bāṇa*, *bala*, *bal* (= Iśvara in India), or even *bal* (= a 'palace,' 'capital,' 'royal residence' in Chām). *Huan-wang* might thus mean *Vana-rāja*, *Bala-rāja*, *Vanaspati* (cf. the *Vanaspati* region in *Krauncа-dvīpa* (see "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. ii, p. 198), etc.; or even 'King of *Bal* (the Chām capital),' and *Valaya-rāja* or *Valaya-rāṣṭra*. (Cf. *Śrī-Banöi*, the old Chām capital = *Śrī Vanaya*, *Śrī Valaya*?) As regards the sound *gwān*, *guā*, cf. *Gwala-garh*, a town in the Indian Chamba.

There was a *Huan* River up the coast at Hà-tĭñ, which district has borne (A.D. 581–650) the name *Huan Chou*, 驩州; and a little further down a *Ron* River in North Kwăng-bĭñ, just below 18° N. lat. Either name may be the historical continuation of

the old *Huan-wang*. The *Huan* River, 環江 (the first character being identical to the one employed to denote the *Huan* kingdom, i.e. Campā), referred to above is mentioned in the Annamese records in A.D. 1008 in the neighbourhood of Vĩnh (see Dumoutier's "Hoa-lư'," p. 53), and probably corresponds to the present Van-ch'üang, between Vĩnh and Hà-tĩnh.

p. 228, ll. 1–8 from bottom. *Chan-ch'éng* (the 'City of Chan') = *Campā-pura*.

The name *Campā* appears in local inscriptions since A.D. 479–577.

p. 228, n. 3, ll. 4, 5. *Bal-Hangov*. This must be the Chām citadel existing at about two miles south-west of Hwệ, on the right side of the river, just opposite the Trüak-lam village. Between this and Hwệ, on the same side of the river, are the ruins of brick buildings (An-kïeu and Thân-p'hū). Other ruins are to be seen at Giam-biêu, south-west of the Hwệ citadel (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. ii, p. 105).

Bal Hangov (or, *Hingur*) was "ainsi appelée, paraît-il, des pins qui abondent encore aujourd'hui aux environs de la capitale actuelle des Annamites [Hwệ]" (Aymonier in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 32, p. 155). It appears to have been founded in A.D. 1007.

A yet more ancient capital is mentioned in Chām tradition, to wit: *Bal Thvu* (or *Sruh*) *Bal Lai* (*Excurs. et Reconn.*, No. 31, p. 153), which may correspond to *Bal Śrī Banöi* (*Vanaya, Valaya, Śivālaya*, i.e. *Huan-wang*?). N.B. that the *Ron* River is not far to the north of Dông-hŏi, the supposed site of *Śrī Bani* or *Śrī Banöi*.

p. 229, l. 3. *Dồng-Hŏi*. The ramparts of *Dóng-Hŏi*, or *Dóng-Hāi*, 洞海 (= 'Sea Grotto'), were built, according to an Annamese Geography, in the reign of Hsiao Wên-ti (B.C. 179-56): see Dumoutier's "Portulan Annamite," p. 52.

p. 229, l. 6. *P'hŏt-thệ*. Père Cadière writes 佛尊, *P'hật-thệ* (= *P'hŏt-thệ*, in Chinese *Fo-shih*), in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, 1903, p. 204; and adds that it was taken in 1044 by Lí-thái-tôn, it being then the capital of Campā, thus confirming what I had written in antecedence on p. 229 above. N.B. that 佛逝, *Fo-shih*, as it is spelled in Ma Tuan-lin, means 'Buddha's death,' and may thus allude to *Kusinārā*, where the Buddha died. On the other hand, it may be a transcript of some term like *Bhoja*, *Bhojya*, etc. Again, as the Chām inscriptions mention a city or district *Amarāvatī* in the north, as Finot makes it out (quite the reverse of Aymonier, who understands it to have been in the south), the term *Fo-shih* may be a clumsy rendering of it (as *Marāvatī*, 'Death's abode'), or

a simple attempt to phonetically transcribe the last part *vatī* of the name, perhaps more accurately represented in the Annamese form *P'hŏt-thẽ* or *P'họt-thẽ*. On an ancient capital *Fu-ch'un*, 富春 (Ann. *P'hụ-c'huŏn*), founded before Hsiao Wu-ti's reign (A.D. 373–97) near Hwē (west or south-west) and on a site apparently corresponding to that of *P'hŏt-thẽ*, see Dumoutier's "Portulan Annamite," p. 55. However, according to the *Bulletin de l'École Française*, t. iv, p. 199, this information cannot be traced further back in history than the period of the Annamese Ngwĭen (Nguyên) dynasty, seventeenth–eighteenth centuries.

p. 229, n. 1, l. 3. *Dòng* = 仝. This is incorrect, for *Dòng-hŏi* is actually represented by the characters 洞 海, *Zŏng Hải* (in Chinese, *Tung Hai* = 'Sea Grotto'), and sometimes spelled 洞 洄, *Zŏng Hŏi* (in Chinese *Tung Hwei* = 'Eddy Cave'), see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 180. These are, presumably, mere clumsy attempts to render an old Chām name; unless 回, *Hui*, is intended, which is used to designate Muḥammedans and also Mongols.

p. 230, l. 2. In 1371 the Chām king Chê Bông-ngā attacked and totally destroyed Hwē, the then capital of Annam (see Dumoutier's "Portulan," pp. 54, 55), which was not rebuilt until two centuries later. *C'hā-bān*, or *Bal Angwē*, the Chām capital of the time, is presumably "the city of *Bal*, called *Metakat*," of the "Malay Annals" (Leyden's transl.).

p. 230, l. 5. *Bal Batthinŏng* became the seat of government after 37 years' interregnum, according to Chām tradition, i.e. in *circâ* 1508. But this date probably requires a correction of some 100 years less. From the Chinese records we learn of the death, in A.D. 1505, of the Chām king *Kŭ-lai*, who had been deposed some time prior to A.D. 1481 in favour of his elder brother, and driven out to seek refuge at C'hī Khrām and Pānrang. On the other hand, the Annamese Portulan of 1477 A.D. already locates the Chām capital at Pānrang, which evidences that the latter already stood there since at least some years, say from 1467 or even earlier (see Dumoutier's "Portulan," p. 64).

p. 231, l. 19. *Hsi-t'u*. These tribes are by some Chinese writers identified with the *Hê-ch'ih*, 黑 齒, or 'Black Teeth,' so-called from their habit of staining or lacquering their teeth black (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 281). This custom is common to the Annamese, Khmër, Lāu, Siāmese, and in general to all betel-chewing populations of Indo-China; hence the difficulty of identifying the *Hsi-t'u*, who may have been, however, part of the forbears of the present Khmërs.

p. 231, l. 12 from bottom. The "An-nan Chih-lüo" (p. 213 transl.) states that the Chinese expedition of A.D. 603 (605?) landed at the seaport of *Pi-king* (*Ti-káñ*, see p. 311 *supra*), and ferried the *Shê-li* or *Tu-li Kïang* (in Bộ-chaṇ = modern Kwáng-biñ and Kwáng-trĩ), where the frontier of Campā then stood (p. 63). This must have been either the Song-kā at Viṇ or else the Song-giang River. A battle here ensued, in which the Chām king was worsted. Thereupon, the Chinese invaders proceeded onwards to the *Ta-yüan* (= the Song-giang or the Kwáng-biñ River?), where they again defeated the Chām who had taken position there. The army then passed Ma-yüan's brass pillar, and eight days' march further it reached the Chām capital.

p. 233, ll. 13–15. The contemporary inscriptions of Chõ-diñ, Mĩ-sön, and Hon-kuk, belonging to *circá* A.D. 400, all three mentioning the name of the same Chām king (Bhadravarman), and coming, the first one from the district of Twĩ-hwā just above Cape Varella (13° N. lat.) and the other two from places in the south-west of Turān (16° N. lat.), prove that at any rate the region comprised between Cape Varella and Turān obeyed a single ruler (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. ii, p. 191).

p. 234, l. 19. Since this passage was written there has been discovered the stela of Śambhuvarman at Mĩ-sön in South-West Turān, which is the oldest dated inscription hitherto brought to light in the whole of Indo-China (A.D. 479–577). In it the name *Campā* already occurs. The earliest mention hitherto found was on the stela of Yang Tikuṇ, A.D. 799 (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii). As regards the term *Mahā Campā*, this reappears, brought to light in the Annamese form *Dãi C'hïem*, 大古 (Chin., *Tai-Can*), in the Annamese Portulan of 1477, as the name for the seaport of Fai-fo (present Kwáng-nam below Turān), see Dumoutier's "Portulan," p. 57.

p. 239, l. 3. Chang Shêng, the author of the revised edition of Ma Huan's "Ying-yai Shêng-lan," in noticing the seaport called *Hsin-chou* says that on its shores a stone pagoda was erected as a beacon. Ma Huan mentions it as well (see *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 374; and, for a fuller description, the *China Review*, vol. iii, pp. 321, 322).

p. 243, n. 2, last line. Flowered *Pê-tiê* cloth is woven by the women of *Tu-po* Island (= Borneo, see p. 245 above) according to Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 513.

p. 245, l. 11. In the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (Sainson's transl., p. 228) in 1291 A.D. the Sea of China is called *Yen-Hai*, 炎海, the 'Blazing Sea,' with reference perhaps to Yen-ti (the 'Fiery

God') or Shên-nung, the fabulous China emperor (B.C. 2838), called also the 'Red God' in the "Lu-shih" (see *China Review*, vol. xiv, p. 27), and to volcanoes in its eastern part. Cf. (see pp. 248, 249 above) the *Jan-ho* ('Fire Island,' which I identify with Gunong Api in the Banda group) and *Ho Shan* ('Fire Island' = Gunong Api, east of Sumbawa?) islands located by Chinese writers in the Chang-Hai Sea, east of *Tu-po* Island, i.e. Borneo (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp. 449 and 518, 519). The *Yen-Hai* Sea is, accordingly, probably another name—or rather epithet—for the sea of *Chang-Hai*.

p. 246, n., l. 5. Ortelius, in his map of South China (A.D. 1560–70), marks a place *Chenchi*, a short distance up the *Lichi* (= Lei-chou) River, which does not seem to be Shih-ch'êng (Shek-shen) in the east corner of the Tonkin Gulf. With *Ṣenjī* cf. also *Yüan-chih* (Ann. *Zīen-chī*), an ancient name for Tonkin (see above in these Addenda, note to p. 225, n. 1).

p. 246, note, l. 20. For these pearl fisheries see also Mendez Pinto, who visited them in 1540, and says they were to be found at the Bay of *Camoi* (= Cape *Kami*, see note below) or *Guamboy* ("Travels," 3rd ed., London, 1692, pp. 52, 53).

p. 247, note, ll. 10–16 from bottom. In A.D. 868 Kao-Pien had many submarine rocks removed (apparently by means of mines), thereby making navigation safer between Canton and Tonkin (see Des Michels, op. cit., p. 208, and "An-nan Chih-lüo," pp. 81, 217, 374). According to the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (pp. 379, 380) the dangers in the Gulf of Tonkin were:

(1) The fire-pit of *Sung-tung Sha* (sandbank?).

(2) The large fish with stone horns of *Lo-lien-nü* Bay.

(3) A terrific whirlpool.

Such dangers could thenceforth (A.D. 868) be avoided by passing through the new maritime channel opened out by Kao-Pien. N.B.—In A.D. 851 Sulaimān still makes it understood that it was no easy job to get out of *Ṣandar-fūlāt* (see note on p. 248 above). Cape Kami and its little bay is, as already observed above, Mendez Pinto's *Camoi* or *Guamboy* Bay (A.D. 1540).

p. 248, note, ll. 4, 5. *Ṣandar-fūlāt*. Perhaps *Sundara-pura*, *Śrī Sundara-pura*, after the names of two cities on the Himālayan plateau (see Tawney's "Kathā-sarīt-sāgara," vol. i, pp. 484 and 494). See, however, note 1 to p. 250 above.

p. 249, n. 2. *Tun-sun* or *Tien-hsün*. The original word may be *Dūsun* = an 'orchard' in Malay, occurs in the names of several places on the Malay Peninsula, besides being applied to several tribes in North Borneo calling themselves *Kadasan*.

As regards Tenasserim, the oldest recorded form of its name is *Tanaṅsari*, ꩬꩧꩮꩬꩫ, which appears in the A.D. 1248 Pagān inscription of King Narapati-sithu (see text of the "Inscriptions of Pagan," etc., p. 250, l. 6). So much for those writers who pretend (like, e.g., in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, pp. 407 and 475) that the right name for Tenasserim is *Ñaṅkasī*, which is by the Peguans pronounced *Ñaṅkasōi*. This is a mere faulty transcript for which the Rev. A. O. Stevens is responsible (see "Vocabulary English and Peguan," Rangoon, 1896, p. 138, ll. 5–7). The real Mōñ (Peguan) name for Tenasserim, as ascertained by myself, is *Tᶜṇang-sī*, ꩬꩫꩮꩬ, pronounced *Tᶜnang-sōi* or *Tănang-sōi*, and occurs in the Mōñ Annals called the "Rājādhirāj." It well enough agrees, it will be seen, with the *Tanang-sari* of the 1248 Pagān inscription, which in its turn quite agrees with the *Ta-na-ssŭ-li* of the Chinese map of about 1400 published by Phillips (see p. 426 above).

I have no objection against its identification with Tāranātha's *Dhanaśrī-dvīpa* (A.D. 1608), proposed in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 407, note 5.

The Mōñ form, *Tăṇaṅ-sī*, of the name looks much like a rendering of the Pāli *Tāṇa-sīmā* (Skr. *Trāṇa-sīmā*) = 'shelter boundary,' or 'defence-limit,' mayhap from its forming in old times the southernmost limit of the Pagān kingdom (tenth to thirteenth centuries), and of the Peguan one which the former absorbed at the beginning of that period. For in Mōñ ꩬꩫꩮ, *thaṇa* = *ṭāna*, *sthāna*, 'place,' 'land'; but may also stand for *tāṇa*, *trāṇa*, as ꩬꩫꩮꩬ, *taṇaṅ*, for *tāṇaṁ*; and ꩬꩮ, *sī*, is a contraction of *sīmā*. Thus, on the basis of Mōñ, *Tăṇaṅ-sī* may be explained as equivalent to either *Tāṇa-sīmā* or *Ṭhāna-sīmā* (= 'frontier land'). From either of these forms may easily have originated the corrupt ones, *Tāṇa-srīmā*, *Tāna-serima*, *Tanaserim*.

The Siāmese *Tanāvaśrī*, *Tanāu*, presupposes a derivation from *Tāṇa-vāsī*, or from *Tanāva*, *Tanāu*, which latter would still survive in the name of the *Danu*, *Danaw* (*Tanu*, *Tanāu*) tribes of East Burmā, which are thought to have come from Tenasserim (see "Upper Burma Gaz.," pt. i, vol. i, p. 563). There is, finally, the Hindu-Malay form *Tānah-sari* ('land of delight') to take into account, which argues an original name *Ṭhāna-sirī* ('land of prosperity') or *Sthāna Śrī*. This interpretation would find some slight corroboration in Pyrard de Laval's statement (A.D. 1610) that

some Indians call Ceylon "*Tenasirin*, signifying land of delights, or earthly paradise" (see "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed., p. 914), This epithet may easily have been transplanted from Ceylon on to Tenasserim. Anyhow, it will be seen that it is incontestably Indū, borrowed by the Malays, and not Malay as incorrectly stated by the editor of the new issue of "Hobson-Jobson," at the outset of the article "Tenasserim."

It is not uninteresting to add that the Chinese of the Straits write the name 丹 茗, *Tan-lau*, lit. 'Red *Sīrih* (betel)' [leaf], see *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S.*, No. 42, p. 201, which shows that they mistakenly interpret it as *Tānah-Sīrih*. But *Tan-lau* purports very likely to be a transcript of Tanāu.

In conclusion, whether we take the name of Tenasserim as derived from *Tāṇa-sīmā*, *Ṭhāna-sīmā*, or *Ṭhāna-sirī*, it is incontestably of Indū origin, even in the case it should really prove connected with the *Danu*, *Danaw*, *Danāu*, or *Tanāu* tribes of East Burmā, as tradition has it. The only exception would be if it could be proved to embody the term *Danāu*, *Dānau* = a 'lake,' a 'marsh,' occurring in many a language from the Indo-Chinese Peninsula to Melanesia, e.g.: *Dönāu* in Bahnar, *Dānau* in Malay, and *Danau* in the Eastern Archipelago, as far as [Min]-danao Islands, of which one lies off the west coast of Billiton and the other in the Philippines.

In any case, *Ṭhāna-sīmā*, *Ṭhāna-sirī*, *Tanāva-siri*, etc., cannot, except by an extraordinary stretch of imagination, be made identical with the Chinese *Tun-sun* or *Tien-hsün*. On this toponym see my remarks in the *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, p. 502, n. 1.

p. 249, l. 4 from bottom. *Dele* the words "Batam, Bentan, or."

p. 250, n. 1. Nowairī (*circâ* 1320; † 1332) has *Ṣandābūlāt* and *Ṣīdābūlāt* (see "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 282). N.B.—Arabic ṣ = s = *ch*; hence, probably, *Chandāpura*, *Chandanapura*.

There existed two more *Fu-lu*, but on the coast of Annam, to wit:

(1) 福 祿, in Annamese *Phúök-lõk*, a district a little above modern Kwáng-biñ, mentioned in the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (pp. 86 et seqq.) since A.D. 679, and called also *Lu-fu*;

(2) 扶 鹵, on a river, op. cit., p. 183, date 1257.

A fortified city and *chef-lieu* of district, named *Hsi-fu-lieh*, 西 扶 烈 (Ann. *Tói-phù-liêt*), lying three or four miles south of Hà-nôi and on the right bank of the Red River, is referred to during the period 946–50 A.D., and said to have been a very old place. It was probably then the seaport for *Lung-pien* (Hà-nôi). See Dumoutier's "Hoa-lu'," Paris, 1893, pp. 4, 5; also Des Michels'

"Annales d'Annam," p. 230. Its name, pronounced *Sai-fu-lyt* in Cantonese, is a surprising approach to Nowairī's *Ṣīdā-bū-lāt* especially.

p. 251, note, § 3. *Shang-ching.* According to the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 188, n. 1, this is a misprint for *Pi-king*, for which see p. 312 above.

For other ancient seaports in this region see "An-nan Chih-lüo," pp. 178, 207, 219; Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 198, 200, 219, 220; also p. 311 above for *Lu-jung*, which was the principal seaport for *Jih-nan*, whence ships sailed southward bound.

p. 252, ll. 1–3. *Hồ-tón.* The name of this people is spelled 狐孫 (in Chinese *Hu-sun*), or 狐孫精, *Hồ-tồn Tĩn* (Chin. *Hu-sun Ching*), and in Annamese legend they are identified with the Simian nation, which assisted Rāma in conquering the demons of Laṅkā. They are believed to be a monkey race from which the modern Chāms are descended (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. v, p. 168). Their country is thus thought to be the Indian kingdom of Kiṣkindhyā, where, in Rāma's time, reigned Sugriva. The transference of this legend to Campā probably arose from a tradition as to the primæval inhabitants of the country being Negritos, as we have already inferred from other indications (see pp. 256, 257 above).

p. 255, ll. 12, 13. With *Ita, hītam*, etc., cf. also the Persian *Ind* (whence *Hind, Hindū*), which is synonymous with 'black' according to Balfour's Cyclopædia, vol. ii, p. 56.

p. 256, ll. 8–13. For *Tiao* or *Trao* read *Chrau*; for *Kan-chô* read *Kon-chộ̄*, and as regards true Negritos see what has been said above in these Addenda (note to p. 157) of the Chong, Porr, or Samrë.

p. 256, n. 1. Add also *Vyāghra-mukha* (= 'tiger faces'), a people in the eastern region according to the Bṛhat Saṁhitā, which may be compared with the *Hu-t'ou* or *Hồ-dao* ('tiger heads') tribes on the Black River in Tonkin (see p. 395 above). The *Oṣṭhakarṇaka* tribe may also be compared with the [Khā̃] *Ūt*. As regards ikhthyophagi it is well to call attention to the fact that fish- and shell-eating populations occupied the lacustrian stations of the Neolithic age discovered in Kamboja, as proved by the sort of detritus of which the strata of their Kjökken-möddings are composed.

The raw-fish-eating, attributed in the Rāmāyaṇa to eastern islanders, and ascribed in the Catalan Atlas to the populations of the Formosan channel, is by no means a myth, for it is yet

exemplified not far away in Tonkin, whose people are wont to eat certain small fish, raw and alive, while they are swimming in a dish filled with water (see Bissachère's "Exposé statistique du Tonkin," London, 1811, p. 180. This writer, p. 53, terms the Annamese and Tonkinese "un peuple ictiophage").

The "An-nan Chih-lüo," p. 316, states with reference to the period 25–56 A.D. that the inhabitants of Tonkin only knew fishing and hunting, and ignored the cultivation of the soil. Agriculture (husbandry) was introduced by the Chinese governors into upper Tonkin (p. 257) and lower down in the Chiu-chên (now Thañ-hwā) district.

The Orang Akhyē, or Rayat Laut, a seafaring race of the islands of the Linga group (between the east coast of Sumatra and Borneo), live on fish. They are said to be of Jakun stock and very dusky (see Balfour's Cyclopædia, vol. ii, p. 309, and vol. iii, p. 375).

p. 257, n. 1, last three lines. Compare also the *Bhilla* [*palola*], a people in the north-east region according to the Bṛhat Saṁhitā (see these Addenda, note to p. 155). The term *Bhīlū* is still applied to the Taru Karens, according to Judson's Dict. p. 439. *Bhīlū* means an anthropophagous monster = *Rākṣasa*. As regards the *Bīla* of the Malay Peninsula (settled in Kedah, Pêrak, Pahang, and Tringanu), they are nowadays considered to be identical with the Semang Negrito, and by some writers described as civilized Semangs.

p. 258, note, ll. 1–3. *Blū*. Cf. the terms *B'lai*, *B'lē*, etc., employed by the *Loi* of Hainan when speaking of themselves (see *China Review*, vol. xii, p. 115).

p. 258, n. 1, ll. 1, 2. *Chiau* = 'burnt,' 'black.' Cf. the name of the *Panggang* tribe on the Malay Peninsula; *Panggang* in Malay means 'roasted' (and by inference also 'black,' 'burnt').

p. 259, n. 3, l. 2. *P'an-mu* = Bhāmô. I now think this wrong, for the name of Bhāmô is usually transcribed by different characters, viz. 八 蠻, *Pa-mu*, and sometimes 蠻 音, *Man-mu*, when Old Bhamo is meant (see *China Review*, vol. xvi, pp. 1[illegible]2, 379); and, further, because Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 163) locates the *P'an-mu* in west and south-west Sz-ch'wan.

As regards the name of the *Chiau-yau*, it is spelled also 周 饒, *Chou-jau* (see *China Review*, vol. xv, p. 157). Anent the mention of them by Hwai-Nan Tsz, Edkins in his "Ancient Navigation," etc., p. 25 (see *Journal R.A.S.*, vol. xviii, pt. 1), says that the Shan-hai King, at the beginning of the 16th chapter, contains a passage which Hwai-Nan Tsz (second century B.C.) quotes from Lie-tsz (fourth century B.C.). "In the fifteenth chapter a king from

of dwarfs is mentioned in the south. Its name is *Tsiau-nau* [i.e. *Chiau-yau*]. The dwarfs are, says Kwo-pu, 3 feet high, the height given in the Shi-ki [B.C. 100]. Lie-tsz says the same people are one foot and a half high, and he states that their country is 400,000 *li* distant." "According to the Hill and Sea classic [i.e. the 'Shan-hai King'], sect. iii, 4, the *Chiao Yao* or *Chow-jao* were a tribe of cap-wearing pigmies 3 cubits high whose country was situated to the east of the country of the 'three-headed men'" (*China Review*, vol. xv, p. 157). I scarcely doubt that this 'Country of Three-headed Men,' or 'Triple-head Kingdom,' hitherto unidentified and which presumably is denoted in Chinese by the term *San-t'ou*, 三頭, in Cantonese *San-t'au* (= 'Three Heads'), is the Sām-thậu district north-east of C'hīeng Tung, inhabited by the Khã *Sām-thậu*, the Plang, etc.; wherefore the habitat of the Chiau-yau pygmies would become fixed eastwards of the Më-Khōng at C'hīeng-Khếng and Müang Sing in the tract now occupied by *Yạu* tribes, who are short in stature and may after all be the long sought for *Chiau-yau* pygmies.

pp. 259, 260. *K'ang*, 犺. In West Burmā, beyond the Chindwīn, exists a tribe so named (*Khang*), which seems to be a branch of the Chīns (see "Upper Burma Gaz.," pt. i, vol. i, p. 389). The Shans call the Kachīns *Khang* or *Hang*, according to the *China Review*, vol. xvi, p. 380. But as 犺 is pronounced *Kong* and *K'ong* in Cantonese, it is more probable that the Khã *Kong* or *Khong* of extreme north-east Siām (i.e. west of the Black River at Lai Chau) are meant, who are of Ônī (hybrid Melanesian ?) stock. Some of them, termed *Kong-men*, inhabit the I-pang district not far away (north-east) from the Sām-thāu tribes.

I think Dumoutier is wrong when he states ("Hoa-lu'," p. 71) that the *K'ang* were presented to the Chinese court under the reign of Ming Ti (A.D. 58–76); evidently he confuses them with the *Chiau-yau*. But he is interesting in the particulars he gives on the same page as to an ancient race of pygmies whom the Annamese term *P'hong*. According to Annamese tradition, these dwarfs were two cubits high, i.e. about 84 cm.; from their body emanated a delicious perfume; they paid their dues in camphor, rhinoceros horns, and elephant tusks; they were cave-dwellers and hunters. The camphor here referred to as a produce must have been derived from the *Blumea balsamifera*, which we know to be still the case in the Müang Het district near the Lão-Tonkinese frontier and in some hill-tracts near the Black River (see above, p. 438, n. 1). It will thus be seen that the mysterious country of pygmies—the *Chiau-yau*, *P'hong*, etc.—must be located in the

tract between the Më-Khŏng and the Black River under the 21st parallel of N. latitude. Whether these people should be racially identified with the *Yạu*, the *Khã̆ Khong*, or other tribe settled in that tract, is a question which must be left to future ethnologists. It should be noticed, however, that north of this, on the Red River, is the habitat of the dark and dwarf *P'u-la* tribes, which seem to be the remnants of an extensive pygmy race (see below, note to p. 364). The *Pu-mang* or *Khã̆ Dam*, calling themselves *Santŏm*, and recognized by all the surrounding populations as being the true aborigines of Yün-nan and Lāos, are also a very dwarfish race, described as "very small in size, with flat faces, noses without bridges, and black skin . . . One of their peculiarities is their *rounded forehead* and their protruding lips" (see "Upper Burma Gaz.," pt. i, vol. i, p. 620).

p. 260, l. 15. *Ku-lun*, *K'un-lun*. See pp. 89, 90, 103, 261 (n. 1), 507–9 above. Cf.:

(1) The *Kallar*, *Kallan*, *Colleri*, the *sylvestres homines*, monkey-faced tribes in South India (see Balfour's Cyclopædia, vol. ii, p. 274).

(2) The *Kalang*, *Kallang*, or *Gelang* tribes settled in the old days on Singapore Island and in the Riau-Linga Archipelago, possessing affinities with the Semang, Minkopi, and Aeta, who have thence also emigrated to Java. Meyer ("Negritos," pp. 40–1) thinks they might have come to Java from India *viâ* Celebes (?!), and asserts they are not Negritos.

(3) The *Karon* or *Karun*, a Negrito race in North-West Guinea.

From the above it would appear that *Kalan*, *Kalang*, *Karon*, *Karun*, etc. (= *Ku-lun*, *K'un-lun*, *Chüeh-lun* of the Chinese), is a pretty general term in South-East Asia for Negritos or very dark tribes, and was probably imported there from Chola or Choromandel.

p. 262, l. 10. Odoric of Friul says of his *pynan*, *bidun*, *budin*, or *bidini*, pygmies from Kansuh (Kan-chou district), that they have a stature of three spans (see De Backer, op. cit., p. 118). Carletti speaks of *zinzin* pygmies and hairy men, by which he seems to mean (if not *Zenjī*) the *Sing-sing*, 猩 猩, apes of Chinese legendary folklore.

p. 262, ll. 11–15 from bottom. *C'hadāng*, *Salāng*. See pp. 272–273 *supra*, and note thereon in these Addenda *infra*.

p. 265, ll. 13–19. The name *Sāgara* (Ptolemy's **Thagora**) probably still survived in that of the now forgotten seaport *Thại-kŏn* or *Thu-kŏn*, 茶 芹 (in Chinese *Shu-ch'in*, J. *Shu-gon* = *Saugor*, *Sāgara*?), of the Annamese Portulan of A.D. 1477, situated at one day and one night's sailing south-east of *Dãi C'hiem*

(Mahā Campā), i.e. Fai-fo (see Dumoutier's "Portulan," p. 7). This sailing distance fully agrees with that from Fai-fo to Ñā-trāng Bay.

p. 269, ll. 17, 18. *Bal.* This term *Bal*, like the Malay *Bālei* (a 'hall,' a 'platform') and *Bālei-rong* (a 'court,' a 'hall of State'), and the Khmër *Banlēa* (a 'belvedere,' a 'pavilion'), may be derived from Skr. *valaya* = a 'ring,' an 'enclosure'; in any case, the Malay *Bālei-rong* is almost certainly the corruption of Skr. *Valay-[r]-aṅgaṇa.* At the same time it should be noticed, as regards the Chām *Bal* especially, that in India *Bal* is a synonymous term for Iśvara, i.e. Śiva (see *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1899, p. 545; and cf. the Phœnician *Bal*, *Baal* = the 'Sun,' the 'Sun-god'); and that *Bālei* may just as well be derived from *Bal-ālaya* = 'Iśvara's Mansion,' the 'Lord's Abode,' i.e. the 'capital'; mayhap also 'Śiva's (i.e. the king's) dwelling,' kings being in Indo-China likened, as a rule, to Śiva.

p. 271, l. 2. *Pāṇḍurānga.* This term, corrupted into *Pāndaram*, is used in India to denote a Śaiva devotee, and means 'light-yellow (or pale) complexioned,' "from these individuals smearing themselves with ashes," according to Balfour's Cyclopædia, vol. iii, p. 103.

p. 271, l. 19. In A.D. 1170 the capital of King Jaya Harivarman of Campā was very probably at Bal Angwē (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 639).

p. 273, ll. 12–20. *Salāng.* These were evidently the *Hsü-lang*, 徐狼 (called also 狼朊, *Lang-hwang*, and 狼臙, *Lang-yen*), described as occupying the headwaters of the rivers of *Lin-i*, i.e. the hill-tracts west of Campā (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, pp. 280–2). Cf. the names *Lang-hwang* and *Lang-yen* with those in note 4 to p. 272 and note 1 to p. 273.

p. 273, n. 1, ll. 9, 10. For cannibalism in Fuh-kien see Marco Polo. Cf. also the name of the *T'ung-jén* and *Yau-t'ung* savage tribes of *Kwang-hsi* with the 撞, *Chwang*, or Chong of Kamboja (see these Addenda, note to p. 160, and Appendix II, section 7, s.v. **Lēstai**). N.B.—That the character 撞, *T'ung*, is read *Chwang* by Beauvais (in *T'oung-Pao*, ser. II, vol. iii, 1902, p. 69), who locates the *Chwang* near Lieu-chou Fu in Kwang-hsi.

p. 275, n. 3, l. 8. Chou Ta-kuan (the author of the account of Kamboja here referred to) speaks, however, of a recent war with Siām which had laid Kamboja waste (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. ii, p. 173), which argues that the country had been, at any rate, temporarily under the sway of Siām. As regards the employment of human gall to sprinkle royal elephants, the custom is mentioned

also by Marini (1663) as being likewise in honour among the Lāu of Lān-c'hạng. A drop of the gall, mixed with wine, was used to rub on the head of elephants (op. cit., p. 453).

p. 280, ll. 9–12. Turān. Cf. the *Tūrān* of Albirūnī, Edrīsī, etc. = Jhalavan, and also a name of the province immediately east of Makrān (see *Geographical Journal*, June, 1896, pp. 670–1). The "An-nan Chih-lüo" (transl., p. 96) mentions, among neighbouring states and dependencies of Annam, a country *Tau-lan*, 道 覽, or *Tau-ram*, which may be Turān or Turon.

p. 280, n. 2, ll. 6–12. *T'o-nang*. Dumoutier in "Hoa-lu'," p. 40, spells this name 沱 囊 (which would literally mean 'water flowing in bygone days,' whereas the other form would convey the sense of 'muddy flowing water'); but evidently these transcripts, which may also be pronounced *Du-lang*, *Du-long*, are mere phonetic renderings of *Tu-rān*, *Tu-ron*. The Annamese Portulan of A.D. 1477 already mentions *T'o-nang Mén*, 沱 囊 門 (in Ann. *Dà-náng Món*), i.e. the seaport of Turān, which name is by Dumoutier ("Portulan," pp. 30 and 56) translated 'Port du Grand courant.' The same "Portulan," we have already observed, calls Fai-fo 大 占 門, *Dái-C'hiem Món*, i.e. 'Port of *Mahā-Campā*' (and not, as Dumoutier translates on p. 31, 'grand port du Tchampa'; he is right, however, on p. 57 in his other rendering 'Port du Grand Tchampa'). This is to me conclusive evidence as to an old capital of Mahā-Campā having stood in the neighbourhood, and precisely between Fai-fo and Turān, as attested by many ancient remains scattered about this tract, for which see below. As to Fai-fo, it is (or rather was) a comparatively new foundation; in fact, Tosi ("Dell' India Orientale," vol. ii, p. 165) says it was built by the Japanese (?).

The earliest European mentions of Turān that I know of are—

(1) In 1615 as *Turam*. On the 6th January, 1615, two missionaries (i.e. Diogo de Carvalho, a Portuguese, and Duzomi, an Italian), appointed on the Annam mission, sailed from Macao and landed on the 18th of the same month at *Turam*, a seaport of Cochin-China. There they established a church, but were soon ejected. Nevertheless, they came back in 1631, from Kamboja, to Turān (see "Noticias summarias das perseguiçoes da missam da Cochinchina," etc., Lisboa, 1700, quoted in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 15, pp. 482–3. See No. 12 of the same publication, pp. 509 et seqq., for events at Turān and its bay in 1635 and later).

(2) In 1669 as *Turone* by Tosi (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 166), who speaks of it as being already a very frequented place in his time.

p. 281, l. 2. Ancient remains have been noticed so far, according to Lajonquière's "Atlas Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine," Paris, 1901—

(1) South of Turān, near its river, at Phong-lê (a building with sculptures), Bo-mang (stela), Marble Mountains (sculptured grottoes), Qua-Giang (brick building).

(2) West and south-west of Fai-fo: Bang-an (three brick buildings), Hon-kuc (rock inscription, for which see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. ii, p. 185), My-Sön (about twenty-five brick buildings, sculptures, eight inscriptions), Chim-Sön (brick building), Trakiêu (vestiges of *Siṅhāpura*, a Chām citadel, numerous sculptures).

Basing his opinion upon an inscription (A.D. 1170) of the Chām king Jaya Harivarman, in which he mentions his conquests of "Yavana, Vijaya, in the north, Amarāvatī, in the south, Pāṇḍuraṅga, in the west, the Raḍē, Mada," etc., Finot reads "in the north, *Amarāvatī*" (quite the reverse of Aymonier), and identifies *Amarāvatī* with *Mī-sön* (south-south-west of Turān), or at any rate with the modern province of Kwăng-nam (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 639). But I have shown above in these Addenda (note to p. 229, l. 6) how Amarāvatī very possibly corresponds to modern P'hŏt-thễ, the *Fo-shih* of the Chinese (A.D. 1007), situated some two to three miles south-west of Hwẹ̄, which was in A.D. 1044 the capital of Campā, and thus probably is the Chām *Bal Hangov*. Otherwise, we must identify *Fo-shih* (i.e. P'hŏt-thễ and Bal Hangov) with *Vijaya*, which alternative would be linguistically supported by the fact that *Fo-shih* may also be pronounced *Fŏt-shai*, *Vai-si* = *Bu-jei*, *Vai-zei* = *Vijaya*. In such a case Amarāvatī must be shifted far to the south, perhaps to *Umór*, the modern Kan-thŏ, on the Mè-Khōng Delta. Be it as it may, the position of Ptolemy's **Throana**, if not actually identical with that of *Mī-sön* (south-south-west of Turān), must have been not far away from the present Turān and its bay, especially if it be considered that in De Donis' map **Throana** be located quite on the seashore, which fact argues it to have been a seaport.

p. 284, n. 1, last two lines. Fresh-water dolphins (Planistidæ) inhabit the rivers of tropical countries. The Irāvatī possesses a dolphin, the *Orcella fluminalis*, which perhaps exists also in the Mè-Khōng. Chou Ta-kwan says of Kamboja (1296–7): "There are crocodiles as big as ships, which have four paws and quite resemble a *Dragon*, except that they have no horns," etc. (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. ii, pp. 169, 170).

p. 286, n. 1, l. 16. 'Black Water.' Above, in these Addenda (note to pp. 135, 136, q.v.), we have seen that the Chinese words

for this expression are 黑 水, *Hêh-Shwei*, as recorded in the "Nan-chao Ye-shih," 1550 (Sainson's translation, p. 208). The *Hei-kiang*, or 'Black River,' into which the *Êrh-hai* (Ta-li Lake) is drained by two streams (*Journal China Br. R.A.S.*, vol. xxv, p. 487), can hardly mean the Black River of Tonkin, as we have already noticed, but the Mè-Khōng, which at this point (and from 22° to 25° N. lat.) was called the *Hêh Shwei* (as both the "Nan-chao Ye-shih" and Colborne Baber inform us). All the same, it should be noticed that Hu Wei, the reviser of the "Nan-chao Ye-shih" in 1775, makes the Lan-ts'ang (Mè-Khōng) River flow by way of Ching-tung T'ing (on the Black River) and Yüan-chiang (on the Red River) to the Tonkin Gulf, thus confusing it with both the Black and the Red Rivers of Tonkin. According to him, in fact, the Mè-Khōng would, from the Yung-ch'ang prefecture, turn eastwards towards Mêng-hwa T'ing, follow the course of the Yang-pi to Shun-ning Fu, then cross again eastwards to Ching-tung T'ing, follow the course of the Black River (Pa-pien) to Yüan-chiang, and thence flow through the Red River to the Tonkin Gulf. This is an instructive specimen of geography as understood by the Chinese till recent times, and readily explains how Ptolemy could, at a more remote period, fall into a similar error. However, as the stream identified by Hu Wei with the *Hêh-shwei* or 'Black Water' is in this case the tract of the Lan-ts'ang west of Ching-tung T'ing, the Mè-Khōng is evidently meant. Anyhow, see also the last part of the note on p. 287 above, where it is pointed out that the term *Hêh-shwei* is likewise applied to the *Ta Kin-sha* (Irāvatī, or this confounded with the Brahmaputra). See, again, n. 1 on p. 314 above for the name *Hêh Ho*, 'Black River,' applied to the Black River of Tonkin before it joins the Red River, which is, however, apparently of modern growth.

p. 289, note. Couvade. Traces of it have been detected among some of the Karen tribes in Burma (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. i, vol. i, pp. 321, 538, 541). For Couvade among the Zik'abu of Chêh-kiang see *China Review*, vol. xii, p. 444.

p. 293, l. 13. *Kazëḥ*. Cf. *Kasëḥ* (Kassay), the term applied to Manipur and Asām in general. Manuel de Faria-y-Souza, in his "Asia Portugueza" (t. i, p. 82), terms *Kachó* the natives of Tonkin (see *China Review*, vol. iii, p. 328).

p. 293, n. 1. According to the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extr. Or.*, t. iv, p. 190, *Jih-nan* under the Han occupied a more southern position than under later dynasties. In A.D. 347, it is asserted, the northern limit of *Jih-nan* was at the Hêng-Shan

(Hwāñ Sön), i.e. 'Thwart, or Transversal, Range,' forming Cape Bung-kī-hwā, in 18° N. lat. This is a little more reasonable. On *Pi-king* see our further remarks below (note to p. 311, line 14).

p. 294, n. 2. *Min, Mēn.* The *Mēn* tribes and a *Müang Mēn* (country of the *Mēn*) are mentioned in Khún Lúang Hā-wat Memoirs, pp. 157, 159. In the C'hīeng Māi Chronicle, under the date 1751, the natives of C'hīeng Tung are termed *Khön Mēn*. *Meng* or *Hméng* is said by Warry and others to be the real name of the so-called Miao-tsz tribes; also *Müng*, '*Méng* (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. i, vol. i, p. 597). In the *China Review*, vol. ix, p. 341, Parker states that the Miao-tsz call themselves *Hmung*. *Méng-shih*, 蒙氏, the *Méng* clan or tribe that built the old city or *Pu-t'ou*, 步頭, or *Pa-tien*, 巴甸 (= modern Lin-an Fu, south-east Yünnan), close to the Tonkin frontier (see *China Review*, vol. xvi, p. 301), is certainly not *Manzi*, but the *Méng* or *Müang* clan of the Nan-Chao State (less likely the *Meng* or Miao-tsz). See, however, also n. 5 on p. 299 and n. 1 on p. 300 above.

p. 296, l. 19. *Hsiang-lin.* There was, however, an 'Elephant River,' *Hsiang Shwei*, 象水, or *Hsiang-pu*, 象浦 (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, pp. 273, 274), mentioned in A.D. 446, which flowed probably within *Lin-i* territory. I think it might be the same as the *Sóng Voi* ('Elephant River') of the Annamese Portulan, in 19° 5′ N. lat. Hence, the *Hsiang-lin* district must be located here, i.e. about Cap Falaise in North Ngē-an.

p. 297, n. 2, l. 11. Between A.D. 336–47 King Wên, 文, of *Lin-i* is stated in the "T'sin-shu" to have conquered several countries, among which *Ch'ü-tu-ch'ien*, 屈都乾 (*Kut-tu-kan*) = *Kaṭāha*, or **Kortatha** (?) (see p. 570 above, note). Cf. 乾 harbour (*Kàn* Môn) in the Annamese Portulan (Dumoutier's "Portulan," pp. 18, 44), mentioned in Annamese records since A.D. 569. It is now called *Bap* Harbour, and lies in 19° N. lat., not far below the northern limit of modern Ngē-an.

p. 297, n. 2, ll. 20, 21. *Mahosadha-Jātaka.* This is better known as the *Mahā Ummagga J.* (No. 546). Cūḷani Brahmadatta was, according to this story, reigning over the kingdom of *Kampilla*, in *Uttarapañcāla* city.

p. 298, ll. 2, 3 from bottom. In the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (transl., p. 317) the name of *Ch'ü-lien* is spelled 區憐, and this personage described as a brigand of *Mān* race. Order was restored in A.D. 138.

p. 299, n. 5. *T'ang-ming.* The name of this kingdom is spelled 堂明, characters which may also be pronounced *T'ong-ming*,

Tung-mang, etc. The correct date in which it first sent tribute to China, together with *Lin-i* (Campā) and *Fu-nan* (Kamboja), is A.D. 243 (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, pp. 251 and 303). In the history of the T'ang dynasty *T'ang-ming* is made conterminous with *Chên-la* (Kamboja) on the north and with *Huan-chou* (= modern Hā-tiñ district) on the north-east (see Rémusat's "Nouveaux Mélanges As.," vol. i, p. 84). This, coupled with the information already collected by us to the effect that *T'ang-ming* was situated on the seabord, would argue for it a position in modern Kwắng-bìñ (17° to 18° N. lat.). Now, it should be observed that the Annamese Portulan of A.D. 1477 locates just below the southern limit of Khwắng-bìñ the seaport *Ming-ling* (= *Manrang* ?), in Annamese *Miñ-liñ Món*, 明 靈 門, which corresponds to the present *Kŭa Tùng* (or *Tàng*) in 17° N. lat. (see Dumoutier's "Portulan," pp. 28, 53). This term *Ming-ling* looks much like a survival of the ancient *T'ang-ming* or *T'au-ming*, the full name of which may have actually been *T'ang-ming-ling* or *T'au-ming-ling* = *Tamalaṅga*, *Tamaliṅga*, *Tamaraṅga*, *Tāmra-raṅga*, *Tāmra-laṅkā*. It should be observed, however, that the character 靈, *ling*, which occurs in *Ming-ling*, is the same as employed in *Ling-Shan* (the transcript of *Liṅga-parvata* = Cape Varella, as I have elsewhere demonstrated) in the Chinese map of 1319, published by Phillips (see *Journal China Br. R.A.S.*, new series, vol. xxi, p. 40). Hence, *Ling* = *Liṅga*, and as *T'ang* denotes a 'hall,' 'court,' or 'shrine,' it is just possible that some sacred *liṅga* shrine existed at Kŭa Tùng (or *Tàng*), which seems somehow to preserve in its name (*Tàng*) a relic of the old *T'ang-ming* or [*T'ang*]-*Ming-ling*. Ming-ling was, furthermore, from 1075 the name of the modern Vĭñ-liñ district near the Kŭa Tùng; prior to that period it was called *Ma-ling*. The *Ling-kiang*, 澪 江, River of Annamese records is, therefore, the river debouching here, and not the Sông-jāng as stated in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 166.

p. 303, n. 1, ll. 8–10. See also the *Journal R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 66, Dr. Hirth's article.

p. 304, l. 4 from bottom. *Vĭñ*. Read *Vĭñ*, 永 (Chinese *Yung*), and see the Annamese Portulan of 1477 (Dumoutier's "Portulan," p. 48).

p. 305, l. 10. According to the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (transl., p. 209), in A.D. 446 the Chinese took the fortified city *Kĭu-siu*, or *Ch'ü-su*, 區 粟 (Ann. *Khū-tuk*), or *Ch'ü-su Ch'éng* (p. 347), from the Chām. This might be **Kortatha** or *Kaṭāha* (see pp. 569, 570 above), albeit the name *Ch'ü-su* (*Ku-sok*) suggests something

like *Kuśaka*, *Kuśaja*, or *Gujaka*(*-nagara*); *Kuśā*(*-vatī*), *Khaśa*, *Khaśaka*, *Kuśika*, *Kuṭaka*, etc., thus arguing a possible connection with *Kazëḥ*, i.e. **[Pa-]grasa**.

In A.D. 43, according to the same work (p. 206), Ma Yüan reached *Chū-fêng Hsien*, 居風縣, in Ann. *Kü-p'hōng*, which we know to have been situated in Chiu-chên, i.e. in North-West Thañ-hwā (20° N. lat.).

p. 305, n. 2. *Lô-dzung*. *Lu-jung*, also a seaport; see note to p. 311 *infra*.

p. 308, l. 6 from bottom. *Krāṣ*. *Krās* in Khmër means 'thick,' 'dense,' as we have already observed (see these Addenda, note to p. 191); but in the present instance it evidently stands for *Kazëḥ*, *Khaśa*, *Kāśa*, *Kāśi* (see above and also note below).

p. 309, n. 2, l. 2. *Bā-shéḥ*. This may be a corruption of the Pāli *Upajjhaya*. If so, the same applies to the Siāmese *Bā-jī*. The Khmër *Bā-ku* = Siamese *Bā Khrū* = *Vara-Guru*. *Pan-chie*, 班詰, *Ban-ch'i*, in Chou Ta-kuan's account of Kamboja, cannot mean *Paṇḍit*, as is queerly surmised in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. ii, p. 148, n. 4, but *Bā-jī*, *Bā-shéḥ*, i.e. a Brāhman teacher.

p. 309, n. 4, last line, add: Chou Ta-kuan in his account of Kamboja (1296–7) says: "In this land it is women who understand trading" (*Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. ii, p. 167).

p. 310, last nine lines. *Kazëḥ*. See p. 293 and note thereon (l. 13) in these Addenda; also above, remarks on pp. 305 (l. 10) and 308 (l. 6 from bottom). The term, as already observed, is the same as applied to *Kasëḥ*, *Krasëḥ* (Kassay), i.e. Maṇipur and Asām in general. Evidently this latter is somehow connected with *Khaśa*, or, at any rate, with the *Khasia* Hills separating Maṇipur from the Asām valley. But the former (if not both) may be perhaps more logically referred to *Kāśa*, *Kāśi*, in India, whence it was seemingly transplanted into Tonkin.

p. 311, l. 4. *Khū-lõt*. This is a clerical error for *Khū-tuk* or *Ch'ü-su*, 區粟 (see next note below), originating in the fact that in some Chinese texts this name is misspelled 區栗, *Ch'ü-li* (*Khū-lõt*), see *Bulletin Ec. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 192, n. 2.

p. 311, ll. 4, 5. I now somewhat incline to identify **Pagrasa** with the old *Ch'ü-su* (*Kusok*) or [*Pa*]-*kāśa* stronghold, mentioned since A.D. 446 by the "An-nan Chih-lüo" as belonging to the Chām (see above, note to p. 305, l. 10). See, however, below, note to p. 334, l. 17.

p. 311, ll. 8, 9. *Lô-dzung*. This is *Lu-jung*, 盧容, a seaport and the embouchure of an homonymous river in *Jih-nan*, mentioned

since about 250 A.D. in the "Fu-nan Chi." "From this seaport ships bound for Fu-nan and other countries in the south used to sail; it was always from this harbour that they set out" (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 278). As to the location of *Lu-jung*, we read in the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (transl., p. 209) that in A.D. 446 the Chinese general T'an Ho-chih, having entered Chām territory, took the *Ch'ü-su* (*K'u-tuk*, **Pagrasa**?) stronghold, which lay on the northern bank of the *Lu-jung* River. Yang-mai, the Campā king, thereupon withdrew to *Hsiang-p'u*, 象浦, or *Hsiang-shwei*, 象水 ('Elephant River,' which we have proposed to identify with the present *Sông Voi*, 'Elephant River,' in 19° 5′ N. lat.). Again, according to the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (p. 345), in A.D. 347 the king of *Lin-i* (Campā) had conquered *Jih-nan*, and after destroying the Chinese troops despatched thereto against himself, had attacked *Chiu-chên* (Thañ-hwā district), and later on had defeated the Tonkinese and Cantonese at *Lu-jung*. The foregoing evidence argues for *Lu-jung* and its river a location at about Cape Butong (19° 11′ N. lat.), just on the present boundary between Ngē-an on the south and Thañ-hwā on the north, and *Ch'ü-su* (*K'u-tuk*, **Pagrasa**?) would have accordingly to be located there also.[1] The *Lu-jung* River would thus correspond to the present Sông Mai. Here (at Cape Butong), then, would have been the northern frontier of Chām territory from 347 to 446 A.D.; whereas before A.D. 347 the frontier appears to have stood much further to the south, i.e. at the Hêng Shan range (Cape Bung-kì-hwā) in 18° N. lat. (see these Addenda, note to p. 293, n. 1). The name *Lu-jung* is seemingly one of the toponyms imported from India; cf., in fact, the *Lojung* River north-west of Ḍhakka.

p. 311, l. 14 et seqq. *Pi-kin*. This toponym is variously spelled 比景, *Pi-ching* (*Pei-king*, *Pi-kin*, Ann. *Tí-kǎñ*); 上景, *Shang-ching*, etc. (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 188, where it is suggested that it should be pronounced *Pi-ying*, by a reasoning which fails to convince me, as there stand against it the local

[1] In *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 192, the extract is given, from Chinese records, of a gnomonical observation taken in A.D. 446 at *C'hū-su*, presumably during the Summer solstice. A gnomon 8 feet (*ch'ih*) high cast a shadow 8 inches long. There is probably an error in excess in the figure for inches (*ts'un*) here, for the result is, according to my calculations, lat. 17° 30′ N. *circâ*. It should be observed, in fact, that in a similar observation taken in the eighth century in *Lin-i* territory (referred to in op. cit., p. 187, n. 2), the gnomon cast a shadow only $5\frac{7}{10}$ inches long, which yields a latitude of 19° 7′ N. *circâ*, i.e. just the latitude of the Sông Voi ('Elephant River'), and the one we assign to the *Ch'ü-su* stronghold which stood on its northern bank. On the other hand, in A.D. 721, the famed monk-astrologer I-hsing (Y-hang) found the latitude of the *Lin-i* capital to be 17° 10′ (or 17° 24′ according to other texts (see loc. cit.)).

Annamese and Lāu pronunciations of the second character, which are *kản* and *kan*, *küng*, respectively). The location of this seaport, mentioned since A.D. 605 as being then formed into a *chün* by the Sui, has been the object of much speculation. In Chinese itineraries it is described, however, as lying south of Huan Chou, 驩州, a district of the T'ang period, the capital of which is located at modern Dŭk-thŏ, near the Song-kā River and southwest of Vĭñ (in about 18° 37′ N. lat.). On the other hand, according to the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (p. 213), in A.D. 603–5, the Chinese fleet was sent with an army against Campā. The expedition, having landed at *Pi-king*, proceeded on foot and crossed the *Shê-li* or *Tu-li Kiang* in Bộ-chaṇ, where the frontier of Campā was (p. 63). This river is, no doubt, the Sông-jāng (Song-giang of maps), the mouth of which (lying in 17° 42′ N. lat.) is termed Bộ-chiñ Môn in the Annamese Portulan (see Dumoutier's "Portulan," p. 51). We would thus obtain for the *Pi-king* seaport a position between 17° 42′ and 18° 37′ N. lat. But as the distance on foot from Huan Chou to Pi-king is stated to be about a fortnight, and by sea only five or six tides, it will be seen that, making due allowance for exaggerations, the position of Pi-king should become fixed about Cape Bung-kì-hwā in 18° lat. Pi-king might thus be identified either with the ancient seaport of Hêng Shan[1] at that Cape itself, or with the mouth of the Rong River (Kŭa Ron) immediately below.

It should be observed, however, that there is a 景, *King* or *Kản*, Hill, near the Song-kā River, in the Nam-dzŭang district west of Vĭñ (see Dumoutier's "Portulan," p. 48), on the summit of which stands a temple built, it is said, by an Annamese army. The Annamese Portulan mentions furthermore a Kản Bridge in Thañ-hwā (op. cit., p. 16, No. 101); but this would be too far north to be in any way connected with Pi-king. Finally, there was a Kản district (Kán Chôu), 景州, during the T'ang and Sung periods, which corresponded to the modern Hwệ province (see Dumoutier's "Hoa-lu'," p. 40); but this lies too far south for our purpose.

p. 314, n. 1. Add: *T'o-shwei* in the "An-nan Chih-lüo," pp. 72, 467.

p. 315, n. 1, No. (5). Add: See "An-nan Chih-lüo," under date A.D. 1075 (pp. 72, 223).

[1] "It was at Hêng Shan that for a long time past (in A.D. 347) the precious wares, brought in by ships from far-outlying countries for barter, had been landed" (Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 427). It is well, therefore, to take note of this entrepôt for ancient oceanic trade.

p. 315, n. 1, after No. (7). Add:

(8) *Lu*? ("An-nan Chih-lüo," p. 71).

(9) *Kwei-hwa Kiang* (Ann. Kwī-hwā) = the Red River near Hüng-hwạ̄ (see op. cit., pp. 54, 72).

p. 316, note, l. 8. *Pê-t'éng*. This is the Bāch-jāng (actual Thại-bīñ) River of the Annamese (see op. cit., p. 178). It was also called *Vön-kù* (see Des Michels, op. cit., p. 221, and cf. with *Văn-kīep* at end of same note).

p. 317, ll. 4, 5, and n. 1. The river *T'au-hwa Shwei*, 桃花水, mentioned in the "San-kwo Chih" as being in the Wu-ko country (= country of the Akas or Khā̆ Kō, south-west of Yüang-chiang on the Red River; see these Addenda, note to p. 159), is evidently the Red River.

p. 319, l. 9. *P'hong Chóu*. The site of this capital is still marked by the present Bāch-hāk village (白鶴, *Pai-hau*, *Pê-ho*) on the northern side of the confluent of the Red and Clear Rivers, lat. 21° 28′, due north of Sōn-töi (see Dumoutier's "Étude hist. sur Cô-loa," Paris, 1893, pp. 3, 6).

p. 321, note, l. 4. *Ou-lāk*. In Dumoutier, op. cit., p. 8, this name is spelled 甌駱 (Ou-lo), and *Lāk-vīet* (*Lo-yüeh*) is spelled 貉越 (Ho-yüeh), these being the forms, he says, which obtained during the (Chinese) Chou dynasty (till B.C. 255); under the next one of the Ts'in (B.C. 255–206), the country came to be called *Töi-Ou*, 西甌 (*Hsi-Ou*), or *Ou-lāk*, 甌貉 (*Ou-ho*).

p. 322, l. 2. Cities built in a form which it is fancied resemble a conch-shell are by no means rare in Indo-China. Two more instances occur in Siām, viz. Sukhothai and Lamp'hūñ (see my "Siam's Intercourse with China" in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1900, p. 373). Dumoutier, op. cit., p. 9, says the name of Kô-lwa was due to the elliptical outline of its walls, which recalled the shape of a *Lwá* shell (i.e. a *saṅkha* shell).

p. 323, ll. 11, 12. Since writing the lines here referred to, I have had an opportunity of paying a personal visit to the vestiges of Kô-lwá or Lwá-thāñ, in December, 1902 (see the brief account I have given of that visit in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1903). The remains of the ancient triple-enceinte of earthen walls with vestiges of a royal palace, etc., lie in the Dong-ān district, at ten kilometres as the crow flies almost due north of Hà-nôi, six kilometres almost due east of the junction of the Canal des Rapides with the Red River, and five kilometres north-west of the Hà-nôi–Bak-niñ railway line. On their site rises the present Kô-lwá village as a memento of the ancient and famed Kô-lwá

city. It is the only spot uncovered with jungle. The geographical position is about long. 105° 50′ E., lat. 21° 6′ N.

p. 325, n. 1. "Hanoi, s'il faut en croire les annales chinoises, était un port de mer vers l'an 600 de notre ère. Il y a deux siècles à peine le golfe du Tonkin, beaucoup plus retréci, présentait sur le littoral la ville de Hung-yên où les Hollandais avaient établi des comptoirs: puis, successivement, grâce aux apports du Songkoi, émergèrent des eaux les vastes territoires de Nam-dinh, de Ninh-binh, de Hai-duong, de Haiphong, de Quang-yên[1] . . . 'La génération actuelle,' écrivaient MM. Bouinais et Paulus, 'a été témoin dans la province de Ninh-binh de la formation du canton de Kim-son depuis 1831.' . . . Le minimum des dépôts limoneux [du fleuve Rouge] . . . serait de 1728 millions de mètres cubes [par an]" (*L'Indo-Chine Républicaine* of Dec. 11th, 1902). The delta of the Red River would gain about 30 metres seawards each year, if we are to judge from the actual site of the stela commemorating, in A.D. 1010, the erection of a temple at Bộ Hái, 裨 海 (*Pu Hai*), which stood then, as declared in the inscription, on the seaboard, whereas it is now about 30 kilometres inland (see Dumoutier's "Portulan," p. 40). Bộ-hái arose on the site of the present Kì-bộ village, in the Vú-tien district (see Dumoutier's "Hoa-lu'," p. 3), just a couple of miles due east of the present Nam-dĩñ, and on the opposite (eastern) bank of the Red River. Hence, the seaboard in Ptolemy's time must have been quite close to Hā-nŏi and Kŏ-lwă, stretching thence almost due south in the direction of the present Nin-bìñ and Chiñ-zāi, which latter, as we shall see directly, is not improbably Ptolemy's **Sinda**. No wonder, then, that in De Donis' map **Aganagara** (Hà-nŏi or Kŏ-lwă) is marked close by the seashore.

p. 327, l. 4. According to the "An-nan Chih-lüo," p. 211 transl., Tā-kiuen, son of Lī-p'hŏt-tú's elder brother, re-established the capital at Long-bīen.

p. 328, l. 12 from bottom. According to the "An-nan Chih-lüo," p. 216, in A.D. 862 Hà-nŏi was called *Ying-ch'éng*, 嬰 城.

p. 329, ll. 10, 11. According to the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 473, Hà-nŏi was called *Thang-long*, 昇 龍, under the Lē, this name being changed to 昇 隆, *Thang-long*, at the time of Jā-long (first quarter of the nineteenth century). Dumoutier says the first form was adopted when the capital was transferred thither from Hwā-lü, i.e. in A.D. 1010 (see "Hoa-lu'," p. 59).

[1] This is far too sweeping an assertion, and only applies to parts of such territories, except Nam-dinh and Hai-phong.

p. 331, ll. 14, 15. Lā-thàñ and Dǎi-lā stood on a site corresponding to the present north-western part of Hà-nôi town, as I have personally ascertained on the spot itself.

p. 334, l. 10. According to the "An-nan Chih-lüo," p. 89, however, in A.D. 1284–5 *Lo-ch'éng* (i.e. Lwǎ-thàñ or Kô-lwǎ) was retaken by the Annamese, which means that at this period it had again become the Chinese seat of government.

p. 334, ll. 17 et seqq. **Sinda**

It was only after this section had been in print that I discovered that the latitude of **Sinda** given in Ptolemy's text, after the Nobbe edition, as being 16° 40′ is almost certainly an error for 13° 40′ or thereabout. For not only is **Sinda** placed in Ptolemy's list between **Kortatha** (lat. 12° 30′) and **Pagrasa** (lat. 14° 30′), but it is also marked in such a position in De Donis' map (see p. 346 above). Such being the case, the rectified Ptolemaic latitude of **Sinda** would be 16° 40′ = 19° 25′ true; and, bearing in mind that in De Donis' map this town is located near the seashore, its position would become fixed at the Kŭa Bāng Bay, within Cape Bāng (Cap Rond of French maps).

If, however, **Pagrasa** is the old C'hü-su stronghold on the northern bank of the Sông Voi ('Elephant River') in 19° 5′ N. lat., as we have suggested (see these Addenda above, note to p. 311, ll. 4, 5), the site of **Sinda** would have to be sought for nearly half a degree more to the south, i.e. somewhere about Víñ, close by the mouth of the Song-kǎ River. Here no ancient name similar to **Sinda** is recorded, except the very ones of the 'Elephant River' (*Hsiang-shwei*, *Hsiang-p'u*), and of the adjoining territory (*Hsiang-lin*), provided the term *Hsiang*, 'Elephant,' in these can be proved to be the translation or transcript of a local toponym *Sindhura* (= **Sinda**). But this is very doubtful, nor is any evidence at hand as to the Song-kǎ River bearing of old the name *Sindhu* or any other similar one.

On the other hand, it is interesting to notice that not far north of the rectified position (19° 25′ N. lat.) which we have found in the Tables for **Sinda**, and precisely in 20° 4′ N. lat., an old seaport existed called *Shên-t'ou*, 神投 (*Shên-t'au*, *Sin-t'u*; Ann. *Thön-dŏu*), mentioned in Annamese records since A.D. 1005. Under the Annamese Lē dynasty its name was changed to 神符, *Shên-fu* (Ann. *Thön-p'hù*), while more recently it came to be called *Chéng-tai*, 正大 (Ann. *Chiñ-dāi* or *Chiñ-zāi*); it is the Chinh Dai of French maps, in the Yên-Mô district, province of Niñ-bìñ (see Dumoutier's "Hoa-lu'," p. 49). It may, or may not, be the *Shên-wan*, 神灣, seaport mentioned by I-tsing in the seventh century

(see above, p. 250, n. 1). In any case, its name *Shên-t'ou* looks much like a transcript of either *Sindhu* or *Sindhava*, and forcibly suggests not only Ptolemy's **Sinda**, but also the *Ṣender-fūlāt* of the Arab navigators (*vide supra*, p. 248, note, and p. 346). It should be observed that *Shên-t'ou* (and its historical continuation Chiñ-dāi of the present day) lies in proximity to the spurs of the low hills bounding on the south the deltaic plain of the Red River, and close by the Kŭa Dāi, its westernmost outlet into the sea. It must thus have been a very important seaport and centre of trade in the old days.

If, however, we locate **Sinda** at *Shên-t'ou* or Chiñ-dāi, we must look for **Pagrasa** further to the north, where there are no ancient places on the low deltaic plain towards the seaboard except Hăi-düong (ancient *Yang-ch'üen*, 陽泉, Ann. *Züang-twīen*) and Kwăng-yen (ancient *Ning-hai*, 寧海, Ann. *Niñ-hăi*), both mentioned since B.C. 200. The only toponym resembling **Pagrasa** lower down is that of the *Bịch*, 碧, *Pi* (*Pek* or *Pag*) seaport, mentioned since 208 B.C. (see Dumoutier's "Portulan Ann.," p. 42), corresponding to the present Lach Tran outlet of the Sông Chu in 19° 53′ N. lat. This place, which would suit very well for **Pagrasa**, would prove too far south if **Sinda** is to be located at Chiñ-dāi.

In conclusion, it is very difficult, nay, well-nigh impossible, to settle the location of **Sinda** until the figures for its latitude as given in the Nobbe edition of Ptolemy are critically corrected by referring to a certain number of reliable old manuscript copies of Ptolemy's work.

p. 336, l. 12. *San-ch'i-chiang*. In the "An-nan Chih-lüo," pp. 72, 467, and 472, occurs a mention of a 三帶江, *San-tai-chiang*, district or territory and river, which latter is formed by the union of the Red, Clear, and Black Rivers (*T'o-shwei*) with the *Lung* River. This refers to A.D. 1300.

p. 342, n. 1, l. 3. See the more recent account of these potentates by Capt. Cupet (in "Mission Pavie, Géographie et Voyages," t. iii, pp. 297 et seqq., and also map on pl. xv). The 'Water King,' termed *Patao Īa* by the Jarāi and *Sadet Lùm* by the Lāu, resides on the Lāu slope of the Campā–Kambojan mountain range, in long. 107° 59′ E., lat. 13° 32′ N.; he can, by means of his charms, cause a universal flood. The 'Fire King,' called *Patao Ngo* by the Jarāi and *Sadet Fai* by the Lāu, resides near by, but on the Campā side of the same range, in long. 108° 5′ E., lat. 13° 32′·5 N.; he can, by means of his magic sword, destroy by fire and slaughter the whole cosmos.

An Annamese work written at the end of the eighteenth century locates the two dreaded sorcerers at fourteen days' march west of Cape Varella (i.e. in about the same position as above), in the kingdom of *Nan-p'an*, 南 蟠 (Ann. *Nam-ban*), in the west of the Bìñ-diñ province, and adds that in the same country is a mysterious city *Péh-shih*, 白 石 城 (Ann. *Bak-thak*) = *Ba-sak*, perhaps Basak in North Kamboja? (see Dumoutier's "Portulan Ann.," p. 61).

The above references prove that the 'Fire' and 'Water' Kings of both Chām and Annamese tradition were the same personages as are found down to the present day among the Jarāi.

p. 344, n. 3, l. 3. *Tūn-wīen*. The first character of this name is 繳 in the "An-nan Chih-lüo," p. 63, but it is practically equivalent to the other.

p. 346, ll. 16 et seqq. See above, note to p. 334, l. 17, in these Addenda, as regards the ancient port *Shen-t'ou* (*Sindhu* or *Sindhava*) which existed on this tract of sea-coast.

pp. 348, 349. **Indoi, Sindoi.** Cf. *Sindhu-sauvira*, a people in the north-east region according to the "Bṛhat Saṁhitā"; and see p. 346, ll. 10, 11 from bottom, as regards the location of the *Sindi* in De Donis' map.

p. 351, n. 1. According to the "An-nan Chih-lüo," pp. 96 and 102 (date 1267), some of the *Līau* on the Tonkin borders (*Shan Līau*, etc.) filed their teeth (like the Jarāi and Radē of East Kamboja nowadays).

p. 352, l. 2. *Hsi-t'u*. Their identification with the *Hé-ch'ih*, 黑 齒, or 'Black Teeth' tribes, put forward in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, pp. 280, 281, leaves us as wise as before, for tribes who stained or lacquered their teeth black were, and still are, numerous, as Annamese, Khmërs, etc., even to the Brë or Lakü (a tribe of Karens) in Upper Burmā (see the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. i, vol. i, p. 534). For the *Hsi-t'u* tribe see, again, above, p. 355, note.

p. 352, note, l. 11. 'Sea *Līau*.' This may mean the *Orang Laut*, 'men of the sea,' of the Malay Archipelago (*Līau* = a transcript for *Laut*?).

p. 357, ll. 15–18. *Kadu*. Houghton, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, 1893, pp. 129–36, says that the *Kadu* people are chiefly found in the Katha district of Upper Burmā, but that they are comparatively recent immigrants into Burmā from North-East Tibet, *viâ* the passes north of Bhamo. "The *Kudós* would seem to have been an advance guard of the Kachin race." Linguistically he

found them allied to the *Sak* or *Sek* (Thek) of the Kulādan valley in Arakan, their speech belonging to the Kachīn–Nāga sub-group.

The *K'a-to* are, on the other hand, by several recent writers connected with the *Lo-lo*, but this view seems to me hardly plausible, for, though they speak dialects derived from the Lo-lo, they have been distinct from the *Lo-lo* for centuries, and racially belong to the dark-complexioned Waḥ-*Ho-ni* group. A clan of the Palaungs (who are practically Waḥ) round Nam Sán, the Palaung capital, bears, in fact, the name *Kadu* (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. i, vol. i, p. 486).

p. 358, n. 2, ll. 13, 14. See also *Ko-Kuo-lo*, 葛 猓 玀 (for *Kā-la-kā*), in the "Nan-chao Ye-shih" (p. 168 transl.).

p. 359, l. 2. 'Tiger-Heads.' Cf. the *Vyāghramukha* ('Tiger Face') people in the east region, according to the "Bṛhat Saṁhitā."

p. 359, ll. 4–6. *Kulūṭa* becomes *Kolūka* in the Rāmāyaṇa, iv, 43, 8, of Gorresio's edition. The "Bṛhat Saṁhitā" locates the *Kulūṭas* in the north-western region, and a people *Kulūta* in the north-eastern; these latter are seemingly Ptolemy's **Kudutai**, unless they are to be identified with the *Kolita* or *Kulta* tribes in Western Asām and northward of Sadiya.

p. 359, n. 2, l. 4. But the alternative form *Coloman* appearing likewise in some MSS. of Marco Polo's work would apply, on the other hand, to the *Kwo-lo-Mān*, 猓 落 蠻 (see "Nan-chao Ye-shih," p. 168 transl.), who are a branch of the Lolos.

p. 362, ll. 6–8. That means, roughly, between Lao-kai and Lang-sön (or Kao-bang). Longhena connects them with the *Uberae* of Pliny (see Pullé's "Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica," vol. iv, Firenze, 1901; Appendices, p. 30, n. 1). A tribe calling itself *Khwai-B'rró*, and termed *Khā Mong-khong* by outsiders, dwells on the western watershed of the Annam range, in the Lāu provinces of Kham-mūen and Song-khon (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 544).

p. 364, ll. 9–14. *P'u-la*. In the "Nan-chao Ye-shih" (p. 176 transl.) the name of this tribe is spelled 猓 喇, which hardly makes any difference. The *Ma-la* are therein (p. 177) said to be a distinct, albeit akin, tribe, and are located in the hill tracts of the *Wang-nung*, 王 弄 部, district (south-west of Mongtzé).

Recently Mr. A. Henry found that in one of the *P'u-la* villages, isolated among the mountains to the north of Méng-tsz (Mongtzé), the stature of women was but little above 4½ feet and that of men just a trifle over 4¾ feet, all being otherwise well shaped.

They seem to be the remnants of an extensive pygmy race (see *Journal Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxiii, 1903, pp. 96–107). The *P'u-la* may be, then, the present-day representatives of the *Chiau-yau* and *P'hong* pygmies of Chinese and Annamese tradition (see above, in these Addenda, remarks on p. 259, n. 3).

With the *P'u-la*, etc., cf. the *Palola* tribe mentioned in the "Bṛhat Saṁhitā" (see above, in these Addenda, note to p. 155, l. 6 from bottom).

p. 366, note, l. 6. *Biaju.* This name is written also *Bajow*, *Bajau.*

p. 367, n. 3. On face-tattooing see, moreover, p. 175, n. 2, and p. 675, n. †, above. The custom is also in favour among Wild Waḥ, in the north, about the sources of the Nam Ma, whose women tattoo their faces and bosoms (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. i, vol. i, p. 514), among the Chin of Burmā (op. cit., p. 466),[1] and among the Loi-lông Karens, whose men tattoo two black squares beneath their chins (op. cit., p. 543). In the "Nan-chao Ye-shih" (p. 174 transl.) it is stated of the *Pei-chü*, 比苴 (*Pĕk-tsöü* or *Pet-tsz*), tribe: they tattoo on their foreheads, as an ornament, a moon crescent. This is the *Ch'é-li* (= C'hīeng Rung) custom, termed *Tiao-t'i*, 雕題 ('Tattooing of the Forehead'). Tattooing of the forehead is in the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (p. 96 transl.) ascribed to some of the *Liau* tribes. There can be no doubt, in both instances, that Wild Waḥ are the people implied, who are settled to the north and west of C'hīeng Rung, and are certainly the *Pu* or *P'u* of the Chinese.

p. 368, ll. 1–12. *Pu.* The "Nan-chao Ye-shih" (p. 163 transl.) states that it is by mistake that the character 濮, *P'u*, has been employed to write the name *P'u-jĕn*, instead of 僕, *Pu*, which is the correct one occurring in the records of the Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122–255). Such being the case, the 濮, *Pu*, *P'u-jĕn* or *P'u-rĕn*, and the *Wei-lu* ('Little Niggers') or *P'éng Pu*,

[1] "All the women have their faces tattooed, unlike the Chins of the Chin-Hills proper, who do not tattoo . . . the pattern differs with the tribes.

"The Chin-bôks cover the face with nicks, lines, and dots of a uniform design. The women's breasts are also surrounded with a circle of dots.

"The Yindus tattoo in horizontal lines across the face, showing glimpses of the skin.

"The Chin-bôns tattoo an entire dead black and are the most repellent in appearance . . . The men are not tattooed at all.

"The beauty of a Chin woman is gauged by her tattooing. The origin of the practice is still uncertain, but from the fact that it is only the tribes near the Burmese who practice it, it would appear probable that the first intention was to protect the women from being carried off, or to enable them to be easily discovered if they were carried off." (Op. cit., loc. cit.)

彭 濮, of the commencement of the Chou dynasty[1] would be racially identical. There can be no doubt as to the people now called *Pu*, *P'u-jên*, arboreal and caudate *Pu*, being Waḥ or Lawā, for the habitat assigned to the *Pu* or *P'u* (west of C'hīeng Rung and P'u-êrh) corresponds to the Waḥ territory, while the somatic characteristics (very dark complexion, etc.) ascribed to the *Pu* or *P'u* also agree. The *P'u* or *Pu* may, and very likely are, at the same time racially connected with the *P'u-êrh* or *P'hū-Ö*, as I have suggested on p. 369 above.

p. 368, note, l. 6. E. Roux, in his "Aux Sources de l'Irraouaddy," p. 62, speaking of their kinsmen, the *Kïu-tsz*, living about the headwaters of the *Kïu Kïang* or *Nam Kïu* (the western branch of the Upper Irāvatī), says that their women have blue designs tattooed round the mouth and on the tip of their noses. The *Kïu-tsz* are, in reality, the tribe more properly known as *Turong*.

p. 369, ll. 1, 2. *Palaung*. The Palaungs, says Colonel Woodthorpe in the *Geographical Journal* (June, 1896, p. 596), are scattered all over the Shan States. They are Buddhist, and are the gunmakers of C'hīeng Tung. In the "Upper Burma Gazetteer" (pt. i, vol. i, pp. 483 et seqq.) they are also termed *Rumai*, and described as being both linguistically and racially connected with the Waḥ, as well as with the Khā Muk (Kh'mu) and Khā Met (Lamet). The name *Parauk* or *Parōga* for one of their clans (see *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1897, p. 456) occurs, in fact, also among the Waḥ (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. i, vol. i, p. 494). It is from the former that the Yō, Yōga (*Roga*) claim descent (op. cit., p. 569). Another clan of the Palaung is termed *Kadu* (op. cit., p. 486), but this seems to have no connection with the *Kadu* of the Katha district in Upper Burmā, who, as we have seen, are classed with the Kachin–Nāga subgroup. It must, on the contrary, be attached to the *K'a-to* and *Ho-ni* group (Ptolemy's **Kudutai**).

p. 375, l. 6 from bottom. A *Ngan-nan Kïang* is, however, mentioned in the "An-nan Chih-lüo," p. 190 transl., under a date corresponding to A.D. 1284–5.

p. 384, note, ll. 7, 8 et seqq. See these Addenda above, note to p. 84, l. 18 et seqq. In "Hobson-Jobson," new ed., p. 29, I find the bewildering statement that the Arabic dual form *Andāmān* "is said to be from *Agamitae*, the Malay [?] name of

[1] The *Pu* of the Chou period were settled in Hupeh, and assisted Wu Wang against Chou Hsin (the last emperor of the Shang dynasty) in B.C. 1122.

the aborigines"!! The originator of this etymology positively deserves a *prix de rosière*.

p. 388, note, l. 4. *Bātu Berhala*. This is also the name, according to Balfour's Cyclopædia, vol. i, p. 299, of "a stone idol highly venerated by the Dyaks." One, called *Bātu Kawa*, was discovered at a point of the Sarāwak River, North-West Borneo, at about six miles above Sarāwak town. Another one occurs "on the Samarkand river, near Ledah Tanah," and is called by the Malays *Bātu Berhala*, or the 'Idol Stone.'

p. 388, note, ll. 13 et seqq. *Zām*. In "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed., p. 448, the value of the *zām* is given as 12′ of a geographical degree, or 12 nautical miles, and also as a nautical watch of three hours. The former estimate is, certainly, purely theoretical in point of actual sailing distance. In this respect we are unable to assign to the *zām* a practical value of anything above 10 miles, but should think that 7 to 8 is nearer the mark. Example: Distance *Serīra–Kalah* (Palembang–Takôpa), 120 *zām*. Actual distance about 900 miles. Value of the *zām* = 7½ miles. This is taken from "Hobson-Jobson," loc. cit. The value of the *zām* should furthermore be compared with that of the *Kêng* or Chinese nautical watch, which, as we have seen above, is equal to 60 *li* (i.e. about 10 miles), or to 2·4 hours.

p. 391, l. 17. In *circâ* 1330 Friar Jordanus (Hakl. Soc., 1863), p. 30, speaks of an island where all the men and women go absolutely naked, and have in place of money comminuted *gold* like fine sand.

p. 392, ll. 1–5. The quotation here given is from Yule's preface to Friar Jordanus' "Mirabilia Descripta" (Hakl. Soc., 1863), pp. xvii, xviii.

p. 396, l. 8 from bottom. *Tilan-chong*. Capt. Hamilton, in 1709–20, speaks of it as "*Tallang-jang*, the uninhabited island." Further on he refers to "*Chitty-andeman*, which is the southernmost of the Andemans." And he adds: "The middle cluster is . . . all but one, well inhabited. They are called the *Somerera* islands, because on the south end of the largest island is an hill that resembles the top of an umbrella or *somerera* [read *Sumbreiro*, Sombrero]" (Pinkerton's "Collection of Voyages," vol. viii, p. 431).

p. 397, note, l. 16. In the "Voyages of Sir James Lancaster" (Hakl. Soc.), p. 12, the *Pulo Sambilam* referred to (in 1592) are those in Malacca Strait, and not, as the editor remarks in a footnote, the Nikobārs. He adds: "Little Nicobar Island is so called [Sambelong]."

p. 397, note, l. 16 from bottom. *Shom-ben*. Cf. the *Cqrma-*

dvīpa people alluded to in the "Bṛhat Saṁhitā." *Carman* (Pāli *Camma*) = 'shield,' 'buckler,' 'leather.'

p. 398, n. 1, ll. 6–10. Correa ("Lendas da India," vol. iv, p. 306) tells of an expedition having been also sent to the 'Island of Gold' by governor Afonso de Sousa, in 1543. See, moreover, the story he relates about the *Ilha do Ouro* in vol. iii, pp. 240, 241 (A.D. 1528). Mendez Pinto ("Voyages," London, 1692, pp. 15–25) locates the 'Island of Gold' near the east coast of Sumatra, in 5° S. lat., and refers to several unsuccessful expeditions sent on its discovery.

p. 399, ll. 21, 22. 'Island of Cocoanut Trees.' "The cocoanut palm was brought into India from Ceylon, and originally most probably from the Nicobar Islands. In the Tamilian languages it has no name except *Tenna-maram*, 'the southern tree.' Its fruit is called *Tennaṅkai* and *Teṅkai*" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1897, p. 100).

p. 400, n. 2, l. 18. *Nāḷikera* Islands. The "Bṛhat Saṁhitā" locates a *Nālikera* people in the south-eastern region, thus leaving no doubt that the inhabitants of the Nikobārs are intended. It also mentions a people *Carma-dvīpa*, inhabiting a shield-shaped island (see these Addenda above, note to p. 397, l. 16 from bottom). In A.D. 645 Hwên-tsang refers to a *Nāḷikera-dīpa*. In the "Kathā-sarit-sāgara" (Tawney's transl., vol. i, pp. 525, 527, 551) a large and beautiful island, *Nārikela*, is alluded to, in which are four mountains named *Maināka*, *Vṛṣabha*, *Cakra* [= Sombrero?], and *Balāhaka*.

p. 400, n. 2, l. 20 from bottom. Cape Negrais. Probably from *Nāga-rāsa*; see above in these Addenda, note to p. 52, l. 7. Tāranātha's *Balgu* (1608) may be either *Baragu* or *Bhīlū-gyūn*, but certainly not Pegu proper, which he terms *Haṁsavatī* (q.v. in "Hobson-Jobson," p. 184).

p. 400, n. 2, ll. 1–13 from bottom. *Barahnagār*. In "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed., p. 623, this toponym is conjecturally connected with *Barra de Negrais*, as in Balbi (1583), Fitch (1586), and Bocarro (1613).

p. 401, note, ll. 7–19. In the "Voyages of Sir James Lancaster" (Hakl. Soc., 1877, p. 72) the natives of the Nikobārs are described as follows (date, 1602):—"The people of these islands goe naked, hauing only the priuities bound up in a peece of linnen cloath, which commeth about their middles like a girdle, and so between their twist. They are all of a tauny colour, and annoint their faces with divers colours; they are well limmed," etc. Their priests or sacrificers (devil dancers?) wore a pair of

painted horns on their heads, and behind them a tail was hanging down.

p. 402, note, ll. 19–24. *Barahnagār*. Cf. *Bar-nagar*, *Baṛa-nagara*, or *Vijaya-nagar* in Āsām, in 1580. If so, *Barahnagār* = the old Bijanagar or Bisnagar kingdom on the east coast of India (?). This is not altogether improbable, while tribes of people in the undress style, described by Ibn Bāṭūṭa, are settled in the neighbourhood. "In the Chānda district of the Central Provinces of India the women in the wilder tracts wear no clothes at all, but only a string round the waist, to which they suspend a bunch of leaves before and another behind. The same practice is reported to exist in the Kōl country, and also in Orissa" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. iv, 1875, p. 376, note). Cf. the *Nagna-parṇa Śavara* people, mentioned in the "Bṛhat Saṁhitā" as settled in the south-east region. This term I take to mean 'naked and leaf-wearing *Śavaras*,' and not 'leaf-eating *Śavaras*,' as has been conjectured by other writers.

p. 402, note, l. 3 from bottom. *Narkondam*. In "Hobson-Jobson," p. 617, the strange etymology *Naraka-kuṇḍam*, 'Pit of Hell,' is recorded and endorsed with the suggestion that it better applies to Barren Island. I feel unable to accept it, and prefer mine till proof of the contrary.

p. 406. To the list of names relating to the Nikobārs add the following entries:—

A.D. 1050 *circâ*. *Nakkavāram* in the great Tanjore inscription of the eleventh century ("Hobson-Jobson," p. 625).

A.D. 1514. *Nicubar* (Giov. da Empoli), ibid.

A.D. 1529–31. *Nicobar*, ilhas de (Correa, t. iii, pp. 368, 469).

A.D. 1592–1602. *Nicubar* Islands ("Voyages of Sir James Lancaster," Hakl. Soc., 1877, pp. 10, 15, 27; the people are Muḥammadans (p. 27) and go naked (p. 72)).

See also *infra*, remarks on p. 506 in these Addenda, for a Chinese reference to Kar-Nikobār and to the Nikobār Archipelago in general, in the eighth century A.D.

p. 410, ll. 11–14 from bottom. The "Muhiṭ," A.D. 1554 (see Reinaud's Introduction to Abū-l-Fedā, p. 436), refers to an island *Sarjal* as one of the *Najbari* (Nikobār) group. It was sighted on the route from Ceylon to Malacca. Reinaud thinks it may be the Great Nikobār. Cf. the island of *Zolore* touched by Giovanni da Empoli (1503) on his way from *Carsupa* in Malabar (= Carhula?) to Malacca (see De Gubernatis' "Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani," Livorno, 1875, p. 114).

p. 421, n. 2, ll. 7–11. I have since discovered that the

Philippines — or, at any rate, Luzon — were already known in A.D. 982 to the Chinese under the name *Ma-yi*, *Ma-yit*, 麻逸, 摩逸, and probably also to the Arabs as *Mānid* or *Mānd*, which forms occur in Dimaṣḥḳī, in *circâ* 1300. I propose to offer the full demonstration of this at an early opportunity.

p. 423, ll. 6 et seqq. Cf. the names of the mountains in *Nārikela* Island as given in the "Kathā-sarit-sāgara" (see these Addenda above, remarks on p. 400, n. 2, l. 18): *Mainâka* (= *Malhan* (?), cf. *Mānyak*, **Maniolai**), *Vṛṣabha*, *Cakra* (= Chauri, i.e. Sombrero?), and *Balāhaka*.

p. 423, n. 1, l. 17. In my "Nagarakretāgama list of Countries," etc., in the *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, pp. 505–511, I have shown that the date of the foundation of Singapore must be put down between 1280 and 1320, and is possibly 1284.

p. 426, table, third entry on left side. *Pei-p'ing-t'ou Shan*, lit. 'North-level-head Island.' I now think this is Chauri, i.e. Sombrero, which is low on the north and rises steep with a rocky pinnacle on the south end.

p. 435, ll. 7–19. The term occurs likewise in Khmër in the form *P'humsēn*, *Bumsēn* (pron. *Pumsēn*), where it designates the *Betonica* or betony plant. *Pumsēn-tis* (*Bhimsēn-deśa*) is refined camphor (exotic), whereas common camphor is termed *Kārbôur* (written *Kārpūr*). In the "Āīn-i-Akbarī" (*circâ* 1590) occurs the passage: "Of the various kinds of camphor the best is called *Ribāḥi* or *Ḳaiṣūri* . . . In some books camphor in its natural state is called . . . *Bhimsīnī*." On this the editor of "Hobson-Jobson," new ed., p. 152, remarks: "*Bhimsīnī* is more properly *Bhimseni*, and takes its name from the demigod *Bhīmsēn* [Bhīmasēna], second son of Pāṇḍu." In Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 304, *Bhīmseni* is explained as meaning Sumatran camphor, so known to the Indûs. A view of Abū-l-Fazl, the author of the "Āīn," is moreover quoted, according to which *Bālûs* is the worst camphor.

p. 438, continuation of n. 3 on p. 436, l. 5. Edrīsī (op. cit., pp. 80, 81) names *Herīj*, *Harīj*, or *Haranj* (as he severally spells this toponym) along with *Jābah* and *Salāhaṭ* (Sumatra). Cf. Hamilton's (1720) "Bocca de *Carangera*" = the Bāsak mouth of the Më-Khōng in South Kamboja, termed *Charachina* by Mendez Pinto (1540).

Teixeira (Sinclair & Ferguson's transl., p. 2) refers to camphor in Achīn (1600).

According to the "Mahāvaṁsa" (ch. 58; Wijesiṅha's transl., p. 98), camphor was sent in *circâ* A.D. 1065 by the king of Rāmañña (Pegu) to Ceylon.

See Yule's "Marco Polo" for mentions of camphor in the Andāmāns, etc.

p. 439, n. 1, § (3), ll. 2–5. *Mans̤ūrah.* In "Hobson-Jobson," p. 152, Mas'ūdī's passage on camphor in the country of *Ḳans̤ūr* (vol. i, p. 338, transl.) is commented upon in the following strain: "The same work at iii, 49, refers back to this passage as the 'country of *Manṣūrah.*' Probably Maṣ'ūdī wrote correctly *Fanṣūrah.*" I do not see my way to agree with this view, for the difference in spelling between *Fans̤ūr* and *Mans̤ūrah* is not so trifling. Besides, the same view is contradicted in the very passage quoted lower down from the "Āīn" (*circâ* 1590): "The camphor tree is a large tree growing *in the ghauts of Hindostan* and in China. A hundred horsemen and upwards may rest in the shade of a single tree." This confirms the evidence we have gathered from earlier sources as to the presence of camphor in India in § (1) of n. 1 on p. 439 above, and proves, furthermore, that (besides *Blumea* shrubs) real camphor-trees (*Dryobalanops*?) existed in the mountainous tracts (*Ghāṭs*) of Southern India. A camphor was, moreover, extracted in Malabar from the roots of the 'wild cinnamom' (probably some *Cassia* sp.), having several of the properties of real camphor and more fragrance (see "Hobson-Jobson," p. 543).

p. 439, n. 1, ll. 4–6 from bottom. The first western mention of camphor is believed to occur in the Greek medical writer Aëtius (*circâ* A.D. 540, see extract in "Hobson-Jobson," p. 152), who terms it *caphura*, seemingly from the Arabic *kāfūr*, representing the Sanskrit *karpūra.* Imrū-l-Kais (sixth century) writes, in fact, *kāfūr*, as we have seen. In Malay (not only in Javanese as stated in "Hobson-Jobson," p. 151) كافور, *kāpūr* (proṇ. *kāpor*), means 'lime,' 'cement,' 'mortar,' 'plaster for building,' and 'camphor' in the compositum *kāpūr bārūs*, etc. This is likewise the case in Mōn (ခရိုဝ်, *kh'póa*), in Khmër (*kombōr*, *kumbōr*), and in Siāmese (*pūn* = *pūr*), which are one and all corrupted forms of Skr. *karpūra*, and mean 'lime.' It is, therefore, impossible that one could accept the suggestion referred to in "Hobson-Jobson," loc. cit., that the word *karpūra* "was originally Javanese"!! The above meaning of 'lime,' ascribed to *karpūra* and its Further-Indian derivatives, should be compared with the significations ascribed to *pāṁsuḥ* of 'dust,' 'dirt,' etc. (see p. 435 above).

p. 440, n. 1, l. 8. Camphor oil. *P'o-lü Kau* (*Bā-lut* balm) is mentioned as early as A.D. 515 in the history of the Liang dynasty as being an abundant product in *Lang-ya-hsiu*, i.e. C'hump'hōn; see above, pp. 112–115 (*vide* Groeneveldt, in "Essays relating

to Indo-China," ser. II, p. 135). Again, it is mentioned in the New History of the T'ang dynasty, bk. 222, as having been sent in tribute between 627 and 649 A.D. by the State of *T'o-yüan* or *Nou-t'o-yüan* (= Dagūn, now Rangoon, or else Dun-wun?—v. p. 831 *infra*). (See *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 283, n. 37, text.)

p. 441, n. 1, l. 17 from bottom. *Ḥardālah.* Yule, in "Hobson-Jobson," new ed., p. 430, connects this term with *Haritāl* = 'yellow arsenic,' 'orpiment,' saying that Ibn Baṭūṭa "seems oddly to confound it with camphor." But probably *yellow* (or *strong*) camphor is what is meant.

p. 443, n. *, l. 3. This may be the *Batai* camphor (from the *Batta* country?) referred to in "Hobson-Jobson," p. 151.

p. 444, n. 2. In 1589 Ralph Fitch (see J. H. Ryley's "Ralph Fitch," London, 1899, p. 189) says that Borneo camphor "groweth in canes." This may be explained (as done in "Hobson-Jobson," p. 152, with regard to Ibn Baṭūṭa's version) "by the statement of Barbosa, that the Borneo camphor as exported was packed in tubes of bamboo." But Ibn Baṭūṭa's case is somewhat different, although the same practice may have been observed on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula (*Mula-Jāvah*) with regard to camphor collected from *Dryobalanops* trees. These, it may now be confidently asserted, were to be found of old even further north than Pêrak and Kemāman (see p. 436 above, n. 3), perhaps as far up as the Kraḥ Isthmus, since *Lang-ya-hsiu* (i.e. the Kraḥ-C'humphōn State) produced, we have seen (*supra*, in these Addenda, remarks on p. 440, n. 1), camphor oil in the sixth century A.D., and *T'o-yüan* State (probably Dagūn, now Rangoon) sent the same article in tribute during the century next following. These facts further confirm our location of Ibn Baṭūṭa's *Kākula* at either Kelantan or Ligor. N.B.—An islet Koḥ Kraḥ (*Kakora*), the *Cara* of old maps, lies just off Ligor bight. It will, moreover, now be seen that Serapion's statement as to camphor being exported from the *Kalāh* country (see above, p. 437, note), i.e. the west coast of the Malay Peninsula about Takôpa (*Takkola* or *Kakkola*), was perfectly correct in his time (ninth–tenth century). It may be interesting to notice, in connection with I-tsing's *Ka-ko-la* or *Ka-ko-ra*, that *kakaras* is the Malay name for the gharu tree or *gaharu* producing eagle-wood. Chia Tan in his itinerary, compiled A.D. 785–805 (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 373), refers to a kingdom *Ko-ku-lo*, 哥谷羅, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, which, if not Kwāla Kurau, or Kwāla Gula, in North-West Pêrak, may be *Takkola* or *Kakkola* (Takôpa). See below, in these Addenda, remarks on p. 506.

p. 451, l. 7. *Shun-ta.* Chao Ju-kua also mentions a piratical State *Sun-t'a*, 孫 他, evidently *Sunda*, among the piratical States of the Archipelago (see *T'oung-Pao*, 1903, pp. 239, 240).

p. 451, note. *Ta-pan* and *Jung-ya-lu.* In another passage, referred to in *T'oung-Pao*, 1903, pp. 238, 239, Chao Ju-kua says that the *Ta-pan* State borders to the east on *Ta Shé-p'o*, called *Jung-ya-lu*, 戎 牙 路, also termed *Chung-ka-lu*, 重 迦 盧 (*Jāṅgala* or *Jakola* = Malacca, see pp. 519–21 above). The same writer, moreover, enumerates both *Ta-pan* and *Jung-ya-lu* among the States bordering upon *Chao-wa*, i.e. Java. All this shows that neither of them could be situated on Java Island.

p. 454, n. 1. Teixeira (1600) mentions pepper in Achīn (op. cit., p. 2). Linschoten (1592) says much pepper comes from Pedir, which lies twenty miles from Achīn ("Voyage," Hakl. Soc., 1885, vol. i, p. 110).

p. 460, ll. 1–14. The views I have here expressed find confirmation, I now notice, in the following passage occurring in "Hobson-Jobson" (p. 868): "The Sunda country is considered to extend from the extreme western point of the island to Cheribon, i.e. embracing about one-third of the whole island of Java. Hinduism appears to have prevailed in the Sunda country, and held its ground longer than in '*Java,' a name which the proper Javanese restrict to their own part of the island.*"

p. 463, l. 4. Friar Jordanus (1330), in his "Mirabilia Descripta" (Hakl. Soc., 1863, pp. 30, 31), evidently includes the whole of the Archipelago under the denomination *Jana* (*Jaua*), for he says that there "are produced cubebs [which grow in Java proper], and nutmegs and mace [as well as cloves], and all the other finest spices [which are all produced in the Moluccas and not at all in Java] except pepper."

p. 463, n. 1, l. 3. This embassy of 433 was sent by *Ho-lo-tan* (on *Shé-p'o* or *Tu-p'o* Island?), which had already appeared at the Chinese Court in 430 (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 505). The "Sung-shu," quoted in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 255, gives the date as the 11th year *Yüan-chia* = A.D. 434, instead of the 10th year (= A.D. 433). On this *Ho-lo-tan* State see our further remarks on p. 469 above, and n. 3 to same.

p. 463, n. 1, ll. 10–12. *P'o-ta.* Two similar toponyms occur in the Chinese records, viz.: (1) 勃 達, *P'o-ta* (see *China Review*, vol. xiii, p. 337); (2) 拔 𠯿, *Pa-t'a*, a dependency of *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang) according to Chao Ju-kua, 1205–58 (see *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p. 135). This last may be the Batta or Battak country.

p. 463, n. 1, l. 14. See p. 470, n. 1. Also my paper on "Some unidentified Toponyms," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, October, 1904, pp. 720–2.

De Barros (in Ramusio, op. cit., vol. i, p. 391) mentions a *Pedam* (Padang?) between *Quedam* (Kedah) and *Pera* (Pêrak). This may be meant for Cape (*Tanjung*) *Piandang*, on that coast just below Krian.

p. 467, ll. 6, 7. *T'u-lo-shu.* The Peguan Annals ("Rājādhirāj") mention a town and province, ဝလဝ်ရီ, *Talac'hī* (*Dhalajī*), conquered along with Prome, etc., by King Rājādhirāj in A.D. 1397 during his war against Burmā. This *Talac'hī* can hardly be Thayet-myo (written *Tharet*, *Saret*), though it seems difficult to suggest another equivalent for it.

p. 469, n. 3, l. 9 from bottom. *Ko-lo-tan.* The first character should be read either *Ho* or *K'o*, and not *Ko* as done by Ma Tuan-lin's translator (op. cit., p. 466), and its Sanskrit equivalent is *Ha*, as in *Ho-li Tsau* (the '*Harī* Plant,' i.e. the *Harītaka* = *Terminalia chebula*), Harivarman, etc. The Sanskrit and Indo-Chinese equivalents of *Ho-lo-tan* would thus be: *Ha-la-ta*, *Ha-rā-ta*, *Āraṭṭa* (*Hairat*, *Airat*, the local vernacular name of Gujarāt), *Haryāta*, *Aradha*, *Hala-tānah* (country of the *Hala* or *Ala* tribes in central North Sumatra?), etc. The most agreeing toponyms would, therefore, be Krut and Gurōt, as I have pointed out above (p. 469, n. 3), while Aru, Hāru, or Ghore (as it is severally spelled in Malay records), on the north-east coast of Sumatra, seems to be out of the question, even in the possible compositum Aru-tānah or Hāru-tānah (Hāru-sthāna).

p. 471, ll. 2–8, and n. 2. On *P'o-lo-mén* = *Brahmadeśa*, i.e. the Tagōng district (?), and *Po-sz* State, which with *Mien* (Burmā, *Mȁn*, *Mara* [-mma]) and *K'un-lun* sent white elephants and perfumes to the king of Nan-Chao in Yün-nan, see these Addenda above, note to p. 68, l. 2, and remarks on p. 90, note.

There were, however, two *P'o-lo-mén* States in the west of Burmā, to wit:—

(1) *Ta-ts'in P'o-lo-mén*, 大秦婆羅門, a kingdom located in Chia Tan's itinerary, A.D. 785–805 (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 371), at 1,000 *li* west of the *Mi-no*, 彌諾, River (i.e. the Mankathè or Maṇipur River) and at 300 *li* from *Kāmarūpa* (i.e. Asām), from which it was separated by a large mountain range. I, therefore, identify this kingdom with Sylhet (*Siratha*, which name the Chinese seem to have anagrammatized into *Ta-sir* = *Ta-ts'in*).

(2) *Hsiao P'o-lo-mén*, 小婆羅門 (lit. 'Little Brāhmaṇs'),

a kingdom in which the *Mi-no*, i.e. Maṇipur River, rises according to the "Man-shu," *circâ* A.D. 860 (quoted in *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, pp. 171, 172). Flowing thence in a southward direction, this river comes to *Tou-mi-chia-mu*, 兜彌伽木, and separates into two branches encircling it. It is quite clear to me that the State here referred to is Maṇipur, while *Tou-mi-chia-mu*, or *Tu-mi-ka-muk*, *Tumi-gāma* (?), is Tummu or Tamu, Ptolemy's **Tugma** (see p. 33 above, and Appendix II, section 6, where we have conjecturally suggested *Tugāma* as an equivalent). Also *vide infra*, note to p. 568.

On this kingdom of the 'Lesser Brāhmaṇs' the "Man-shu" remarks that there no beef is eaten and that future events can be predicted (see *Bulletin*, vol. cit., p. 180), a description which well agrees with the one given in other Chinese records of the *P'o-lo-mén* State lying in the neighbourhood of *Shé-p'o* (see p. 470 above). There can thus be no doubt that in the latter instance *Hsiao P'o-lo-mén*, i.e. Maṇipur, is meant, and that *Shé-p'o*, its neighbour, cannot be Sumatra, and much less Java, but Upper Burmā (*Ḍavāka*, Shwebo ?); see p. 467 above.

After the above considerations the conjectural connection we have ventured to suggest between *Brahmadeśa* (Tagōng district) and *P'o-lo-mén* is no longer tenable; evidently the Chinese in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. ignored such a designation, which very likely was already forgotten in the land itself, or else its range, which probably originally comprised the whole tract to the west of Tagaung to Āsām, may have become restricted to the westernmost portion of it (Sylhet, Maṇipur, Kāchār, and other States which remained longer and more intensely under the influence of Hinduism).

As regards *Po-sz*, it may not be altogether useless to recall that *Pasuluka* was a name for Burmā, or part of it (see p. 40 above). Whether this term is in any way connected with *Paśupāla*, a people in the north-east region, mentioned in the "Bṛhat Saṁhitā," xiv, 29, I am unable to judge.

p. 478, note, ll. 12, 13. Herbert, in his "Voyage de Perse," p. 493 (A.D. 1627), already suggested that Malacca was part of Ophir.

p. 482, ll. 5–9. The "Nan-Man Chuan" is simply the chapter on the Southern Barbarians in T'ang history. *Chün-t'u-lung Shan* is, before this, mentioned in Chia Tan's itinerary (A.D. 785–805) in the form 軍突弄 (*Kun-dur-rung*), and located at two days' sailing from Pāṇḍuraṅga (Phanrang on the Cochin-China coast). Thence, in another five days' sailing the *Chih*, 質, Strait is reached (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 217). This, as we have already

seen, is the Singapore Strait, and Chia Tan adds, in fact, that on its northern shore lies the kingdom of *Lo-yüeh*, 羅越 (i.e. *Lagor* or *Ligor*), or possibly M. Polo's [*Ma*]-*la-vir*, the *Larevi* of Arab navigators, while on the southern shore is the kingdom of *Fo-shih* (*Bhoja*, i.e. Palembang). *Chün-t'u-lung* cannot, therefore, be Kundur Island in Durian Strait, as I had conjectured before the translation of Chia Tan's itinerary had appeared in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, but is, most assuredly, Pulo Condore (Kundur) off the Lower Cochin-China coast, alluded to under the form *K'un-lun* by other Chinese writers.

p. 482, l. 18. The value $2'\frac{5}{12}$ here given within parentheses should be corrected into $2'\frac{5}{10}$ or 2·5, for it is a question of Chinese *ch'ih*, 'feet,' of 10 *ts'un*, 'inches,' each. The gnomonic data referred to would yield by calculation, after rectification as just pointed out, a latitude of about 5° N., which evidences that the gnomonic observation was made on the north coast of Sumatra, either at Achīn or in the neighbourhood of Pāsei.

p. 495, ll. 3 et seqq. *Po-li*, or *P'o-li* (= Pulei, Pulai), has been subsequently identified by me with Teixeira's *Polé* River and with the *Pulai* River (Sungei *Pulai*), flowing from the homonymous mountain range (Gūnong *Pulai*) to the Sea of the Straits, into which it debouches between Tanjung *Bulus* Cape and the western entrance to the Old Singapore Strait. See my paper on "Some unidentified Toponyms," etc., in the *Journal R.A.S.*, October, 1904, pp. 719, 720.

p. 497, n. 1, ll. 13–16. *Lo-ch'at*. Cf. also *Nuchi*, *Nunchit*, Kwāla *Nuchi* or *Nochi*, below Chanah on the same coast, on a western branch of the Patāni River, which formerly was the main river (see *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S.*, No. 11, pp. 123, 124). *Nuchi* or *Nunchit* is the local Malay form for the Siāmese *Nŏng-chik* district.

p. 498, l. 20. *Ch'ang-yau* Island. This, I have afterwards found, is very likely Pulo Senang, better known as Barn Island, and not Singapore Island, which, as I have shown, is marked *Tan-ma-hsi* (Tamasak) in the Chinese map referred to (see *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, p. 501).

p. 499, ll. 7, 8. Cf. also *Semujong*, an alternative designation for the Sungei Ujong district above Malacca, according to the *Journal Indian Arch.*, vol. v, p. 322. In Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 88, it is termed *Semang-ujong*.

p. 505, l. 15. *Lang-pi-ye*, *Lang-pi-ya*. A *Lampiya* village exists in the tin-works tract of Jala or Jalor on the east slope of the Malay Peninsula, in about 6° 30′ N. lat. (see *Bangkok*

Calendar for 1873, p. 118). The phonetic equivalent of *Lang-pi-ya* should therefore be *Lampiya*, *Lampya*, or other similar term.

p. 506, l. 12 et seqq., and n. 2. *Sêng-chih.* Chia Tan actually mentions in his itinerary (A.D. 785–805) a *Ko-ko-sêng-chih*, 葛葛僧祇, kingdom, situated west of *Chih* Strait, on a [rocky] island off the north-west corner of *Fo-shih*, and adds: "Men in this kingdom are plunderers and cruel: they are feared by navigators. On the north coast [of the Strait?] is the *Ko-lo*, 箇羅, kingdom, west of which lies *Ko-ku-lo*, 哥谷羅. From *Ko-ko-sêng-chih* the *Shêng-têng*, 勝鄧, Islet is reached in four or five days' sailing. Thence, five more days' sailing in a westward direction bring one to the *P'o-lu*, 婆露, country. Next, in another six days one reaches the *Chia-lan*, 伽籃, Islet of the *P'o*, 婆, kingdom. Beyond that, after four days' navigation in a northern direction, one comes to the 'Lion Kingdom' (Ceylon)" (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 373). I shall attempt to locate the above toponyms, which puzzle and mislead the translator of Chia Tan's itinerary.

Ko-ko-sêng-chih is the *Chi-ku* or *Ki-ku*, 鷄骨, Island (*Chi-ku Hsü*) of the Chinese map of A.D. 1400 *circâ* published by Phillips (see *Journal China Br! R.A.S.*, vol. xxi, 1886, p. 38, No. 16), wherein it is marked south-west of Malacca in a position corresponding to Pulo Medang and its southern counterpart, Pulo Rupat or Segaro (west of the mouth of the Siak River, east coast of Sumatra). On the north-east coast of Pulo Medang still exists a hamlet *Kūko-Būrong* (the *Kuku Burung* of the "China Sea Directory," vol. i, 4th ed., 1896, p. 107), the name of which means, in Malay, 'bird-crow.' This signification is almost identical with that of the term *Chi-ku*, which is, in Chinese, 'cock-crow.' I have but little doubt that Pulo Medang is one and the same with the hitherto unidentified *Pulo Kūkor* mentioned in the Pāsei chronicle translated by Marre ("Histoire des Rois de Pasey," Paris, 1874, pp. 97, 107). *Kūkor* was thus the old name of Pulo Medang still represented in the *Kūko* (or *Kūkū*', كوكوء) Būrong hamlet standing on its coast. (N.B.—The name Medang comes to this island from Medang village, lying at its northern extremity; this is no doubt a modern settlement, and the name for the island a new-fangled one.) The old designation *Kūkor* for Pulo Medang explains (the first part, at any rate, of) Chia Tan's *Ko-ko-sêng-chih*, and the *Ki-ku* of the Chinese map referred to above.[1]

[1] There is a cape and an island *Kokob* or *Kukub* just off the south-west extremity of the Malay Peninsula, and a Krung *Kūkūs* on the north coast

Shêng-têng is the *Serdang* district on the same coast, further north, towards Deli. *P'o-lu* is possibly Perlak, still further up the coast.

Chia-lan (*Ka-ran*, *Kara*) Island is *Kar*-Nikobār. It may be noticed that the second character in this name is one and the same as employed in *Ts'wei-lan*, i.e. *Tilan*-chong, another island of the Nikobār group (see pp. 385 and 396 above).

P'o simply stands for *bār*, *vār*, and is thus a contraction of Nikobār, if not actually meant for *Bharu*, in which case Chia Tan's *P'o* kingdom would recall the ancient *Bharu* kingdom (see p. 399 above).

This mention in the eighth century A.D. of Kar-Nikobār and of the Nikobār Archipelago is both very instructive and interesting.

But no less important is the reference to the *Ko-ko-sêng-chih* Island, if this should prove to be the full form of the name of a district *Sêng-chih* where the homonymous slaves and dancers were recruited. In such a case Sīak, of which *Sêng-chih* is possibly a clumsy transcript (*Ko-ko-sêng-chih* = *Kūkor Sīak*, 'the *Kūkor* Island of *Sīak*'?), would be the district in question, along with the neighbouring islands, among which *Kundur* in Sabong Strait, whence perhaps the alternative designation *K'un-lun Ts'êng-ch'i* and *Sêng-chih Nu* for the same class of menials. It is known that there are wild and hairy tribes in Sīak, while the islands off the coast of the same district are inhabited by *Orang-laut*, known locally as *Rawah*, but termed *Sika*, *Sekah*, or *Sekat* farther south in the Archipelago (e.g. in Bangka and Billiton). This very term *Sekah* may be the one transcribed *Ts'êng-ch'i* or *Sêng-chih* by the Chinese; its old local form may have been *Sengka* or *Sinki* (as in Salat *Sinki*, the channel of the strait south of Singapore Island). But all this is by no means certain, and we must await further information from Chinese sources ere these terminological riddles can be satisfactorily solved.

For Chia Tan's *Ko-ku-lo* see above, in these Addenda, remarks on p. 444, n. 2. His *Ko-lo*, or *Ka-la*, lying on the coast of the Malay Peninsula north of *Ko-ko-sêng-chih* (= Pulo Kūkor, now Medang), may be *Kala*-pang near the Umbai River, just below Malacca, or else *Ja-kola* (Malacca or Kwāla *Jugra*? see p. 521 above), or, but less probably, Selan-*gor*.

pp. 507, 508, note. *Syangka*, etc. See my paper "The

of Sumatra, just west of the old Samudra town, but neither place suits. The same objection applies to *Kuku* Islet close by the north-east corner of Pulo Bintang in the east part of Singapore Strait, and to the islet *Kekker* in Penuba Strait, between Singkep and Linga Islands.

Nagarakretāgama list of Countries," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, pp. 485–511.

As regards the term *Séng-chih*, 僧 祇, M. Pelliot observes in the *Bulletin École Franç.*, t. iv, pp. 290, 291, that this is a misspelling for 僧 祇, *Séng-ch'i*, *Séng-k'i* (= *Zanggī*), due to the almost perfect similarity between the second characters in both names, as evidenced by the best editions of the Chinese texts where the name occurs, wherein it is spelled *Seng-ch'i* (*Séng-k'i*). In the whole of the Malay Archipelago, he adds, Negroes are still termed *Zanggī* or *Janggī* (which is also pronounced *Jĕnggī*, in Battak *Jonggī*), and '*Jĕnggī*' already occurs in a Javanese inscription of 860 A.D. All this, however, does not quite explain the terms *K'un-lun-Ts'éng-sz* or *K'un-lun-Ts'éng-ch'i* (or *Ts'én-k'i*), which may also denote *Zanggī* (Niggers), but which he deftly skips over. As a matter of fact these, as we have seen, were dancers and musicians, more especially dancing girls. I may now add to what I have said in the note on p. 508 above, that the term *Srengkēa* (which is quite similar to *Séng-k'i* (in Cantonese *Séng-kei*)) denotes in Khmër a lady of the royal harem (see Aymonier's "Cambodge," t. iii, p. 646, and his "Dict. Khmer-Français," s.v.), and that such ladies often take part in theatrical exhibitions. Again, in old Khmër, *Tai* is a word for female slaves, 'bayadères' (see Aymonier's "Cambodge," t. iii, pp. 546, 547; ii, p. 291). This may be compared with the Cantonese pronunciation, *Séng-tai*, of *Séng-chih*. As Khmër was the language prevailing in the south of the Malay Peninsula and adjacent islands from the time of the extensive conquests of *Fu-nan* in the third century A.D. (see my paper on "The Nagarakretāgama list of Countries," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, p. 502, n. 1) till well-nigh the end of the thirteenth century (see op. cit., p. 508), while Mŏn, its sister tongue, still held its own during the same period in the remaining portions of the Malay Peninsula and the northern half, at least, of Sumatra, it is not altogether unlikely that both terms *Séng-chih* and *Séng-k'i* denoted not exactly dark-complexioned or Negrito people from that region, but more particularly female dancers and musicians.

p. 509, note, l. 10. *K'un-lun.* In the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 226, it is stated that, according to the "Man-shu" (published in *circâ* 860 A.D.), the Nan-Chao kingdom (in Yün-nan) made an expedition against the *K'un-lun* country. Thereupon the *K'un-lun* people let the enemy's host advance well into their country, then they cut through a dam and thus drowned most of the Nan-Chao forces. They cut off at the wrist the right hands of the survivors

before sending them back to their country. The "Nan-chao Ye-shih" wisely refrains from mentioning such a defeat, but puts on record a little later that in A.D. 885 the *K'un-lun* kingdom sent a very handsome girl to the Nan-Chao king (Sainson's transl., p. 78), a fact which evidences that the two enemies had by this time become reconciled. Again, the same work mentions in 1103 that the three kingdoms of *Mien* (Burmā), *Po-sz* (a neighbour of Burmā on the west, see p. 471 *supra* and note thereon in these Addenda), and *K'un-lun* offered white elephants and perfumes to the king of Nan-Chao (ibid., p. 101). The perfumes here alluded to seemingly included a large portion of Costus, the best of which came from *K'un-lun* according to Chinese writers (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 226). The *K'un-lun* State alluded to was evidently the Lesser (or *Hsiao*) *K'un-lun*, i.e. Taik-kulā (*Gola-mattika-nagara*, the present Ayethèma), on the coast of Pegu (see pp. 89, 90 above), which lies in a region where the multifarious waterways permit the sort of warfare described above. Cutting of dams and skilful taking advantage of bores and tidal waves formed later on a feature in the wars between Pegu and Burmā (thirteenth to fifteenth century), described in the "Rājādhirāj" or Peguan Annals of this period.

In proof of the identity of the *K'un-lun* kingdom above referred to with the Taik-kulā State, I may adduce the itinerary translated from the "Man-shu" in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, loc. cit. According to this, from the *Liang Shwei* valley (probably west of Ning-chou in South Yün-nan) one came to the *Lung* River (龍河, *Lung Ho*, evidently the Më-Khōng or *Chiu-lung* Kiang at C'hīeng Rung, following the well-known T'ung-hai – *P'u-êrh* – Sz-mao route). Then, further south, one took the route of the *Ts'ing-mu-hsiang* (Costus) Mountains (i.e. the C'hīeng Tung–Moné route across the Më-Khōng-Salwīn watersheds), and straight southwards (*viâ* Shwē-gyin and Sittang) the *K'un-lun* State was reached (i.e. Taik-kulā or Ayethèma, south-east of Sittang town). In another passage of the "Man-shu" the Costus Mountains are located three days' south of Yung-ch'ang, that is to say, in the region west of P'u-êrh and C'hīeng Rung.

On this and other *K'un-lun* States see also pp. 89 (n. 5), 90, 103, 260, 261 (n. 1), 507–9, 574 (n. 3), and *supra* in these Addenda, remarks on pp. 74 (l. 16), 90, and 260 (l. 15).

p. 514, ll. 1–6 from bottom. *Ku-lo*. This is Gūroh; see above in these Addenda, note to p. 106.

p. 517, n. 3. Java. The Po-saḥ stela of A.D. 1306, discovered in Chām territory, mentions a *Java* kingdom and a quite distinct

Yava-dvīpa or Insular Java (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 641, n. 1). The first one of these countries, i.e. *Java*, was evidently the *Shê-p'o* on the Malay Peninsula, and withal Ibn Baṭūṭa's [*Mul-*]*Jāvah* visited in 1345.

p. 521, n. 1, ll. 2 et seqq. *Jakola.* Nieuhoff possibly intended to connect Malacca with Ptolemy's **Takola**, after Herbert, who, in his "Voyage de Perse" (1627), says (p. 493) that Malacca is probably Ptolemy's *Facola* (*sic*). He often follows Castaldi in such fanciful Ptolemaic identifications. See, nevertheless, above in these Addenda, remarks on p. 506, concerning the *Ko-lo* kingdom referred to in Chia Tan's itinerary (A.D. 785–805). If the name *Jakola* really existed locally in Nieuhoff's time, it must have meant, not Malacca proper, but the *Jugra* territory near by, the *Ch'ung-ka-la* (*Jungara*, *Jugara*) of Chinese accounts. For the appearance of this term as early as the first half of the thirteenth century under the forms *Jung-ya-lu* and *Chung-ka-lu* in Chao Ju-kua's work, see above in these Addenda, remarks on p. 451.

p. 525, n. 1. *Lo-yüeh.* Chia Tan's itinerary overland states that from Water *Chên-la*, i.e. Lower Kamboja, after crossing a small sea (Gulf of Siām) in a southern direction, one comes to the *Lo-yüeh* country (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 372). On the other hand, in his itinerary by sea, Chia Tan locates *Lo-yüeh* on the northern coast of the *Chih* (*Sik*, *Sak*, i.e. the Singapore) Strait, which is only 100 *li* (about 20 to 30 miles) wide, and on the southern shore of which is the *Fo-shih* (Bhoja, i.e. Palembang) kingdom (op. cit., pp. 372, 373).

The "Hsin T'ang-shu," in its turn, states that *Lo-yüeh*, on the north, lies at 5,000 *li* (i.e. from 900 to 1,300 miles) from the sea; south-west of it is *Ko-ku-lo*. It is a meeting-place for merchants that go and come. Every year junks sail thence for Canton. Customs are there the same as at *T'o-lo-po-ti* (Dvāravatī in Lower Siām, see pp. 176–80 above). (Op. cit., p. 232.)

It is legitimate to infer from the above indications that the *Lo-yüeh* State extended from the north of the Malay Peninsula at the Kraḥ Isthmus, or even further up at about Mergui, down to its very southern end, i.e. to the shore of the Singapore Strait. If so, this State could not be other than the Ligor or *Lugor* kingdom, which included many petty principalities now and then mentioned, as if they were separate or independent States, in the Chinese records.

Otherwise, we must assume the existence of several places *Lo-yüeh*, viz., one near Mergui (which may be Lenya or Lanyā) on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, one at Ligor on the east

coast, and one on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait (which would then have to be identified with [*Ma-*]*lavir*, the Chinese [*Mo-*]*lo-yü*, and the Arabic *Lārevī* or *Lārvī*).

But this second hypothesis seems less plausible than the first one of a single *Lo-yüeh* State holding hegemony over well-nigh the whole of the Malay Peninsula. (On the paramount *rôle* played of old by Ligor in the Malay Peninsula, see my monograph "Historical Retrospect of Junkceylon Island," in the *Journal of the Siam Society* for 1905, pp. 130–5.) Cf. anyhow note to p. 110, l. 13, on p. 760 above.

p. 528, l. 4 and n. 1. *Ka-ch'a*. There does, indeed, exist a tiny islet Pulo *Kacha* just off the mouth of the Kedah River in 6° 4′ N. lat.; but Old Kedah lay much further down the coast in 5° 42′ N. lat. Both by reason of Pulo *Kacha* being, so to speak, merely a "geographical expression," and because of its lying out of the usual ship-route from the Straits to the Nikobārs and the Koromandel coast, I find it necessary to maintain my identification of *Ka-ch'a* with Kerti or Katrea on the north coast of Sumatra. On *Ka-ch'a* and Kedah see, furthermore, my paper on "The Nagarakretāgama list of Countries," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, pp. 495–500.

p. 533, ll. 19, 20. *Pentam*. Despite the existence of a village *Bentan* on the north shore of the Old Singapore Strait, I have in my paper on the "Nagarakretāgama List of Countries," etc., in the *Journal R.A.S.* for July, 1905, preferred to identify (pp. 508, 509) Marco Polo's *Pentam* island with *Be-Tūmah*, i.e. the *Tamasak*, or Singapore, Island. On *Malavir* and Malāyu see also the same paper, pp. 492, 493.

p. 535, synoptical table, add the following entry:—

End of 644 or beginning of 645. The *Mo-lo-you*, 摩羅游, kingdom sent an ambassador to China to offer products of the country (*Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 324).

pp. 536, 537, synoptical table, add the following entries:—

1275. Haji Kĕrtanagara, king of Java, undertook a war against *Malāyu*. He died the same year, but the war did not end until 1293.—"Pararaton" (*Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, iv, 333, n. 1). This is presumably the *C'hawā* (Javanese) invasion of the southern Siāmese provinces (on the Malay Peninsula), repelled in about 1279–80 by the Sukhôthai king Rùang (see p. 548 above, and my paper on the "Nagarakretāgama," etc., *Journal R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 492).

Beginning of 1281. *Su-la-man* (= Sulaimān?) was charged by the Chinese Court with a mission to the *Mu-la-yu*, 木剌由,

and other kingdoms. Six months later *Chan-sz-ting* (= Shams-ud-dīn?), sent on a mission to *Mu-la-yu*, when reaching Champā was shipwrecked (*Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, iv, 326).

1299. *Mo-la-yu*, 沒剌由, despatched an embassy to China, contemporaneously with *Hsien* (Sukhôthai) and *Lo-hu* (Lavô, i.e. Lop'hburī in South Siām). (Op. cit., loc. laud.)

1301. *Ma-lai-hu*, 馬來忽, and other Sea Islands sent ambassadors to China (ibid.). Whether *Malāyu* is here implied I somewhat doubt.

p. 539, ll. 10–15. On a somewhat earlier Chinese hazy knowledge of Java see my remarks below in these Addenda, note to p. 586, ll. 4–7.

p. 541, synoptical table. *P'o-ta*. In my paper on "Some unidentified Toponyms," etc., in the *Journal R.A.S.*, October, 1904, I have preferred (p. 722) *Patanor* (Bān-Dōn) as an equivalent for both Tavernier's *Bata* and Teixeira's *Pate*. See, however, p. 543 above, n. 1, for a possible faint indication in favour of *Bardia*. On a *Pa-t'a* State, name spelled with different characters, see p. 627 above, No. 10.

p. 545, synoptical table, l. 5 from bottom. The armies of *Java* here referred to must have been from the [continental] *Java* kingdom, as distinct from the insular Java, which, we have seen, is termed *Yava-dvīpa* in another Chām inscription discovered in the Panrāng district itself (see above in these Addenda, remarks on p. 517, n. 3).

p. 545, n. 1, l. 3. In the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 223, the name of the king of Lesser *K'un-lun* (Taik-kulā) is given as *Mang Hsi-yüeh*, 茫悉越 (= *Mōng Sagū* (?), but more probably the Mōñ *H'möiñ Chagū*), and that of the *Ta K'un-lun* (Takkola = Takôpa) ruler is recorded as being *Sz-li Po-p'o-nan-to-shan-na* (= Śrī Bhavānandaśāna?). This relates to the time when the first account of *P'iao* (Lower Burmā) reached China (A.D. 802); see p. 467, n. 7, above.

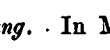
p. 548, synoptical table, add the following entry:—

1274–1306. *Java* kingdom (i.e. continental *Java*), as distinct from the realm of *Yava-dvīpa* (i.e. insular *Java*). Po-saḥ inscription discovered near Panrāng, South Champā (see above in these Addenda, remarks on p. 517, n. 3).

p. 568, n. 2, sec. (1), ll. 3–6. In a Burmese inscription of A.D. 1767, a *Tāmalitti* is mentioned among the tributary States of Burmā. This may be *Tamu* or Tummu, q.v. *supra*, p. 33; also above, in these Addenda, remarks on p. 471, ll. 2–8.

p. 570, note, ll. 11–13. *Kaṭāha*. Cf. also *Ch'ü-su* (*Khu-tuk*),

the fortified city, *supra*, p. 305, and note thereon in these Addenda, as well as remarks in the same on pp. 311 and 334.

p. 574, n. 3, l. 10. *Krung*. In Mōn  , *Krung*, pron. *Kröng*, where it means a small river and also a creek, a canal, whether natural or not. This word *Krung* occurs also in Chām and in the language of Achīn; in both these tongues it means a 'river.' It does not occur in any other language of the Archipelago. In the parlance of the Bahnar tribe of Kamboja it is pronounced *Krong*. M. Pelliot, in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 230, n. 3, begs to doubt my assertion (in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1902, p. 135) that *Krung* is a Mōn-Khmër word, and is somewhat sceptical as to my having met it in Mōñ. As regards this last point, I may easily refer M. Pelliot to Steven's "Vocabulary English and Peguan," Rangoon, 1896, p. 24, s.v. 'creek'; while concerning the Mōn-Khmër origin of the word, I hope the evidence I have given above of its wide application in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and even North Sumatra, will suffice to establish its paternity. But what has hitherto escaped lexicographers is the fact that *Krung*, though originally denoting a 'small river,' came in the course of time to be employed in the sense of 'lord of the river,' or 'lord of the basin (or valley) of (a particular) river,' i.e. 'king,' and this meaning it still retains, at least, in Khmër, and in Siāmese, into which it has been introduced.

p. 581, n. 3. Lancaster (1592) mentions ambergris among the chief exports of Junkceylon Island ("Voyages," Hakl. Soc., 1877, pp. 14, 15), and Gervaise (1681–5) says this commodity is therein to be found in small quantities ("Hist. Naturelle et Polit. du Royaume de Siam," Paris, 1688, p. 32). Amber and ambergris were sent by Tonkin to China, A.D. 220–30, according to the "An-nan Chih-lüo" (Sainson's transl., p. 328).

p. 582, n. 1. Lancaster (1592) speaks of amber occurring in the Nikobārs (op. cit., p. 71). Amber was found in the country of the *Hé-tsz Pu*, south-west of Yung-ch'ang, according to Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 304). This evidently refers to the amber mines of North Burmā.

p. 585, note, list of countries. *Mo-ho-sin* (3) and *Tan-tan* (5) occur in an itinerary, probably of the seventh century A.D., of a journey from *Chin-li-p'i-shih*, or *Chin-li-p'i-chia*, to Canton, translated in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iv, pp. 324–6. This country, *Chin-li-p'i-shih*, 金利毗逝 (or 迦, *chia*), is located in the same extract at 1,500 *li* (250 to 500 miles) east of *Ch'ih-t'u*

(Sukhôthai); and at 3,000 *li* (500 to 1,000 miles) north of *P'o-li* (Pulai on the Old Singapore Strait), which indications argue for it a situation on the east coast of the Gulf of Siām, either at Bāng Plā-sōi (Chonlaburī, Jalapuri) or lower down at either Pasë or Chanthabūn. This location is further confirmed by the trend of the itinerary, which proceeds thencefrom by way of the following places: *Tan-tan* (= Tāntalam?), *Mo-ho-hsin* (Mahāsin?), *To-lung* (= Kwāla *Tarong* in North Tringano?), *Chê-māi* (= Kemā-man?), *P'o-lou* (= Kwāla *Baloh* in North Pahang?), *To-lang* (= Kwāla *Tembeling* in Pahang?), *P'o-hwang* (= Pahang?), *Mo-lo-shih* or *Mo-lo-yü* (Malāyu State, south end of the Malay Peninsula), *Chên-la* (south-east coast of Kamboja), *Lin-i* (Campā), *Kwang-chou* (Canton). If the above toponyms are correctly recorded in the itinerary, *Tan-tan*, *Mo-ho-hsin*, etc., would all appear to be places on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. But the sea-route laid down is, to say the least, a very odd one, and it is not improbable there is an error in the position ascribed to *Chin-li-p'i-shih* in respect to *Ch'ih-t'u* (Siām), which may have to be corrected to 1,500 *li* west, instead of east. In such a case *Chin-li-p'i-shih* would have to be sought for on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, perhaps at Ghirbi(-Kāsai); see p. 95 above.

As regards the toponym *Tan-tan*, it may have been employed by the Chinese to denote a number of similarly named places. Besides those already referred to on p. 585, I may mention the following:—

(1) *Tātang* River (= Musi (?), east coast Sumatra, *supra*, p. 530, n. 4).

(2) *Ta-tan* River below Brunei, north-west coast of Borneo.

(3) Hamilton's "Pullo *Tetang*" (= Pulo Tenggol, near Pulau Berhāla, off the Tringano coast, west part of Gulf of Siām); see Pinkerton, op. cit., vol. viii, p. 463, etc.

p. 586, ll. 4–7] It behoves me to slightly amend the views expressed both here and on p. 539, ll. 10–15, as regards Chinese ignorance of Java before A.D. 1292–3. When they were written and sent to print there had not yet appeared Chao Ju-kua's account of *Chao-wa* (Java), published in the *T'oung-Pao* for 1903, pp. 233 et seqq. This shows that some hazy knowledge of Java had, indeed, reached China in the first half of the thirteenth century. But the information is so muddled and shallow as to justify the inference that it was acquired second-hand from foreign merchants trading at the Chinese seaports. According to Javanese tradition, it is stated (see *T'oung-Pao*, 1903, p. 233), the Chinese traded with Japara (north coast of central Java) as early as the tenth

century. Even granting this, the fact remains that the first substantial knowledge of Java was not obtained by the Chinese until 1292–3, on the occasion of an unsuccessful expedition sent thither by Kūblāi Khān, while the earliest mention of the island occurring in Chinese literature is to be found in Chao Ju-kua's work, in *circâ* 1240.

p. 598, note, ll. 9–12. *Tarshish.* See p. 681, ll. 2–6, and p. 706 above.

p. 599, l. 2 and n. 1. *Lin-ya-sz.* Possibly the same as *Lin-ya-ssŭ-ka*, which I have more recently identified with *Langka-suka*, the earliest capital of Kedah. On this and the topographical questions connected with the location of *Fo-lo-an* and neighbouring States, see, for a fuller treatment, my paper on the "Nagara-kretāgama," in the *Journal R.A.S.* for July, 1905 (pp. 495–8). *Vide* also p. 626 above, and *infra* in these Addenda, remark on p. 626.

pp. 615, 616. *Saṁbhoja, Śaṁbhujā, Kambujā*, etc. In Gavampati's book I have met the form *Kambojara* for Kamboja, which may or may not be meant for *Kamboja-raṭṭha*. In Burmese records the term *Sambujara* occurs for the part of Burmā classically styled "Kamboja," as exemplified in the following extract: "When Alaung-sithu of Paukkan (Pagan) was on his way back from the *Sambuthara* country (Kambawsa), he arrived in Tawng Peng on his magic barge" (Translation of Tawng Peng State history in the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. ii, vol. iii, p. 251). From the foregoing evidence it is legitimate to infer that *Kamboja* (or *Kambuja, Kambojara, Kambu-jaya*) and *Samboja* (or *Śaṁbhuja, Śaṁbhujara, Śaṁbhu-jaya*) were interchangeable terms, or, at any rate, were considered to be so in Further India.

p. 616, note, ll. 4–9. See my paper, "A recent Trip to the Ancient Ruins of Kamboja," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1904, p. 363.

p. 624, n. 1, ll. 10–15 from bottom. *Javaku. Jāvaka* is the Pāli form according to Professor Kern, who considers, naturally, the people so called to be Javanese. We have, indeed, seen (above in these Addenda, remarks on p. 536) that in 1275 Haji Kĕrtanagara, king of Java, undertook a war against Malāyu, but it is difficult to conceive that his exploits did extend as far as Ceylon.

p. 626. Dependencies of *San-fo-ch'i.* On *Tan-ma-ling* (= Temiling or Tembeling, on east coast of the Malay Peninsula), *Ling-ya-sz* (= *Ling-ya-sz-ka* = Langkasuka, the original capital of Kedah on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula), and *Fo-lo-an* (= Beranang on the Langat River, west coast of the Malay

Peninsula), see my paper on the "Nagarakretāgama" in *Journal R.A.S.*, July, 1905, p. 498.

p. 627, l. 4. *Jih-lo-t'ing.* There is a *Jelutong* district on the south-eastern end of the Malay Peninsula (above Ramenia Point), and a place *Jelutong*, as well as a Sungei *Jelutong*, near the mouth of the Sepang River, Selangor (west coast Malay Peninsula).

p. 627, l. 15. *Pa-t'a.* See also p. 541 above, n. 1, for another *Pa-t'a* State, the name of which is spelled with the second character different (= Batta, Battak ?).

p. 633, ll. 17, 18. Add also Pāli *Jāvaka*, and cf. *Dabag* (*Ḍābag* ?) with *Ṭafak*, *Ṭūfan*, on p. 57 above.

p. 641, n. 2. The second term *Bāpis* recalls *Māīṭ*, *Mābiṭ*, *Māfiẓ* (see "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 253), which we have shown to be meant for *Beit*, *Bait* = Mergui. The transition from *Māfiẓ* to *Bāpiẓ*, and *vice versâ*, is, philologically, quite possible.

p. 643, ll. 8–10. *Samudra.* Cf. also *Dvāra-Samudra*, the capital of the Belāla dynasty in India till 1354 or thereabout. In the Burmese inscription of about 1636, extant at the Kaung-hmu-daw temple, 6 miles north of Sagaing town, a province *Thamodaya* (*Samudara*, *Samudra*) is mentioned as forming part of maritime Burmā and comprising the great districts of Mayi and Madeik (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. ii, vol. i, p. 341).

p. 653, l. 1. According to Herbert ("Voyage de Perse," p. 506), Alvaro Telezzo (a Portuguese) was the first European Christian to land on Sumatra.

p. 661, note, ll. 27, 28. *Dondim*, etc. Spelled also *Dadin* and *Diddi* in some MSS. of Friar Odoric's work. I am now pretty certain that the final syllable *din* of the name is a clerical slip for *diu*, *dīu* (the *u* having been by oversight misread *n*), meaning an 'island.' From the fact that Ramusio (op. cit., vol. iii, f. 248 *verso*) explains *Dadin* as signifying "immondo e brutto" (impure and ugly), I am led to conclude that the term intended is *Tīmai-ttīvu* (*Tīmai-dīv*), 'Island of Impurity,' the name under which the Andāmāns are mentioned in the great Tanjore inscription of the eleventh century (see "Hobson-Jobson," p. 29). The islands are therein said to be inhabited by cannibals, which statement agrees with what Friar Odoric tells of *Dadin* or *Diddi*. It is not difficult to conceive how *Tīmai-ttīvu* could become transformed, both by corruption and contraction, into *Tī*[*mai*]-*ttī*[*vu*] = *Tīttī*, *Diddi*, or into *Tī*[*mai*]-*ttīv*[*u*] = *Tittīv*, *Tittīu*, whence *Diddīu*, *Diddin*, *Dadin*, etc. But the doubt remains: is Friar Odoric's *Diddi* or *Dadin* 'Island' the Andāmān group of islands, or else some island in the Malay Archipelago named after the Andāmāns owing to the fact

of its inhabitants being reputed to be cannibals? I incline to believe, in view of the motley state in which Friar Odoric's narrative has come down to us, that it is really a question of the Andāmāns, for the vocable *Diddi* or *Dadin* is unquestionably a corruption of the Tamil name *Tīmaittīvu* of the Andāmāns, and there is no reason for its existence in the Malay Archipelago, unless it can be proved that it was transplanted thither by the Tamils, or else that the term *Tīmaittīvu* of the great Tanjore inscription applies to some island in the Malay Archipelago rather than to the Andāmāns.

pp. 661, 662, note. On cannibalism in Further India and the Malay Archipelago the following additional information may prove of interest:—

(1) In the neighbourhood of Martaban. Beyond *Tun-sun* (or *Tun-hsün*, see p. 249 above, n. 2, and note thereon in these Addenda), on a large island, according to the "Liang-shu" (compiled in *circâ* 650, but treats of the period 502–56), is the country of *P'i-k'ien*, 毘騫 (= Bī K'rāng or Gyaing River, less probably Bhilū-gyūn Island), which lies at 8,000 *li* (1,600 miles) from *Fu-nan* (Kamboja). The law of the country is that the guilty are eaten in the presence of the sovereign as a punishment. In this country no foreign merchants are admitted; should they come, they are killed and eaten. Accordingly no merchant dares to proceed to this country (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 264). N.B.—The above information originally comes from the account of K'ang T'ai's mission to *Fu-nan*, *circâ* 245–50 A.D.

(2) In Kamboja. Cannibalism was occasionally practised in *Fu-nan* towards the middle of the third century A.D. (op. cit., p. 268).

(3) In Cochin-China. The *Sdang* or *Salang* (= Halang) tribes eat, quite raw, the lungs and liver of their dead foes, according to Leclère ("Les Pnongs," p. 192).

(4) In Annam. The emperor Jā-long (Gia-long) "a fait couper en morceaux des rebelles et des traîtres, et en a fait manger les corps à ses soldats". (Bissachère, op. cit., p. 230, A.D. 1811).

(5) In Tonkin. The assassin of the Hwā-lü king Diñ, in A.D. 981, was, according to some annalists, handed over to the populace and eaten (see Dumoutier's "Hoa-lu'," p. 21).

(6) In China. The *Wu-hu* barbarians of the south dwell in deep valleys. When anyone of their clan is killed, they wait in ambush for the murderer on the spot where the crime has occurred. If the murderer happens to come that way they kill

him in revenge and then eat his body (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 281). This information refers to about 250–80 A.D. In the tenth century the *Wu-hu* tribes are again described as cannibals. The possession of a human victim was an occasion for great festivals, with music from bronze drums, songs, and dances (*op. cit.*, loc. laud.).

Among the *Chung-kia* or *Chung Miao* tribes of Kwei-chou (originally Thai, now admixtured with Chinese blood), in ancient funerals the family of the deceased apportioned the corpse among them and ate it. A bullock is now sacrificed instead. (See Betts' "Social Life of the Miao-tsi" in *Journal N. China Br. R.A.S.*, 1899–1900, No. 2, pp. 1, 2; also *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. ii, p. 215.)

For an instance of cannibalism in Kwang-tung, A.D. 22, see Faber's "Chronological Handbook," Shanghai, 1902, p. 51. The same work mentions, also, instances of cannibalism in other parts of China, caused by famines in B.C. 204, 138, and 114. See, likewise, Dennys' "Folklore of China," Hongkong, 1876, pp. 67–8. The emperor Wên-kung of the North Ch'i dynasty (A.D. 565–76) requested his cook to prepare human meat for him, which he found delightful (*Excursions et Reconnaissances*, vol. xi, p. 92). Cannibalism in China is also mentioned by Sulaimān (see Reinaud, op. cit., p. 52; also the same author's transl. of Abū-l-Fedā, p. cdiv introd.), Marco Polo, etc.

The *Wa-chieh-tsü*, who lived in the mountain regions of Tungusia, "ate the men raw and alive who fell into their hands" (*China Review*, vol. xix, p. 287).

(7) In Formosa. See the *China Review*, vol. xvi, p. 377.

(8) In Java. Teixeira refers to the eating of human flesh by the Javanese ("Travels of Pedro Teixeira," Hakl. Soc., 1902, p. 237).

p. 674, n. 2, l. 6. *Damin.* Cf. the *T'o-min* tribes of Ning-po in Chêh-kiang.

p. 675, note, ll. 5–7 from bottom. Marco Polo also mentions face-tattooing in Fuh-kien. On this practice, elsewhere, see our remarks above, p. 175, n. 2; p. 367; and these Addenda, observations on p. 175, n. 2, and on p. 367, n. 3.

p. 681, ll. 2–6. On *Tarshish*, see, moreover, p. 706 *supra*. On other possible ancient Phœnician settlements, see pp. 596–8, 699 n., and 759 above.

p. 688, continuation of n. 5 to p. 687, on tailed men. On this subject the following additional items should prove of interest:—

(1) The Mōi tribes of the Champā hill-tracts are credited with tails by the Annamese. Capt. Rey, in the Journal of his second

voyage to Cochin-China, 1819, says two tailed men had been brought some years before from the mountains in the interior of Champā to Hwĕ, and presented to the emperor, who, after having regaled them, sent them back to their homes. Their tails were stated to have been 7 Annamese inches = about 8¼ French inches long. The Chinese had long before spoken of such wonderful men. Owing to their tails, these people could never sit, but had to remain content with crouching down on their hams (see *T'oung-Pao* for 1904, p. 553).

(2). In Formosa, tailed men have been mentioned by John Struys, who visited that island in 1650. Recently a child with a tail was seen there by the Rev. Wm. Campbell. (See "Formosa under the Dutch," London, 1903, and the *Journal R.A.S.*, January, 1904, pp. 120, 121.)

APPENDIX OF ADDITIONAL NOTES.

pp. 28–9 and 41 (n.). **Airrhadoi.** Wilford traces this term to *Hradāna* (*Hlādinī* ?), which, he states, is the name of the Brahmaputra (McCrindle, op. cit., p. 192). I incline to think that the Ptolemaic ethnonym may survive to this day in the name of the *Doing-nak* (pron. *Daing-net* by the Burmese) tribes of the Chittagong Hill tracts and Akyab district, which are variously described as (1) a sub-tribe of the Chakmā of Chittagong, of Mongoloid features, probably of Arakanese origin, speaking a corrupted Bengali; and (2) a probably hybrid people that broke away from the main tribe a century ago and fled to Arakan (see the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," 1908, vols. v, p. 194, and x, p. 320).

pp. 28, 51, 52, 154, 768. **Kirrhadia.** *Kirāta* was, according to the "Rājamāla," the ancient name of Tripurā (Tipperah), see *Proceedings As. Soc. of Bengal* for January, 1874. It may be noticed in this connection that the Gāro tribes of the hills not far away to the north call themselves *Achikrang* = 'hill people,' i.e. *Kirāta* (see the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol. xii, p. 175). But I have since observed that the Ptolemaic **Kirrhadia** is, in De Donis' map, located due west of **Anina** (= Yung-ning, No. 67), and far away to the north of **Arisabion** (= Shenbo, No. 54), i.e. in N. lat. 28° *circâ*, which argues for it a situation at the headwaters of the Irāvatī and Chindwīn, in the present Khamti country and up to the borders of the Tibetan Kham district. The *Kirātas*,

if any, here implied[1] would thus be Kiu-tsz, Kachins, Kadūs, and perhaps also Chins of the hills in the south-west.

South-west of **Kirrhadia** and north of **Alosanga** (= Shillong, No. 37) are, in De Donis' map, located the **Bēseidai**, by which name the populations of Bisa and Sadiyā (in modern Lakhimpur, North-East Asām) are evidently meant, i.e. probably the Mishmis of the adjoining hills, albeit under their alternative appellation of **Tiladai** Ptolemy presumably means the Chin-Lushai tribes of Sylhet, Silchar (Kāchār), etc. (see pp. 53 and 744 *supra*).

pp. 30–2. **Triglypton** or **Trilingon**, capital of the kingdom. "In this part the cocks are said to be bearded, and the crows and parrots to be white" (Ptol., lib. vii, ch. 2, § 23). This statement has given rise to much discussion. McCrindle (op. cit., p. 233) quotes Lassen's statement that, "according to Blyth (*J.A.S. Bengal*, vol. xv, p. 26), there is found in Arâkan a species of the Bucconidæ, which, on account of their beards, are called by the English 'barbets,' and on the same authority we learn that what is said of the ravens and parrots is likewise correct." On the other hand, St. Andrew St. John retorts that there are no white parrots (cockatoos) or ravens (crows) in Arakan ("Actes XIème Congrès Int. des Orientalistes," Paris, 1897, Sect. Extrême Orient, p. 220).

I shall, in my own turn, call attention to an interesting fact recorded in the New History of the T'ang dynasty about a State *T'o-yüan* or *Nou-t'o-yüan* (陀洹 or 耨陀洹), an embassy of which is stated to have reached the Chinese Court between 627 and 649 A.D., offering camphor oil (*P'o-lü Kau* = *Bā-lut* balm, see p. 440 above) and *white parrots* (cockatoos) having on their heads ten red feathers as long as their wings (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 531, and *T'oung-Pao*, ix, p. 283). Now, *T'o-yüan* is, in the same History, described as forming, with another district *T'an-ling*, 曇陵 (situated on an island in the sea), a dependency of *To-ho-lo* or *Tu-ha-lo* (墮和羅 or 獨和羅), with which it is conterminous on the west. *To-ho-lo* is, in its turn, said to be conterminous on the south with *P'an-p'an* (= Sup'han, see pp. 113 and 761–2 above), on the north with *Chia-lo-shê-fu* (= *Kalaśapura*, see p. 569, n., *supra*), on the west with the sea, and on the east with *Chén-la* (Kamboja); it is noted for fine rhinoceroses, which thus became known as "*To-ho-lo* rhinoceroses." *T'o-yüan*, on the other hand, boasts of white elephants, but there is no rearing of silkworms, nor are there mulberry-trees (op. cit.).

[1] Cf. the **Kirrhādai** mentioned by Ptolemy in Sogdiana along the Oxus, bk. vi, cap. 12, § 4, meant almost certainly for *Kirātas*.

It will thus be seen that *T'o-yüan*, from its position to the west of *To-ho-lo* (= either *Tagala* or *Thagara* on the Tavoy River, or else *Dvāravatī* in Siām, see pp. 86, 177, 180, and 569 n. *supra*), was unmistakably a district on the Gulf of Martaban. The old Chinese pronunciations, *Da-vīen*, *T'a-van*, or *T'a-wön*, of the name suggest a probable identity with the ancient Peguan town and district of *Döng Wān*, better known from European publications as Dong-wun or Dun-wun. It lies on the eastern bank of the Bilin (*Bī Lōm* River), a little below Bilin. Less probable guesses are Dagūn (i.e. Rangoon, but see *Ta-ku-ma* on p. 523, n. 2 *supra*), Dong-yin (more correctly *Döng Yom* or *Döng Mi-yom*), Taungu (in *Mōñ Tong-ñū*), and Tavoy (*Davāi* or *Tawë*), which I therefore discard.

As regards the island *T'an-ling* (*T'am-ling*, *Dam-lang*), it is presumably not Syriam (*Thanlyeng*, *Sarīeng*), but [*Pun-*]*zalaing* islet between Martabang and Maulmain (see p. 510 n. above). The name cannot, therefore, be in any way connected with Telinga, Talaing (names of Pegu), and still less with the Ptolemaic **Trilingon**.

At the same time, the mention of white parrots offered by *T'o-yüan*, i.e. Dun-wun, tends to show that the same kind of birds may have been indigenous in **Trilingon** as well, unless we are to assume that both they and the camphor oil offered at the Chinese Court were procured from States lying further south on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula.

pp. 39 and 741. *Balassia.* I now notice that this name actually appears in the Catalan map of the Modena Estense Library[1] (dating from about 1360) in the form *Ballazia* (corresponding to the *Balçia* of the Paris Catalan Atlas, 1375), immediately north of the coast of Burmā and west of *Aociam* (*Vocian*, Yung-ch'ang). It has evidently nothing whatever to do with Badakhshān, which is marked *Baldacia* (*Baldassia* in the Paris map), much farther north. I do not hesitate, accordingly, to take this hitherto unidentified *Ballazia* or *Balçia* to be a district or city of Upper Burmā, which is one and the same with Barbosa's *Balassia*. It will thus be seen that this place-name can be traced back to the fourteenth century in European records, and still further to the beginning of the seventh, under the form *P'o-lo-sa* = *Balasa* (see pp. 741–2 *supra*), in the Chinese annals of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 518–618; see, for more particulars, my paper on "Siām's Intercourse with China," in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1900, p. 384).

[1] Published by Professor Count F. L. Pullé in "Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica," Supplement to vol. i, Bologna, 1908.

p. 41, n. *Irāvatī*. It is also the old name of the Rāvī River in India.

pp. 45, 742. *Dvāravatī*. "In the tenth century the pressure of the rulers of Prome upon Southern Arakan compelled a change of capital from *Dvāravatī* (near the existing town of Sandoway) to Myohaung, farther north" ("Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol. v, 1908, p. 391). If this be correct, *Dvāravatī* was not precisely Sandoway but a distinct city near by.

p. 47. **Antibolē**. This is the name given by Ptolemy to his fifth and easternmost mouth of the Ganges, by which he evidently means the Meghnā estuary. The toponym suggests a native term *Anda-palli* or something similar. According to Wilford, "**Antibolē** was the name of a town situated at the confluence of several large rivers to the south-east of Ḍhakka and now called Feringibazar" (McCrindle, op. cit., p. 192). How and on what sort of historical evidence he came to this conclusion I do not at all know.

p. 51. **Maiandros**. This toponym possibly still survives in *Mahudaung*, the mountain range running north and south between the Pondaung mountains on the west and the lower Chindwīn River on the east. In some maps it incorrectly appears as *Maladaung*, but in the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol. x, p. 228, the name is spelt *Mahudaung*, this being presumably the modern Burmese corrupted form of an older toponym — *Mahendra*, *Mandara*, or *Mahyuttara*—recorded by Ptolemy as **Maiandros**. In De Donis' map this mountain range is made to stretch north-westwards almost as far as **Alosanga** (= Shillong, see No. 37), passing close to the east of **Tugma mētropolis** (= Tummu, see No. 39), which, if correct, would make it to include, besides the Mahudaung, the Pondaung range, as well as a portion of the Arakan Roma further to the south.

p. 106, ll. 1, 2. *P'an-p'an* and *Wên-tan*. The former is Sup'han in South-West Siām (see pp. 113, 190, 761–2), whereas *Wên-tan* was the name applied by the Chinese to 'Fire' (i.e. Upper) Kamboja (see p. 343 n. *supra*), and cannot therefore correspond to Bān-Dōn.

p. 109, n. 1, add: *Dharmarāja* is also the name by which Yudhiṣṭhira is known in Malay tales (see "Essays relating to Indo-China," ser. II, vol. ii, p. 5, n. 1).

p. 205, ll. 13, 14, 17. *Mabed* = *Bā-vĭet*. I should have rather said = *Māk-vĭet* (Mak-bet), as improvingly suggested on p. 321, n., l. 2; for *Bā-vĭet* as a name for An-nam does not appear to possess any respectable antiquity.

p. 387, n. 4. *Ḳāḳola*. Cf. the *Ko-ku-lo* kingdom of Chia Tan's

itinerary (see Addenda, note to pp. 444 and 506, which, even though scarcely suitable, shows the utter absurdity of Van der Lith's suggested identification of the former toponym with Akkola.

p. 575, n. Rhinoceros in Asām. I was utterly wrong, through reliance upon misleading publications, to deny the presence of this pachyderm in Asām. For I now find it stated in the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol. vi, p. 20, that there are three kinds of rhinoceroses in that country, viz. in the swamps which fringe the Brahmaputra and in the hills south of the Surmā valley. So, again, in the marshes of the Kāmrūp district (op. cit., vol. xiv, p. 331). No eaglewood appears, however, among Assamese productions.

p. 609, n. 2. It is interesting to notice, in connection with the Choḷa embassy which reached China in A.D. 1015, that Rājendra Choḷadeva I (who reigned from 1011–12 to 1052) sent, according to Vincent A. Smith, "an expedition by sea against a place called *Kadāram*, situated somewhere in Lower Burma or the Indo-Chinese peninsula" ("Early History of India," Oxford, 1904, p. 346). Is this expedition the embassy above referred to, or the second one of 1033 (see *ante*, loc. cit.)? If so, the toponym *Kadāram*, if not meaning China (*Kathay*, *Kitan* ?, see p. 569, n., *supra*), must anyhow apply to one of its seaports (**Kattigara**, Canton?). If, on the other hand, it is a question of an armed expedition in the Eastern Archipelago, it is not easy to identify the place-name, which may be **Kortatha** (*Kŭu-dŭk*), *Kaṭāha*, or *Kahtāha-dvīpa* (see *ante*, loc. cit., **Akadra** (*Kadranj*, *Kă-Trang*), see pp. 195–8 and 731 above), or even *Kerti*, anciently *Katarai* or *Katrea*, on the homonymous river on the north coast of Sumatra (*vide supra*, p. 528), in view of the probable fact of Choḷa having become subject to the Sumatran empire but a few decades later (see pp. 89 and 624 *ante*). Cf. also *Kuṭhāra*, the ancient name of Nha-trang on the Champā coast (p. 266); *Kundur* or Pulo Condor, the *Kun-dur-rung* or *Kudurang* of Chia Tan's itinerary (A.D. 785–805, *vide* p. 482 *supra* and note thereon in the Addenda above); and *Kanturi* or *Kan-t'o-li* (= Khanthulī, *Katarei*, *Kerti*?, p. 602). Dimashḳi (*circâ* 1300) mentions an island *Kendūlāi* in the Eastern Archipelago (see p. 673, n. 1, above), which seems, however, to be entirely out of the question here.

In the absence of more particulars the final solution of the puzzle had best be left to Indianists, who, after an examination of all the information available in Southern Indian records on *Kadāram*, should be able to decide with which of the places we have suggested above it should be preferably identified.

p. 647. The Catalan map of *circâ* 1360 in the Modena Estense Library, referred to above, presents far more improved spellings on Sumatra Island, here correctly styled *Jaua*, viz.: *Mallao*, and a mutilated . . . *nu* on the north coast, *Argulj*, *Semestra*, and *Lamori* (Lambri) on the west coast, for, respectively, *Malao*, [Regio Feminar-]*um*?, *Auzul* (or *A*[*r*]*zul*), and *Semescra* of the Paris Catalan Atlas. *Argulj* is extremely interesting in connection with the Ptolemaic **Argyrē** city in the extreme west (read 'north-west') of **Iabadiū**, and *Acchera*, *Acharē*, *Achēh*, with the position of which it admirably corresponds. With *Argulj* and *Arzul* cf. also *Arjara* and the Arabic *Arshīr*, *Aṣrār*. *Samara*, *Lasman* (for *Basman*), and *Forlono* (for *Ferlec*, *Perlaḳ*?) are, on the contrary, transferred to the 'Illa de *Silam*' (i.e. Ceylon) further west; whereas the 'Yla apellada *Trapobana*' is relegated in the form of a square intersected vertically by three undulating lines presumably meant for streams, and no place-name whatsoever is marked on the four bare vertical strips thus formed.

The comparison of the two Catalan cartographic documents above referred to conclusively convinces me that the 'Illa *Iana*' and 'Illa *Trapobana*' of the Paris one, and the '*Jaua*' and 'Yla apellada *Trapobana*' of the Estense Library, are but the double of one another, and that a single island is implied, viz. Sumatra, Ibn Baṭūṭa's island of *Jāwah* (1345); Java proper and Borneo being entirely out of the question. As regards *Malao* or *Mallao*, it is presumably meant, as I already have observed (see p. 647, n. 1, above), for *Malāyu* on the north coast of Sumatra, while the mutilated . . . *nu* of the Estense map may very well be the terminal syllable of some term *Auru*, or similar, designed to represent Āru, Hāru. We thus have, in both the islands represented in the two maps in question, a set of toponyms which can all be traced to Sumatra.

p. 702, table, add the following entry: *circâ* 1360. LAMORI, on the west coast of *Jaua* Island (= Sumatra), and *Argulj* (= **Argyrē**, Achēḥ) towards the north-west corner of the same.—Catalan map in the Estense Library, Modena (see preceding note).

pp. 729, 134. **Bēpyrrhos.** I notice that the two unnamed streams which Ptolemy (lib. vii, cap. 2, § 9) makes rise in this mountain range and discharge into the Ganges are in De Donis' map marked *Bepirus flu.* The more northern of these passes by **Sēlampura** (No. 34), **Kassida** (No. 22), and **Kanogiza** (No. 18), joining the Ganges in E. long. 84° 9′ rectified, between **Sagala** (= *Sāketa* by Oudh) on the west and **Sambalaka** II (No. 19 = Champāran District), i.e. near Balliā. This stream seems to correspond on the whole to the Gandak, including its upper

tributary the Buria Gandak and its lower ancient bed now known as the Būrhī Gandak. The other tributary of the Ganges from **Bēpyrrhos** is made to rise in long. 91° 58′ E., lat. 27° 25′ N. (both rectified), to pass by way of **Athēnagūron** (No. 27 = Dināj pur), and to join the Ganges in long. 87° 26′ E. rectified. It would thus appear to include part of the courses of the Brahmaputra from Gauhāti to Dhubri, and of the Pūrṇabhabā which flows past Dināj pur.

Whether the Ptolemaic term **Bēpyrrhos** for the mountain range in which these streams rise is in any way connected (as in De Donis' map) with the name of the streams themselves is questionable ; at any rate, it may be noticed that a certain resemblance exists between it and the names *Buria*, *Burhī*[-Gandak], and even more so with the name of the *Pūrṇabhabā*, especially in its anagrammatized form *Bhabapūrṇa* (cf. **Bēpyrrhos**, *Bapurrhos*). With a little stretching it would not be difficult to discern in it even the name of the Brahmaputra in a contracted form (*Baputros*, *Bĕraputros*) ; in any case, there can be no doubt that part of the course of this river corresponds to the upper course of Ptolemy's southern tributary of the Ganges from **Bēpyrrhos**. With this Colonel Yule's view that Ptolemy shows no conception of the Brahmaputra valley proves to a large extent incorrect (see also p. 282 above), while the possibly equivalent *Vipula* ('vast,' the name of one of the Indū mythical cosmic ranges), which the same authority has suggested for **Bēpyrrhos**, does not appear very satisfactory. On the western branch of the **Doanas**, made by Ptolemy to rise in **Bēpyrrhos**, see pp. 134 and 282 *ante*.

pp. 733, 745. *Tamansai* tribe. In connection with this term it may not be uninteresting to notice that a similarly named place, *Tamanthi* or *Tumanthē* (*Tamansī*, *Tamansē*), exists in the Upper Chindwīn district (see the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. ii, vol. iii, p. 209). Furthermore, *Dimasa* occurs as the name of the Hill Kāchāri tribes, as distinguished from the Bodo or those of the plains of Kāchāri.

p. 762. **Posinara.** Cf. the tribes called *Narā* in Upper Burmā, which occupied the country round Mogaung (see the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol. vi, p. 27).

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N.B.—For the sake of greater accuracy, tribal names, etc., are, as a rule, put in the singular form.

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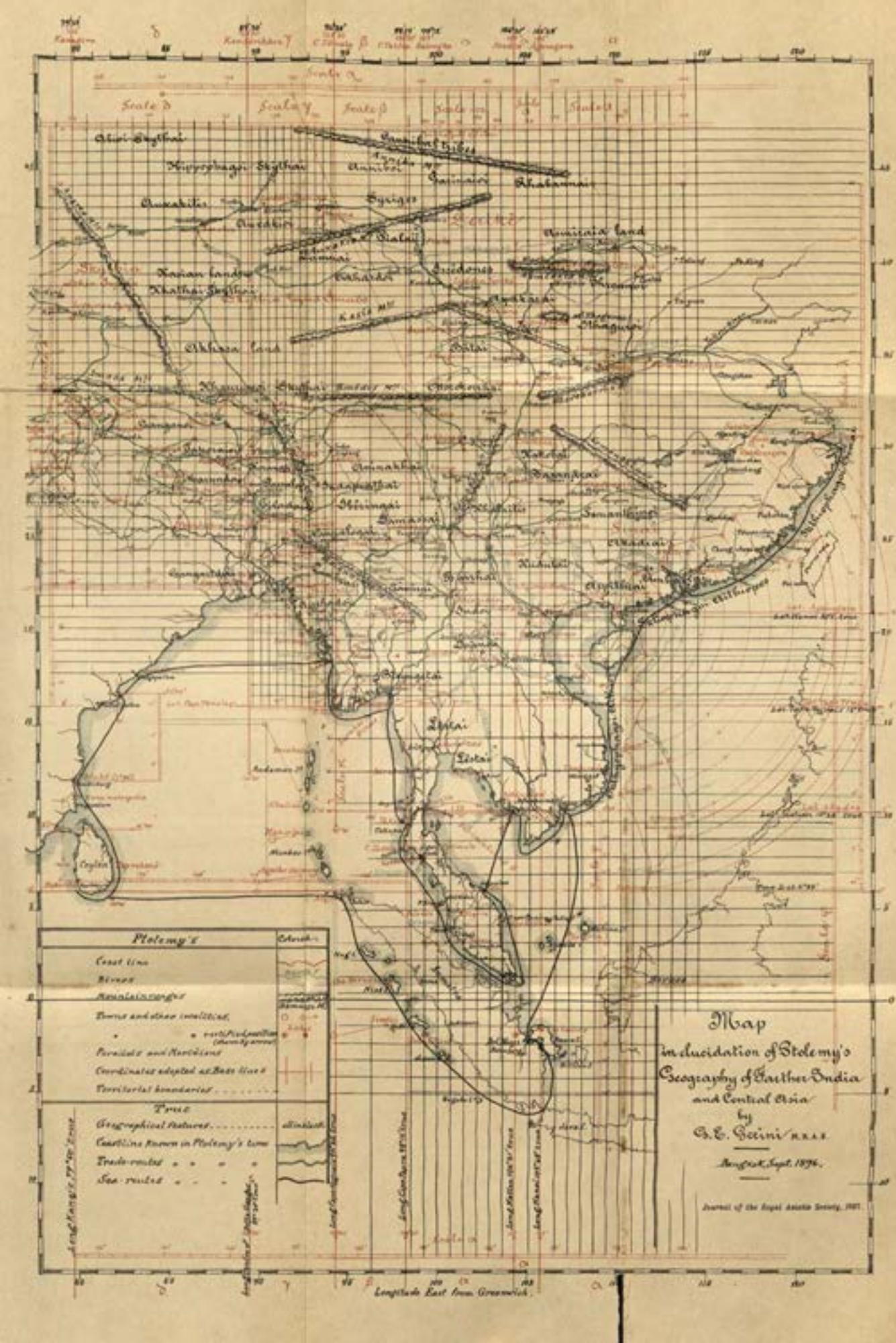

Map
in elucidation of Ptolemy's Geography of Farther India and Central Asia

by
G. E. Gerini / R.N.A.S.

Bangkok, Sept. 1896.

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TABLE I.

STATIONS **West** of the Meridian of **Kambúrikha** (longitude 146° 30′ Ptol. = 89° 30′ E. Greenwich, true).

No. of Order	Name of Ptolemy's Stations.	Longitude. Ptolemy's.	Longitude. Formula of correction applied.	Longitude. Rectified position, E. Greenw.	Latitude. Ptolemy's.	Latitude. Formula of correction applied.	Latitude. Rectified position.	Identification.	Approximate position in modern maps of the places identified. Name.	Longitude, E. Greenw.	Latitude.	Remarks.
					DEGREES.		DEGREES.				DEGREES.	
1	**Asmáira**	142° —	(R)=0·928	89° 12′	40° 42′	(L) = 0·6	41° 1′	Hamdan or Karashahr, the ancient *Yen-ki*, State of the Chinese	Hamdan	87° —	42° 15′	S.E.—The old city was somewhat to the west of the present one.
2	**LITHINOS PYRGOS** (Stone Tower)	153° —		89° —	43° —		37° 1′	Khoten or Dihi	Khoten	80° —	37° —	Raw station. The position of Khoten has been corrected in recent maps to long. 79° 24′ east, lat. 37° 8′.
3	Saïta	143° —		89° 16′	34° 30′		35° 25′	Zîta, west of the Cherpiri Cho Lake	Zîta	85° 13′	34° 30′	
4	Sapeïne	139° 30		89° 30′	32° —		34° 12′	Sohala	Sohala	86° 14′	34° 4′	
5	Storna	134° 45		89° 0′	34° 45′		34° 3′	Stari	Stari	86° 45′	33° 46′	
6	Sverta	136° 30		89° 14′	34° —		34° 12′	Sorad	Sorad	86° 36′	33° 38′	
7	Zizyphe	137° 45		89° 12′	34° 15′		34° 33′	Pilloengarh?	Pilloengarh	86° 10′	33° 57′	
8	Oxa	136° —		89° 24′	33° —		33° 12′	Almorá?	Almorá	79° 40′	29° 36′	
9	**MARIANA**	135° —		89° —	34° —		33° 37′	Hardwár (Mayúra; Gothwá)?	Hardwár	78° 10′	29° 56′	
10	Pasuala	137° —		89° 30′	34° —		33° 43′	Baijnáth?	Baijnáth	79° 31′	29° 52′	
11	Kreta	133° 30		89° 0′	34° 45′		33° —	Kedárnáth?	Kedárnáth	79° —	30° 44′	
12	Balangkaisaera	132° 45		89° 0′	34° 30′		33° 12′	Kálsi	Kálsi	77° 34′	30° 32′	
13	**SAMNARA**	133° —		89° —	33° 30′		32° 42′	Kánkhar (now Kánkpur?)	Kánkhpur	78° 10′	29° 13′	
14	Perenkra	134° —		89° 11′	33° 45′		33° 46′	Possibly Bijnaur	Bijnaur	78° 6′	29° 22′	
15	Sambalaka (I)	132° 15		89° 45′	33° 30′		33° 18′	Sambhal, to the east of Delhi; if not, Baláwa (Sirhind), 76° 4′—28° 37′	Sambhal	78° 34′	28° 35′	
16	**KANAGORA**	133° —		89° —	32° 45′		32° 57′	Khayúnkubja (Kanauj)	Kanauj	79° 56′	27° 3′	
17	Sigalla	142° —		88° 45′	32° —		32° —	Sigauli (Segowlee)? More likely Sikandarpur, and, if not, Sehauli, 84° 24′—26° 2′	Sikandarpur	84° 7′	26° 3′	
18	Kanogiza	143° —		89° 17′	32° —		32° 24′	Kishmishdh (acc. Khetipur, later Manja Fitza)	Kishmishdh	85° 13′	27° 42′	Possibly identical with the Buddhist *Kiuenmpara* or *Kiunshá*, as Vincent A. Smith has also suggested as regards Kishmishdh.
19	Sambalaka (II)	142° —		89° 30′	32° 30′		32° —	Semargarh? But, more likely, some place in the Cherapúnjee District (Cherapúnjee-swarga)	Semargarh	85° 46′	26° 59′	
20	Berulia	143° 30′		89° 4′	32° —		32° 37′	Either Bettiáh or Radhia near by; not, seemingly, Benares, 82° 46′—25° 2′	Bettiáh	84° 36′	26° 48′	
21	Palimbothra	143° —		89° 37′	31° —		31° 24′	Pátaliputra (Patna)	Patna	85° 17′	25° 36′	
22	Kastida	146° —		89° 0′	32° 15′		32° 33′	Kanauj (Kánoug)	Kánoug	80° 17′	26° 31′	
23	Sasagyra	143° 30′		89° 41′	32° 15′		32° 55′	Sonakhola; possibly Bhárgarh	Sonakhola	83° 13′	26° 15′	
24	Khrygaza	142° 30		89° 0′	31° 15′		31° 24′	Ghágrí	Ghágrí	80° 30′	25° 30′	
25	Xandida	142° —		89° 16′	31° 15′		31° 40′	Kahalgaon (Colgong); Gondwana?	Colgong	87° 14′	25° 16′	
26	Tamalitis	144° 30		89° 0′	31° —		30° 7′	*Mithilá* or (Janapá-mithilá, near Bhágalpur	Bhágalpur	87° —	25° 15′	Unless an error has crept in the Ptolemaic latitude, Tamlúk is evidently out of the question, contrary to the views hitherto held by Indianists.
27	Abbinagrina	146° 30		89° 12′	31° —		31° 10′	Dinájpur; possibly the ruined city at Ghorághát, 89° 18′—25° 11′	Dinájpur	88° 38′	25° 38′
28/9	Gangé Regia (Bottom)	146° —		89° 0′	29° 15′		29° 46′	Gaurbehalpur, or some site near it	Gaurbehalpur	88° 17′	25° 60′

N.E.—All stations printed in capitals belong to the base meridian, which in this table is that of the "Stone Tower."

TABLE II.

Stations between the Meridians of **Kamběrikhon** (longitude 140° 30′ Ptol. = 89° 30′ E. Greenwich, true) and **Cape Tēmala** (longitude 157° 20′ Ptol. = 94° 22′ E. Greenwich, true).

No. of Order.	Name of Ptolemy's Stations.	Longitude. Ptolemy's.	Longitude. Formula of correction applied.	Longitude. Rectified position, E. Greenw.	Latitude. Ptolemy's.	Latitude. Formula of correction applied.	Latitude. Rectified position.	Identification.	Approximate position in modern maps of the places identified. Name.	Longitude, E. Greenw.	Latitude.	Remarks.
					Nautical.		Nautical.				Nautical.	
20	**Issādin Skythikē**	150° —	χ) + 0·4	91° 6′	40° 30′	(A) + 0·6	41° 51′	Pukhem, the ancient *Wa-sou* State of Chinese records	Pukhem	90° 25′	41° 7′	
20	**Dounai**	150° —		91° 46′	41° 1′		42° 1′	Hanoi or Khanoi; if not either *La-nan*, or the ancient *Law-lou* (Durdoa ?) State	Hanoi	91° 33′	42° 55′	Above may be a clerical slip for *Adanan* (*La-nan*, *Lan-tan*).
21	**Khauruna**	150° —		91° 4′	37° 12′		37° 34′	Bain-khauna; if not, the Chaun-sar Lake, head on western side of	Bain-khauna	92° 11′	37° 12′	On route from Cherchen to H'lassa.
22	**Assouharu, Asanapara**, or **Asanamara**	153° —		93° 19′	31° 30′		30° 7′	Shahundo, or Shahundo; if not, Shelung or Shalung, 94° 56′, 28° 39′	Shahundo	94° 56′	32° —	On route from Tsiandu to H'lassa.
23	**Eidana**	152° —		91° 56′	31° —		29° 45′	Abdo or Dibang River; if not, Tsiliprari, 93° 7′, 28° 48′	Abdo	94° 18′	30° 22′	
24	**Silampura**	148° 30′		89° 24′	33° 20′		31° 13′	Lahsang, now Tsokilamdo, the see of the Tenchen Lama; possibly Pantha, the ancient capital of Bhutia, 90° 51′, 27° 34′	Tsokilamdo	89° —	29° 15′	
25	**Sadiga** or **Sagida**	155° 20′		93° 29′	30° 20′		28° 40′	Sadong; but more likely Sadiya, 95° 39′, 27° 49′	Sadong	94° 14′	29° 42′	
26	**Mandalai** or **Mandaina**	147° 15′		86° 54′	34° 40′		36° 1′	Mahobhan, the ancient capital	Mahobhan	89° 21′	34° 57′	
27	**Alosanga**	152° —		91° 56′	34° 13′		33° 46′	Shilling	Shilling	91° 13′	33° 34′	
28	**Tēsalai** or **Tēsalē**, metropolis	150° —		91° 4′	33° 20′		33° 13′	Sylhet (Saibara, Serathe, or *Sri-hatta*)	Sylhet	91° 52′	24° 53′	
29	**Tugma**, metropolis	152° 20′		92° 12′	22° 13′		24° 32′	Tamens, or Tatra	Tamens	94° 20′	24° 13′	
40	**Parisara**	149° —		88° 37′	21° 30′		24° 3′	Barisal in the Bikat-gung district; not unlikely Sonargaon, 90° 32′, 23° 49′	Barisal	90° 24′	22° 42′	
41	**Triglyptos** or **Trilingon**	154° —		93° 12′	18° —		22° 1′	Kaladan, or else Kaladan, on the Upper Kaladan ? Kalé district in Burma ?	Kalé	94° 14′	23° 12′	Or also Tilin, Thi-lang, or Salin, 94° 46′, 20° 52′.
42	**KAMBĒRIKHON**, mouth of the Ganges	140° 30′		89° 30′	14° 40′		22° 24′	Kaladuk River, which discharges into the sea by the Milanthi estuary in long. 89° 18′–89° 39′	Kaladuk River, mouth.	89° 30′	22° 24′	
43	**Pentapolis**	150° —		91° 4′	18° —		22° 1′	Chittagong, or some place near it	Chittagong	91° 50′	22° 20′	
44	**Katabēda** River (mouth)	151° 20′		92° 40′	17° —		21° 24′	Muri River, behind Akyab-dau Island; if not, Mouda River, behind Maukhal Island	Muri River	91° 43′	21° 39′	
45	**Barakura**, a mart	152° 30′		92° 12′	16° —		20° 46′	Arakan, the ancient capital	Arakan (ancient capital)	93° 20′	20° 41′	
46	**Tokosana** River (mouth)	153° —		93° 20′	14° 30′		19° 34′	Kaladan (Arakan River) at Akyab; but more probably the Sabara River, Hunter Bay	Kaladan River	92° 50′	20° 13′	
47	**Sambra**	153° 30′		93° 28′	13° 45′		19° 27′	Yambin-aung (Rimel), or Ran-bya	Rimel	94° —	19° 8′	
48	**Sadoa** or **Sada** River (mouth)	153° 30′		93° 28′	13° 30′		18° 42′	Thate or Thade (*Sate, Sade*) River, above Sandoway	Thate River	94° 11′	19° 30′	
49	**Sada**	154° 20′		94° 1′	11° 30′		16° —	Sandoway (Sandowé)	Sandoway	94° 30′	18° 23′	
50	**Bērabonna**	155° 30′		95° 12′	10° 30′		17° 24′	Gwa (Khwà) or else Pierre-gun-rwa on the Gwa River	Gwa	94° 36′	17° 35′	
51	**Tēmala** River (mouth)	157° 30′		96° 27′	10° —		17° 12′	Bassein River at Diamond Island, Thamen-bla (Okmèbla) Kywat	Tha-men-bla-kywun (Diamond Island)	94° 18′	15° 42′	
52	**Tēmala** or **Temala**, city	157° 30′		96° 27′	9° —		16° 24′	Old Bassein (*Tiwira, Tēmala*)	Bassein	94° 46′	16° 24′	
53	**CAPE** (beyond) **TEMALA**	157° 30′		96° 27′	8° —		16° —	Cape Negrais (Cape *Sindis* or *Tamira*, from Diamond Island)	Cape Negrais	94° 22′	16° —	

[1] If this identification which I propose at this very last moment or two of the former ones (Barabalgá estuary, long. 90° 35′, and Haringháta River, long. 90°) prove not it seems to be—correct, the longitudes in this and the preceding table will have to be rectified accordingly.

N.B.—All stations printed in capitals belong to base meridians.

TABLE III.

Stations between the Meridians of **Cape Tēmala** (longitude 157° 20′ Ptol. = 94° 22′ E. Greenwich, true) and **Cape Takola** (longitude 158° 40′ Ptol. = 98° 19′ E. Greenwich, true).

No. of Order.	Name of Ptolemy's Stations.	Longitude. Ptolemy's.	Longitude. Formula of correction applied.	Longitude. Rectified position, E. Greenw.	Latitude. Ptolemy's.	Latitude. Formula of correction applied.	Latitude. Rectified position.	Identification.	Approximate position in modern maps of the places identified. Name.	Longitude, E. Greenw.	Latitude.	Remarks.
					Nautical.		Nautical.				Nautical.	
54	**Arianēion**	158° 30′	(β) = 1·9633	97° 45′	22° 30′	(A) + 0·6	15° 47′	Shenbo or Sinbo, above Bamo (State of Magaung)	Shenbo	96° 47′	24° 42′	The *Shen* State of Chinese annals.
55	**Martika** or **Malikira**, metropolis	158° —		98° 20′	13° 30′		13° 42′	Prome	Prome	95° 12′	18° 44′	From *Maurya* or *Meyrya*, the dynasty reigning at Prome.
56	**Sabara**	159° 30′	Local correction	99° 12′	6° 30′		10° 18′	Twanti, or the ancient Ukkalipa near it	Twanti	96° —	16° 41′	The local correction here consisted in plotting these stations westward of a quantity equal to the displacement of Cape Tēmala eastwards (i.e. about 2° long.).
57	**Bōrynga**, a mart	162° 0′		99° 44′	9° —		10° 56′	*Sakyathwa* (Rakgita)	Rakgita	96° 17′	15° 42′	
58	**Bōrynga** River (mouth)	162° 30′		99° 58′	8° 12′		10° 12′	*Ri Chiang* or *Ri-eang* (="Elephant River"), i.e. the Irāvati, at Rangún	Rakgita River (mouth)	96° 29′	16° 18′	

TABLE IV.

Stations between the Meridians of **Cape Takola** (longitude 158° 40′ Ptol. = 98° 19′ E. Greenwich, true) and **Akadra** (longitude 167° Ptol. = 104° 21′ E. Greenwich, true).

No. of Order.	Name of Ptolemy's Stations.	Longitude. Ptolemy's.	Longitude. Formula of correction applied.	Longitude. Rectified position, E. Greenw.	Latitude. Ptolemy's	Latitude. Formula of correction applied.	Latitude. Rectified position.	Identification.	Approximate position in modern maps of the places identified. Name.	Longitude, E. Greenw.	Latitude.	Remarks.
51	**Piala, Piada,** or **Piadda**	163° —	(a) = 0·725	99° 17′	42° 40′	(A) = 0·8	41° 2′	Old Tavoyan Kwan, near *Pa-lin* Lake (*Pa-lin Hai*)	Pa-lin Hai Lake	97° 30′	40° 20′	Cf. the *P'o-lo Hai* Lake of Han history.
52	**Tamâlia Sitthê**	162° —		98° 45′	42° —		40° 38′	Hsien or Tê-hsien (Marco Polo's *Tebet*), situated somewhere about Shanhsi	Shanhsi	100° —	40° 22′	
53	**Aspakara** or **Aspakaia**	162° 30′		99° 3′	41° 40′		40° 13′	*Pien-chiang* of West Han dynasty or *Hsing-ching* of East Han dynasty and *Ta-hsien* near Hsi-ning Fu	Hsi-ning Fu	101° 45′	36° 34′	
54	**Pallana**	162° 30′		101° 3′	41° —		39° 49′	Either Lan-chou near the *Pêh-ling* Mountains, or *Ling-chou*	Ling-chou	103° 30′	37° 45′	This name seems to be a transliteration of *Pêh-ling* or *Pe-ling* (= Northern *Ling*); or else it may be connected with the name of the *Pêh-ling* Mountains near by.
55	**Abragana**	163° 30′		101° 49′	39° 30′		38° 50′	Lanchow or Lohsiu; possibly the old *Hsia-yang* district in Kung-ch'ang	Kung-ch'ang	104° 30′	34° 30′	
56	**Ottonkarrha**	163° —		102° 34′	37° 13′		35° 34′	Wên-chün district of Han dynasty, q.v. (Il = Tsh-p'u, "Government of the North" (Tibet) in A.D. 87	Wên-chün, canal	103° 45′	33° 30′	
57	**Ormana**	162° —		100° 45′	37° 30′		35° 43′	Selin or Hsien-T'ung, on the eastern of the *Wu-hsi-tang* tribes near the Tsi-Shan range	Selin	100° 3′	33° —	
58	**Arkhinara**	163° —		101° 27′	37° —		35° 13′	Ho-k'ou, a little west of Tsêkou'g	Ho-k'ou	101° 10′	36° 18′	Evidently transliterations of the corresponding native names.
59	**Anina**	162° —		100° 44′	39° —		37° 13′	Yung-ning, Western Sêrkhim; but more probably Min-ning or Ning-yüan on *An-ning* River	Yung-ning	101° 13′	36° 12′	
60	**Salatha**	163° 40′		102° 21′	39° 20′		38° 13′	Ancient *Ma-shih* district between Hsi-ch'ün and Ch'ang-ch'ing, South Sêrkhim	Hsi-chün	104° 45′	36° 30′	
61	**Adeinga**	159° 30′		98° 30′	37° —		35° 1′	Ancient *Pei-ti* district, now Li-kiang (if not, the old *Pei-ti* district in North-West Yün-nan)	Li-kiang Fu	100° 18′	26° 42′	
62	**Pasinara**	162° 15′		100° 54′	39° 50′		38° 43′	Pih-ngoi, now Hsing-ngoi, in Yün-nan, capital of the old *Pih-ti* State	Hsing-ngoi	100° 30′	25° 15′	
63	**Pandana** or **Pandanê**	165° —		102° 34′	37° 30′		35° 7′	Old Tatsien or Pu-ti'an city, now Lin-an Fu; if not, the ancient *Pih-ti* district	Lin-an Fu	102° 45′	25° 37′	
64	**Khingthêri**	166° —		103° 10′	38° —		35° 7′	Ch'ông Ryng (Khêp-pûm, Rong-pûm, written Khonghong according to Burmese pronunciation)	Ch'ông Ryng	100° 48′	25° —	
65	**Lathgara**	162° 30′		101° 3′	38° 15′		37° 10′	Ming Lin	M. Lin	99° 10′	25° 10′	
66	**Dosana** or **Doana**	163° —		102° 34′	38° 30′		36° 34′	Lung P'ushing, the modern Ch'ang Ryng	L. P'ushing	100° 3′	24° 54′	
67	**Bisvakara, Barvanâra,** or **Bisvanâra**	164° 30′		103° 55′	38° 50′		36° 34′	Mung P'ushi (*P'ûshi*), east of Lung P'ushing, now Ch'ông Khwêng	Ch'ông Khwêng	102° 20′	25° 25′	
68	**Lanippa, Lanyppa,** or **Lasyppa**	161° —		100° —	38° 30′		36° 10′	Yong-khôi (written Tsêkoi according to Burmese pronunciation)	Si-poh (Tsêkoi)	97° 28′	25° 30′	This station of Ptolemy falls near the present Ch'ang-Mu (Zimmé), the ancient Lanping or Kamoze. *Lê-ang*, an ancient town 2° south of it, may, however, be Ptolemy's **Lasyppa** after all.
69	**Birahai**[1]	162° 30′		100° 18′	6° —	(a) = 1·733	12° 52′	Mergui, western coast of the Malay Peninsula	Mergui	98° 28′	12° 27′	
70	**Cape** (beyond) **Birahai**	159° —		96° 57′	4° 45′	(β) = 0·92	10° 18′	Boro's Point, south of Mergui	Boro's Point	98° 28′	10° 45′	
71	**Takola, Takôla,** a mart	160° —		98° 19′	4° 13′		9° 34′	Takôla Pt (Tekôlpa)	Takôla	98° 33′	9° 46′	
72	**CAPE** (beyond) **TAKOLA**	158° 40′		98° 19′	3° 45′		8° 20′	Cape Takôlpa, above Papan Point	Cape Takôlpa	98° 15′	8° 32′	Evidently the projection of the coast of the Malay Peninsula above Junkceylon Island is meant here. It may include the island as well.
73	**Khrysoana** River (mouth)	158° 30′		98° 22′	1° —		6° 52′	Langu River, on Trang River?	Langu River	99° 48′	6° 30′	
74	**Kokkeagara** (island town in the Golden Khersonese)	160° —		99° 17′	3° —		7° 43′	Kaeiao (Kapi-prâkiaô), a mart and bay on the coast of the Malay Peninsula opposite Junkceylon	Kaeiao	98° 33′	8° —	
75	**Thorrha** (island town in the Golden Khersonese)	162° —		100° 44′	SOUTH. 1° 30′		4° 43′	Trêngnou (*Trêngnou*)	Trêngnou	103° 6′	4° 19′	
76	**Palanda**	161° —		100° —	1° 30′		4° 43′	Pahang; if not, Pêrak, or Klang	Pahang	103° 22′	3° 28′	The name still survives in that of the *Bilandas, Blandas,* or *Belandas* tribes now still settled in Sungei Ujong and Negri Sembilan.
77	**Palandas** River (mouth)	161° —		100° —	3° —		4° 8′	Pahang River? if not, either the Klang or the Langkat River	Mouth Pahang River	103° 28′	3° 32′	
78	**Sabana**	160° —		99° 17′	3° —		3° 13′	Selangor district—Kwala Sembah? (a place called Sâbah is some twenty miles up the Bernam River)	Kwâla Sembah village	101° 30′	3° 25′	Probably Kwâla Selangor; long. 101° 14′; lat. 3° 21′.
79	**Cape Malea Ekhn**	163° —		101° 27′	3° —		1° 8′	Tanjong Gelang, a cape on eastern coast of Malay Peninsula	Tanjong Gelang	103° 29′	2° 49′	
80	**Attoba** or **Attabas** River (mouth)	164° —		102° 13′	1° —		1° 2′	Tringanu River, or Lîdih River, the source of which is at Mount Bâta *Ayer* in lat. 4° 35′.	Tringanu River (mouth)	103° 3′	5° 29′	
81	**Exii**	164° 30′		101° 27′	0° —		1° 38′	Kelantan or Kelantan district	Kelantan, capital	102° 13′	6° 10′	The correction for Ptolemy's longitudes of stations along the Gulf of Siam was reckoned upon the longitudes of **Salongka,** 102° Ptol. = 99° 12′ true and **Akadra,** 167° Ptol. = 104° 21′.
82	**Perimula**	163° 15′	Local correction of 1·03	100° 10′	NORTH. 2° 30′		3° 6′	Ligor (*Pulisa-nakhr-khong* of modern); in Malay *Brantang*, whence Perimula, Perimula, etc.).	Ligor, old	100° —	8° 26′	
83	**SALONGKA,** an island town in the Golden Khersonese	162° —		99° 12′	6° 40′		10° 13′	C'hamp'a'n, the eastern terminus of the overland route across the Kra Isthmus	C'hamp'a'n	99° 12′	10° 58′	40′. 3° Ptol. = 2° 5′ ..
84	**Samarodê** or **Semarandê**	163° —		100° 14′	4° 30′	Local graphical correction	—	Sri Vijaya, the oldest capital of lower Siam (Siam-style)	Sri Vijaya	100° 4′	12° 49′	4° 6′
85	**Pagrana**	163° —		100° 14′	4° 30′		—	The north of Krah (*Kwâdo* or *Kôpe*)	Mûang Krat	102° 30′	12° 12′	whence $\frac{4° 6′}{2°} = 1·93$.
86	**Silbanas** or **Silbanon** River (mouth)	163° 40′		101° 50′	4° 45′		10° 22′	The river of Kaeng Sêm	K. Sêm River	102° 40′	12° 51′	
87	**Pithikobatê**	161° 30′	(a) = 0·725	101° 27′	4° 45′	(β)	10° 22′	Panthâmâl, called also *Pithamâl*, a little to the north of Hatien	Panthâmâl	104° 29′	10° 57′	
88	**AKADRA**	167° —		104° 21′	4° 45′	(β) = 0·92	10° 22′	Hatien and Koh Tang Bay, the *Kadrang* of the Arab navigators	Hatien Bay	104° 21′	10° 22′	Base station.
89	Head of the **Perimulik Gulf**	163° 30′		101° 46′	4° 15′		9° 42′	Bâta-Dêm Bight, west coast of the Gulf of Siam	Bâta-Dêm Bight	99° 12′	9° 18′	
90	**Sabadeibai** Islands (centre)	160° —		99° 17′	SOUTH. 8° 30′		SOUTH. 1° 42′	(*Sabo-dêipo*) Si-Boyût and Bâta Islands off the west coast of Sumatra	Si-Boyût, South Point	99° 12′	SOUTH. 1° 49′	

N.B.—All stations printed in capitals belong to base meridians.

[1] The longitude of **Birahai** still needs a local correction, this station having been somewhat affected by the displacement, eastwards, of **Cape Takola** and of the coast of the Gulf of Martaban.

[2] Corrected from 163° 30′ of Nobbe's edition (which is evidently a slip) on the basis of De Bosse' map. The Perimulik Gulf, as a whole, is the Gulf of Siam.

TABLE V.

Stations East of the Meridian of **Akadra** (longitude 167° Ptol. or 104° 21′ E. Greenwich, true).

No. of Order.	Name of Ptolemy's Stations.	Latitudes. Ptolemy's.	Latitudes. Formula of correction applied.	Latitudes. Rectified position, N. Greenw.	Longitudes. Ptolemy's.	Longitudes. Formula of correction applied.	Longitudes. Rectified position.	Identifications.	Approximate position in modern maps of the places identified. Name.	Longitude, E. Greenw.	Latitude, N.	Remarks.
		° ′		° ′	° ′		° ′			° ′	° ′	
99	**Asmirsia**, a town and a country	170° —	(a) = 0·725	166° 21′	68° —	(b) = 0·6	40° 1′	Se-heng, now Ning-hsia, if not, the ancient Ho-yin district, north of Shensi	Ning-hsia	106° 12′	38° 28′	The Asmirsia country is the land of the Ordos.
100	**Thruana**	176° 40′		172° 11′	67° 40′		40° 10′	Tai-yüan Fu, Shan-hsi	T'ai-yüan Fu	112° 32′	37° 52′	
101	**Drokokhl**, **Drookhd**, or **Rhookla**	167° 40′		164° 51′	68° 30′		40° 40′	Either Taghai-ch'i or Chih-yüan on Yellow River	Ta-ch'i-ch'i	110° 54′	38° 48′	
102	**Thogara**	171° 20′		167° 31′	69° 40′		41° 1′	Ping-hsiang, the ancient capital of Hsia, Ming, or Pei (where Ferghana or Tübet is?)	Ping-hsiang	105° 34′	34° 14′	
103	**Dazata**	174° —		170° 35′	70° 20′		41° 10′	Ning-hsia Fu, the West Han name of Ho-nan Fu	Ho-nan Fu	106° 14′	38° 14′	
104	**Sira**, metropolis	177° —		173° 16′	70° 35′		41° 22′	Lo-yang, the capital of China in Ptolemy's time (from A.D. 25), situated to the west of Ho-nan Fu.	Ho-nan Fu	112° 42′	34° 45′	Lo-yang is somewhat to the west of this position.
105	**Solana**	169° —		165° 46′	71° 30′		42° 45′	Shang-lo district of Han period, now Shang-hsien	Shang-hsien	109° 59′	33° 34′	Probably ethnologically connected with the Tu-yü-hun Mountains near by, or with the ancient Sou-hsien tribe of Arshaun.
106	**Tretthinai** or **Trethinai**	170° —		166° 31′	71° 30′		42° 45′	Wu-chen, now Chang-ch'ün; if not, Ti-chen, now Chang-ch'ing	Wu-chen, now Chang-ch'ün	117° —	39° —	
107	**Rhodamarkotta**	173° —		169° 16′	72° —		43° 1′	Territory or city of the ancient Lo-lan State, east and south-east of modern Kuei-yang, in Kan-su (now); possibly Shih-ch'üan (Ti-ch'üan).	Shih-ch'üan	108° 10′	37° 28′	
108	**Kimara**	170° —		166° 31′	72° 15′		43° 10′	Thousand-stone of Ki-an, near Temple of the Ki-antsi tribe in South West Kan-su-chan	Hing-i (Hing-yü)	105° 51′	35° 12′	The same position being given for both these towns, there may be an error.
109	**Siphiteia** or **Sinthiteia**	170° —		166° 31′	72° 15′		43° 10′	Se-ching, near the bend formed	Se-ching (Sek-ching)	106° 50′	34° 16′	
110	**Agimotha**	170° 40′		167° —	73° 40′		43° 57′	Hsi-ch'ih Chen in Ch'ing-yang Fu; or else, Kao-hang	Hsi-ch'ih Chen	107° 58′	34° 48′	
111	**Tomara**	173° —		169° 16′	73° —		43° 57′	Tai-nei district, west of Ch'ing-yang, land of the Pai-Hu tribes	Tai-nei	107° 41′	34° —	Cross.
112	**End of Great Gulf** towards **Sinai**	173° —		169° 16′	73° 30′		44° 1′	End of the Tonkin Gulf about Lin-chan	Kan-chan (Ch'ü-chan)	108° 40′	21° 58′	
113	**Sirus** River (mouth)	171° 20′		167° 31′	73° 30′		44° 1′	Hsi-yü River, a little to the west of Kan-chan, close to the boundary of Tonkin with Kwang-hsing.	Hsi-yü River (mouth)	108° 24′	21° 41′	**Sirus** is probably a transliteration of Hsi-yü.
114	**ADAMADARA**	169° —		165° 46′	74° 30′		44° 45′	Hanoi (Apocryphal), or else the ancient capital Kiu-lou near by	Hanoi	105° 49′	21° 1′	
115	**Sinda**	167° 15′		163° 31′	74° 40′		44° 51′	Su'ntiy (Sin-tsi); but more likely Shih-t'ou, now Chih-chi	Su'ntiy	105° 19′	21° 8′	The Ptolemaic lat. 14° 40′ is very probably a slip for 21° 40′.
116	**Dirias** River (mouth)	169° —		165° 2′	74° 50′		45° 1′	Hanoi River	Hanoi River (mouth)	106° 42′	20° 58′	Made properly, the Red River (Nan Tu or Jao-jiang).
117	**Pegrasa**	167° 30′		163° 41′	74° 50′		45° 1′	Pi'k-khi, a little to the north of Ti-ch'uan; or else, the ancient fortified city of Ch'ü-ou 'Kuei').	Pi'k-khi	105° 31′	21° 37′	
118	**Eortatha** or **Eortathra**, metropolis	167° —		163° 11′	75° 30′		45° 42′	Kiu-chih'ih Kan-chi district, now possible of Hi-chi	Hi-chi	105° 58′	21° 24′	The displacement of the outline of this coast in longitude has been graphically rectified in the map.
119	**Dranas** River (mouth)	167° —		162° 21′	76° —		46° 12′	Jodana or Thodana River, in Gangadai	Dalan River	105° 5′	17° —	
120	**Thruana**	167° —		163° 21′	76° 20′		46° 14′	Tourane in Quang-nam (Tsi'ki)	Tourane	108° 1′	16° 4′	
121	**Balonga**, metropolis	167° 30′		163° 41′	77° —	(a) = 1·725	47° 10′	Bih-chieh, the ancient Chien capital, now Ch'ih-hia or Bih-ch'i	Binh dinh (Ch'ü-hia)	109° 5′	13° 46′	
122	**Thagura**	168° —		163° 2′	6° —		47° 22′	Nhatrang Bay in Khanh-hoa	Nhatrang Bay	109° 8′	12° 16′	
123	**Zabai** or **Zaba**	168° 40′		164° 34′	6° 45′		47° 32′	Sai-chung, the Shih-pei of Sui-shu district of Chinese records, near modern Saigon	Saigon	106° 42′	10° 47′	
124	**Great Cape**, where the Great Gulf (Magnus Sinus) begins	169° 30′		165° 51′	6° 55′	(g) = 0·92	47° 52′	Cape Ti-wan	Cape Ti-wan	107° 15′	10° 30′	
125	**Satyrôn** Islands, centre	171° —		167° 11′	8° 20′		49° 10′	The Great Anambas or Natuna group	Natuna or Sirhasa Island, centre	108° 12′	3° 14′	
126	**Iabadia** Island, } western limit lying between } eastern limit	167° —		162° 21′	8° 20′		49° 10′	Ai-Hsien, the earliest name of the Palembang district in Sumatra (then also called Java)	—	—	—	
		169° —		164° 41′	8° 20′		49° 10′		—	—	—	
127	**Argyrê**, its capital, in the extreme west of it	—		—	—		—	Ashih's (Achieh, Achen), now Achin	—	—	—	North-west point of Sumatra.
128	**Akadra**	170° 20′		166° 31′	21° 15′	(a) = 0·6	53° 56′	Ancient Chang-wu, now Ch'ing-yüan or else, the Kwei-yang district of the Hsia period in Kwang-hsing	Ch'ing-yüan	111° 52′	23° 43′	
129	**Aspithra** River (mouth)	174° —		170° 35′	16° —		59° 49′	Hsi-yü or Pei-hsi River, debouching at Pekhoi	Pekhoi	109° 6′	21° 32′	Hi-yü (in Chinese) and Hipp-p'ki (in Annamese) = **Aspithra**. The Hsi-yü district included also the Lei-chou Peninsula.
130	**Aspithra**, town	175° —		170° 45′	16° —		59° 49′	Ancient Hsi-yü, now Lien-chou	Lien-chou	109° 8′	21° 42′	
	Coast of **Sinai**.							Coast of China.				
131	**Brannas**	177° —	Special correction as shown in the map.	173° 30′	21° 30′	(b) = 0·6; then turned round north-west as shown in the map.	59° 42′	Ancient Wan-ning, now Kan-chou Fu	Kan-chou Fu	100° 26′	38° 48′	
132	**Ambastis** or **Ambastra** River (mouth)	176° —		172° —	22° —		60° 12′	Mouth of the Caspian River of Marco (Kan-ngan) in Sanskrit, Anshi-chhan	Caspian River (mouth)	113° 53′	22° 16′	**Khabasa** may be also a transliteration of Ch'ang-yü (Ch'ang-an), the old name of Canton.
133	**Khabasa**	177° —		173° 16′	22° 30′		60° 18′	Canton, the 'City of Rams' (Yang-ch'êng or Ch'ung-ch'ing or Ch'ih-hsien)	Canton	—	—	
134	**Saisos** or **Salsa** River (mouth)	176° 20′		172° 11′	6° 30′		12° 5′	Han-kiang, debouching near Swatow (Shan-t'ou)	—	—	—	
135	**Southern Cape**	175° 15′		171° —	6° 30′		12° 5′	Cape of Good Hope, or else Breaker Point, near Swatow	—	—	—	
136	**Wild Beast Gulf** (head of)	176° —		172° 11′	3° —		11° 38′	Amoy, or Chang-chou Bay	Amoy	—	—	
137	**Cape of Satyrs**	175° —		171° —	0° —		11° 11′	Tai-t'ung Headland, east of Ch'üan-chou	Tai-t'ung (Tsua-tung) Cape	—	—	
138	**Kottiaris** or **Kottiacira** River (mouth)	177° 20′		173° 30′	7° —		13° —	Kuei-hsi or Chih-kiang, now Ch'ien-tang (Hang-chou River)	Hang-chou River (mouth)	—	—	
139	**Kattigara**, port of Sinai	177° —		173° 16′	9° 30′		16° 5′	Hang-chou	Hang-chou	—	—	
140	**Kokkinagara**	179° 20′		175° 41′	5° —		10° —	Kin-kiang on the Tsagbo River, in Kiang-nan	Kin-kiang (Chin-chiang Fu)	—	—	**Kokkinagara** is a transliteration of Kin-kiang.
141	**Sarata**	180° 30′		176° 51′	4° —		9° 49′	Su-chou in Kiang-su	Su-chou	—	—	
142	**Sinai** or **Thinai**, metropolis	180° 40′		177° —	3° —		9° 14′	Chang-yeh or Chin-ling, now Ching-ling (Nan-king)	Nanking	—	—	

N.B.—All stations printed in capitals belong to base meridians.

TABLE VI.

EASTERN COAST OF INDIA (introduced here in order to show how base-points were obtained for the determination of the position of the islands in the Gulf of Bengal).

No. of Order.	Name of Ptolemy's Stations.	Longitude. Ptolemy's.	Longitude. Formula of correction applied.	Longitude. Rectified position, E. Greenw.	Latitude. Ptolemy's.	Latitude. Formula of correction applied.	Latitude. Rectified position.	Identification.	Approximate position in modern maps of the places identified. Name.	Longitude, E. Greenw.	Latitude.	Remarks.
					NORTH.		NORTH.					
143	**Ksmkysos**, mouth of the Ganges	144° 30′	$\beta = 0{\cdot}926$	91° 31′	18° 15′	$\alpha = 0{\cdot}6$	22° 16′	Hûghli (mouth)		88° 4′	22° 15′	
144	**Maxala, Maxda**, or **Maxda** River (mouth)	127° —		81° 40′	14° —		19° 20′	Mahânadî (mouth)		86° 42′	20° 18′	
145	**Kannagara**	126° 30′		81° 15′	13° 30′		19° 18′	Kanârak or Black Pagoda, formerly Konârka		86° 6′	19° 53′	
146	**Kattikardama** or **Kattkardamma**	126° 20′		81° 6′	13° 40′		18° 48′	Katak or Cuttack, capital of Orissa; but near Early Khurda, 85° 58′, 20° 11′	Cuttack	85° 52′	20° 29′	Cuttack (Katak) is seemingly Ptolemy's **Kattikarda**.
147	**Paltra** or **Paktra**	126° 40′		81° 20′	12° 20′		18° —	Palour Village, above mouth of Ganjam River	Palour Village	85° 13′	19° 27′	This position I have taken from the Indian Atlas, sheet 107.
148	**Agiokrisa**	126° 20′		81° 6′	11° —		17° 48′	Gopâlpur		84° 54′	19° 16′	
149	**Maisolos** River (mouth)	126° —		79° 11′	11° 40′	—40′ = 10°20′	17° 24′	Godâvarî (mouth)		82° 13′	16° 30′	Diff. 1° 30′ Ptol. = 4° 24′ true.
150	**Podukê**	126° 15′		—	14° 30′	—2°30′ = 7°30′	13° 42′	Pudukotai (Pondicherry)		79° 49′	11° 56′	
151	**Mirama**, metropolis	126° —		—	14° —	—3° = 6°	14° 48′	Negapatam (Nâgapattinam)		79° 51′	10° 46′	
152	**Kalligikon** Cape	125° 40′		—	12° 20′	—	—	Calimere Point		80° —	10° 17′	
153	**Eloy** Cape	125° 40′		—	12° 20′	—	—	Point opposite the Island of Ramesvaram		79° 15′	9° 30′	
	CEYLON.											
154	**Nuiartha** or **Nuharis**	121° 40′		—	5° —	—	—	Barberyn, otherwise called Berawela, south-east coast		80° 6′	6° 20′	Ptolemy's equator at Ceylon.[1]
					SOUTH.							
155	**KETAION** Cape	122° 30′		—	2° 20′	—	—	Elephant Rock; the most eastern and southern place mentioned by Ptolemy in Ceylon	Elephant Rock	82° —	—	The easternmost longitude of the coast of Ceylon.

[1] A check effected on the basis of North Cape and Cape **Oreden** yielded 6° 34′ N. for Ptolemy's equator at Ceylon, which is quite satisfactory and confirms the above result arrived at independently.

N.B.—Owing to my recent identification of **Paltra** with Palour Village near Palur Bluff, the latitudes of the first four entries in the above table will now require a further rectification, and the formula of correction to be applied should be 0·31 used.

TABLE VII.

ISLANDS IN THE GULF OF BENGAL.

No. of Order.	Name of Ptolemy's Stations.	Longitude. Ptolemy's.	Longitude. Formula of correction applied.	Longitude. Rectified position, E. Greenw.	Latitude. Ptolemy's.	Latitude. Formula of correction applied.	Latitude. Rectified position.	Identification.	Approximate position in modern maps of the places identified. Name.	Longitude, E. Greenw.	Latitude.	Remarks.
					SOUTH.							
156	**Banakata**	143° 30′	Based on the difference in longitude between Capes **Kitaien** and **Takila**		5° 20′	Corrected from the latitudes of **Maisolos** River and **Podukê**, as shown in map		Group of the main Andamans		—	—	The correction for longitude was made by using as a base the difference between the meridians of Capes **Kitaien** and **Takila**, as shown in the map.
157	**Khalinê** or **Salinê**	146° —			5° 20′			Kîr-Nikobâr (**Salinê** possibly refers to Tillanchong Island)		—	—	
158	**Masiolai**, two islands (about 15′ east of Ceylon)	142° (?)			—	—	—	St.-Malar and Bünyuk Islands, off the west coast of Sumatra (= *Barbâra* Island of the Arabs?)		—	—	
159	**Agathu-daimonos**	142° 12′			6° —	Equator	6° 30′ / 3° 00′	from Ceylon / from calculation — Great Nikobâr		—	—	
					SOUTH.							
160	**Barissi** or **Barussai**, five islands; centre	132° 20′	16° 18′ / 28° 16′ =		2° 20′	$\beta = 0{\cdot}92$	1° 4′	Pulo Nias group, facing the west coast of Sumatra at *Barûs*	Nias	97° 30′	1° —	**Barussai** evidently from *Barûs*, the name of the district on the opposite coast.
							SOUTH.				SOUTH.	
161	**Sabadeibai**, three islands; centre	100° —	0·6257		6° 30′		1° 51′	Si-Berût group	Si-Berût, south point.	99° 13′	1° 45′	See No. 98 on Table IV. above.
162	**Sindai**, three islands; centre	122° —			6° 40′		2° —	Si-Poruh and Puggy Islands, facing the west coast of Sumatra at Indrapura	Poggy (Pagi) Islands, centre.	100° 12′	2° —	

N.B.—All stations printed in capitals belong to base meridians.

TABLE VIII.

Mountains.

No. of Order	Name of Ptolemy's Stations.	Longitude.			Latitude.			Identification.	Remarks.
		Ptolemy's.	Formula of correction applied.	Rectified position, E. Greenw.	Ptolemy's.	Formula of correction applied.	Rectified position.		
					NORTH.		NORTH.		
153	**Annibe**, the extremities at which lie in	153° — 151° —	(γ) = 0·43 (α) = 0·725	97° 20′ 117° 18′	60° — 36° —	(α) = 0·5	47° 17′ 44° 46′	Alist and Kaba Dabun Mountains	**Annibe** stands very likely for *Manwun*, *Manwin* = Hung-ra or Hsan, the meaning thus being: 'Mountains of the Hsan.'
154	**Anaskis**, of which the extremities lie in	149° — 149° —	(γ) = 0·43 (α) = 0·725	94° 47′ 114° 14′	40° — 34° —		44° 30′ 42° 20′	T'ien Shan (or Tengri-tagh) and Bolor Mountains (mountains north of Aksu and Hamilton).	
155	**Exia**, western portion eastern portion	152° — 160° — 171° —	(γ) = 0·43 (α) = 0·725 —	97° 20′ 116° 44′ 102° 10′	41° — 44° — 40° —		53° 45′ 57° 56′ 50° 12′	Kuen-lun (or Arnella) and Altyn Tag ranges. Nan Shan Mountains.	
156	**Asmirala**	167° — 174° —	— —	106° 31′ 109° 23′	47° 30 47° 30		59° 15′ 58° 42′	Alk Shan Mountains.	
157	**Thagaros**, mount	179° —	—	109° 32′	42° —		52° —	Nin-t'ou Shan, on the east bank of Hwang Ho; possibly *T'ai-pei* or Kwei Shan, between P'ing-yang and T'ai-yüan	T'ou Shan = *T'ai-pei*, whence **Thagaros**?
158	**Emodos** or **Emoda**, and **Sirika**	183° — 183° —	(γ) = 0·43 (α) = 0·725	97° 20′ 116° 14′	36° — 36° —		39° 10′ 37° 18′	Tsiqlu, Bayankara-ula, Shugu and Amnemachin (Tu Shan) Mountains	Tai Shan and Si-King Shan; possibly also Hoi-wang-sen Mountains= **Sirika** range. N.B.—'Emoda' is probably a slip for 'Smoda = *Hsueh-i* or *Hsueh-ti*.
159	**Otorokorrha**	182° — 176° —	— —	116° 49′ 113° 52′	26° — 28° —		32° 15′ 34° —	Pei-ling ('North Mountains' = *Tien-shan*) in South Shan-si (including the Tsin-ling and Wu Shan Mountains).	
170	**Sipyrrhon**	168° — 134° —	(γ) = 0·43 —	97° 20 81° 32	24° — 20° —		31° 30′ 26° 44′	Jointya and Naga Hills, and Patkoi range	**Sipyrrhon** is possibly a rendering of *Shi. Vindhyas*.
171	**Maiandros**	153° — 160° —	— (α) = 0·725	91° 24 96° 17	24° — 18° —		31° 30′ 26° 44′	Garrow Hills, part of Arakan Yoma (Yomadoung), and mountains of Western Burmá (Lushai and Chin Hills)	**Maiandros**, probably from the Sanskrit *Mahendra*, and not from *Mandara*, as Lassen suggests.
172	**Dumasea**, **Dumasa**, or **Dobassa**	183° — 166° —	— —	116° 44′ 102° 10′	23° — 21° —		27° 1′ 24° —	Hsien-liang and Ta-liang Shan in South Se'chwan, and mountains of West Yün-nan; the ranges separating the valleys of the Kin-sha Kiang and Mi-k'ieng from those of the Salween and Irrawádi (=mountains of *Dobo* or North Burmá).	**Dobassa** or **Dumasa** from *Dobo* or *Tu-po*, the most ancient name by which North Burmá was known to the Chinese.
173	**Stonatikissa**	179° — 189° —	— —	109° 32′ 114° 46′	22° — 20° —		25° — 1 23° 16′	Mountains of Kwei-chou and Kwang-hsi (Nan-ling range and branches: Kwei Mountains, etc.); but more specifically, to the south, the Hsih-wan Shan range separating Kwang-tsi from Tonkin.	**Stonatikissa** is a term possibly derived from Sanskrit *Sunanda* = a boundary, presumably because this range formed the line of demarcation between China proper and the south-eastern barbarians. But not unlikely the term is a rendering of *Sich-wan Shan* (*Shi-wan-shin*, *Shi-wan-ling*), be it so in the southern portion of the range is connected, and of *Nan-Man Shan* as regards the northern portion.

TABLE IX.

Rivers.

No. of Order	Name of Ptolemy's Station.	Longitude.			Latitude.			Identification.	Remarks.
		Ptolemy's.	Formula of correction applied.	Rectified position. E. Greenw.	Ptolemy's.	Formula of correction applied.	Rectified position.		
					North.		North.		As the Chinese believed that the Yellow River ran underground from Lake Lob to Odontala, its real source, it will thus be seen that the **Oikhardis** corresponds to the *Zopa*, Puruuki, and Hwang-ho.
174	**Oikhardis** { source in **Asmiræa** Mountains ... / source in **Exeia** Mountains ... / confluence ... / source in **Auxakia** Mountains ...	174° —	(α) + 0·75	100° 15′	47° 30′	(λ) + 0·6	29° 43′	**Asmiræa** Mountains = Ala Shan. The Hwang-ho or Yellow River as far as Bautu. The *Kara-moren* (Black River) of Mongols and Manchus.	
		161° —	..	100° ..	46° 15′		27° 43′	**Exeia** .. = Pih-ling. **Oikhardis** of Chinese.	
		160° —	..	99° 15′	46° 30′		28° 18′	The term **Oikhardis** may, however, be connected with the **Oikhardai** (= Hoi-gur) tribes.	
		150° —	(γ) + 0·45	92° 25′	41° —		41° 58′	**Auxakia** Mountains = Tien Shan. The Ergu or Tarim River running into Lake Lob, and Puruuki River also?	
175	**Bautiæ** or **Bautis** { source in **Exeia** ... / source in **Ottorokorrha** ... / source in **Enidon** ... / bend towards **Enidon** ...	160° —	(α) + 0·75	99° 15′	42° —		27° —	**Exeia** Mountains = Kuen-lun Mountains.	
		170° —	..	110° 15′	39° —		24° 30′	**Ottorokorrha** = Pih-ling ..	
		160° —	..	99° 15′	37° —		25° 24′	..	
		168° —	..	103° 45′	39° —		24° 30′	**Enidon** = Bayankara, Shugu, and Anemaqin Mountains.	
176	**Kettiaris**, source in ...	180° 60′	Special correction in map.	—	8° 0′	Special correction in map.	—	Kin-sheui River in Chih-kiang, now Ch'ien-t'ang or T'sien-t'ang River.	
177	**Salsos** or **Saiza**, confluence with **Kettiaris** ...	180° —		—	0° —		—	The Han-kiang River, Southern.	
178	**Anbastis** or **Anbaora**, source in ...	179° 30′		—	15° —		—	The Canton River, debouching near Macao, the place of the goddess Ama (*Ama-ngoro* Ambl-orthoter).	
179	**Aspithra**, source in ...	180° —	(α) + 0·75	113° 15′	20° —	(λ) + 0·6	20° 40′	Hong-gan Ch'ie-kiang River, Ch'ie-chiang (Kin-chang).	
180	**Sirea** { two sources in **Simanthinæ** range / their confluence in ...	170° 30′	..	106° 15′	20° —	..	20° 24′	**Simanthinæ** = the Nan-ling and Shih-wan Shan Mountains. The Hai-yuh River, debouching into the Gulf of Tonkin, a little to the west of Kin-chau, near the boundary between Tonkin and the Kwang-tung Province. It was evidently confounded with the Yuh and Sy'ho Rivers, both tributaries of the Canton River.	
		173° 30′	..	109° 15′	20° 12′	..	20° 12′	..	
		171° —	..	107° 15′	17° —	..	17° 24′	..	
181	**Dirisa**, river in ...	164° 30′	..	102° 15′	16° —	..	16° —	The Red River, debouching at Hoi-p'hong.	
182	**Dunnæ** { source in **Dunnæa** ... / source in **Bipyrrhus** ... / confluence in ...	162° —	..	100° 45′	27° 30′	..	27° 42′	**Dunnæa** = mountains of Eastern Burmah and Western Yünnan. **Bipyrrhus** = Pulloi range and eastern Himálayas. The Mi-Khing River (Lan-t'sang Kiang of Chinese and Chiamdo Cha of Tibetans). By some Ptolemy makes it debouch through the Dehan or Trailo-an River on the coast of Tonkin, aided, no doubt, by a confluence of names.	
		152° —	(γ) + 0·45	92° 25′	27° 30′	..	27° 42′		
		160° 30′	(α) + 0·75	99° 15′	29° —	..	29° 12′		
183	**Sibanna** or **Sibannæ**, source in **Maiandros** ...	163° 30′	..	103° 15′	13° —	..	13° —	The Kampong Siin River, debouching in the Gulf of Siam.	
184	**Attabe** or **Attabes**, disturbed in ...	161° —	..	100° 45′	9° 30′	(κ) + 0·92	8° 6′	The Linh River, rising near Mount Ratanakiri in the Malay Peninsula.	
185	**Palandas** or **Palandos**, disturbed in? ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	The Pahang (or else, either the Perak or the Klang) River, Malay Peninsula.	
186	**Khrysoana**, disturbed in + ...	161° —	..	100° —	1° 30′	—	7° 11′	Either the Langya or some neighbouring river, Malay Peninsula.	
187	**Bleyngs**, source in **Maiandros** ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	The Kangsoin River [Irrawadi].	
188	**Témala**, source in? ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	The Bassein or Ngá-won River, debouching at Diamond Island, Thomas-lin (Chiselin).	
189	**Sadus** or **Sada**, source in? ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	The Thatè (Sadi) River, above Sandoway.	
190	**Tekmanta**, source in? ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	The Kaladan or Arakan River, debouching near Akyab; possibly the Sulosa River, Hunter Bay.	
191	**Entabéda**, source in? ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	The Mari River, debouching behind Kwadutta Island, whence the name **Entabéda**; if not, the *Monda* River, behind Muckhal Island.	

TABLE X.

Ptolemy's Names of Regions, Peoples, and Towns.

	Ptolemy's Name.	Location of Ptolemy.	Corresponding Territory in Modern Maps.	Identifications and Remarks.
	I. SKYTHIA BEYOND THE IMAÏS		= Eastern Turkistân and part of Northern Tibet.	
181	**Abioi Skythai**	In the northern parts of **Skythia**	Sungaria	Avars?
183	**Hippophagoi Skythai**	Below the preceding		*Hippophagoi* of classical authors } Skythians.
184	**Auxakîtis**	After the preceding	Districts of Hamshar, Pilshan, Aksu, and Uch to the west	Form **Auxakia** = Hamshar (see No. 1).
186	**KASIAN LAND (Kasia Khôra**	Below the territory of the preceding		The *Khatan*, or *Khitai* (Ki-tan, Kara Khitai), who [illegible] ca. in the tenth century, ruled
186	**Khatai Skythai**	In the territory below the **Kasian** land	The country about Lake Lob, the ancient *Kao-chê* Kingdom	North China? If not, the *Kao-chang*.
187	**AKRASA LAND**		The country below Khoten and Lake Lob, inhabited then by the Ahasu, called *Akse* by Kuhnjiqâs?	
188	**Kharoseisai Skythai**	Below **Akhasa** land, along the **Emôda** range	Northern Tibet about Lakes Chaka-nor and Tenghiri	Probably the *Karas* and Northern Karas of the Indian epics. From **Kharosea** = Chaka-nor Lake (see No. 11).
	II. SÊRIKÊ	To the east of **Skythia** beyond the **Imaïs**	= Inner Mongolia and China north of the Yang-tse River	
189	**Auzêi**	On slopes and summits of the **Auzêa** range	Country north of the desert of Gobi; Outer Mongolia	*Hiao*, or *Hiung-nu*. "Auzêa is, most likely, a slip for **Auxêa**.
190	**Comedai** tribes	Above the preceding, in the northernmost part of **Sêrikê**		The cannibals of Mongolia called *Ye-ta-pu* by the Tibetans?
191	**Sizygos**	Between the **Auzêa** and **Auxakia** ranges	Territory east of Hami and about Sobo Lake	*Sih-wei*, *Hi-chih* tribes of Chinese records. Cf. *Sizikhos*.
192	**Auxakioi**	Below the **Sizygos**	Territory north of Hami (Barkul?)	
193	**Dômosi**		Territory north of Hami, down to far as Tun-hwang and the Purnuki River	From **Domna** = Hami (see No. 30), or *Lou-lan*. Hiung-nu of the ancient *Lou-lan* State.
194	**Pialai** or **Piadai**	Territory as far as the River **Oikhardês**	Territory south of Sobo Lake, probably about Pe-la Hai Lake	From **Piala** or **Piadda** (see No. 59). **Pialai** may be the same for *Piala*=*Pi-ti-li* or *Pi-ti-hi* tribes of West Mongolia.
195	**Oikhardai**	Below the River **Oikhardês**	Territory between Tun-hwang and Su-chau along the Etzin and Pürnuki Rivers	From **Oikhardês** = Etzin (and Purnuki) River (No. 174). The *Wu-hu-hsih*, Hiung-nu, or Outpost tribes.
196	**Gorinaioi**	Further east than the **Auzêioi**	Outer Mongolia	From *Khori-nor* below Urga? or some place of a similar name in that neighbourhood.
197	**Rhabiannai, Rhabbannai**, or **Nabannai**			(The *Pwo* or *Fwo* (Turkish) tribes after which Turfan was named. *Ai-hei? Wu-sun?*
198	**ASMIRAIA COUNTRY**	Below the preceding and above the **Asmîraia** Mountains	Country of the Orkons, or Orkon, Mongols	From **Asmiraia** = Ning-hsia (No. 99).
199	**Issêdones**	Beyond the **Asmîraia** Mountains as far as the **Kasia** range	Country of the Etzelis, from the Etzin River to Lan-chau = Southern Kansuh	= Etzelis; from **Issêdês** = Etzins, or I-tzê-nay (No. 80). *Tsê-tsê, Tu-gûh-tsê?*
200	**Thrassoi**	Further east than the **Issêdones**	Country about the northern bend of the Yellow River	From **Thrassa** (No. 100). *Jeou-jeou* tribes; *Turgis?*
201	**Ithagouri**	Below the **Thrassoi**, to the east of Mount **Thagouron**	Northern Shensi, below the Great Wall, about the Niu-tou Shan Mountains	Tuhkuris? (**Ithagur** = *Tuhkur*)? *Tu-kûh* (Turks)?
202	**Arpakhêni**	Below the **Issêdones**, to the east of **Kasia** range	Territory of Hê-ning and Lan-chau	From **Arpakara** = Hê-ning (No. 61) = Uzbeks?
203	**Bolai**	Below the **Arpakhêni**	Territory west of Kung-ch'ang, upper valley of the Yellow River, old *Tsê-ki* Land	*Tsê-ki*, *Tê-li*, or *Bolli*. The name *Tê-li* was given by the Chinese to populations inhabiting north of the Yellow River. The *Tê-li* land was in the Yun-ai district, north of Hê-ning Fu. *Ti-lê* king tribes. **Ozizerkhorba** = *Ydzza-gyai* = the *Pê-lieng* Mongolians.
204	**Ozizerkhorbai**	Further south along the **Emôda** and **Stôlia** ranges	Southern Shensi and Sz'chuen	
204a	**Sêres**	To the north of the **Sinai**, with **Sêra** as capital	Basin of the Yellow River; capital, Lo-yang	The Chinese proper.
	III. CHINA, CHINESE TIBET, and INDO-CHINA			
214	**Anisakhoi** or **Aniasakhoi**	Country between the **Sêpyrrhon** and **Damassa** ranges	Khamt, Kongbo, Chinese Tibet, and Western Sz'chuen	Ai-lao-ng Valley (see **Asiza**, No. 67). *Ai-lao* or *Oai* tribes; and, if not, *Aluang* (= Lo-lo).
215	**Indogrâkai**	South of the preceding		Probably the people about Sinfang, whom the epithet **Indu** (*Sindu*?) -pattai, Singphos (Kachins).
217	**Ibêrigoi**	" "		*Pih-lang* tribes of North-West Sz'chuen; *Pih-lê-ki* (= Minkia) of Kwei-chau?
219	**Bamassoi** or **Balassoi**	" "	Upper Burma	The people of Upper Burma; very likely the *Tamanes* still surviving in the Indaw-gyi Lake Valley, Mogaung district.
219	**Nagalogai**	Near **Malandros**	Sylhet and Naga Hills. Tiassûdês's Nagalta Land	*Ngas* of the hills to the east and north-east of Sylhet. Nowgong, Angami tribes of Nágas about the Pátkái range.
220	**Kakrobai**	To the north between **Damassa** and the frontiers of **Sinai**	Tract between the Yang-tse or Ch'ang-ch'ang, and Tung-ya in North Kwei-chau	*Kia-lo* Miao of West Kwei-chau. *Khe-Khe* [North Kachins]?
221	**Bassakrai**	South of the preceding	An-shun Fu district, Central Kwei-chau	*Pa-shu* or *Pa-sha*? *Pa-shoi* tribes of the *Ta-ya-pê* district? *Pa-shan* Lissu? *Pai-Pa-wan* (White or Western *Pa-wan*, i.e. Lolos)?
222	**Khalkitis**	Next to the preceding; their country has many copper mines	Western Yünnan, south of Ning-yüan. Marco Polo's *Karajan*	*Lolo Loh* or *Kwei-li* (*Khôlê, Kwei-chôu*, or *Kôlo-lê*) or *Kwei-pang* or Black Lolos. This part of Yünnan is notorious for the abundance of copper.
223	**Kadeitai**	South of the preceding, extending to the Great **Gulf**	Southern Yünnan and North-West Tonkin	*K'wei* of Yün-chiang (Upper Red River, South Yünnan). *Kolitis, Kadis.*
224	**Berrhai**	" "	North and North-West Tonkin	*Pê-iuen, Pa-chê, Pê-iue*, and *Pê-yuen* tribes.
225	**Indoi**	" "	South-West Tonkin	Probably *Kindoi*, i.e. the populations about **Kinda** (No. 113). *Hei-t'u I, Shang-tou*, or *Shan-ti*, *Sze-tsû* of Annamese legend; *Indi* of Assam-Kamboja frontier?
226	**Bolitai**	Along the **Dounai** River	Upper Mê-Khong Valley, Liang P'ing-hsien land, and Valley of the Nam T'. up to the Song-ka River	The *Pwen* tribes, called *Bons* by the Annamese.
227	**Lêstai**	Subjects of the **Lêstai** country	Sinai and the upper portion of the Gulf	The *Ts'ulao* and *shan* [Negrito] tribes, forming the earliest population of Western Kamboja.
228	**Ekkhyrophagoi Aithiopes**	Fish-eating Aithiopians around the **Gulf of Sinai**	Coasts of Annam, Tonkin, and of the Island of Hainan	Called **Aithiopes**, from their being a dark or black race (Negritos ?), such as is known to have anciently existed in Cambodia and Champa, in order to distinguish them from the **Ikhthyophagoi** of the coast of China, possessed, no doubt, of lighter complexions. In these **Aithiopes** one might perhaps recognise the *Mi* tribes, the people inhabiting Champa in Ptolemy's time.
229	**Sinaxthinai**	South of the **Sinaxthinon** range, in the most northern parts of the **Gulf of Sinai**	Frontier between Kwang-hsi and Kwei-chau	[illegible] tribes formerly settled in East Sz'ch'uan and Hu-nan. *Sze-mo-i Man.*
230	**Akadrai**	Below the preceding and below the range	Territory to the north-west of Canton	*Man-mo-i* or *Man* of Lin-an Fu.
231	**Aspithrai**	After the preceding	*Hi-ngo*'s district, Lei-chau Peninsula	*Hakka* or *Hak-ka* tribes of Canton Province.
232	**Anbastai**	Along the **Great Gulf**	Southern Kwang-tung Province	*Wu-ke* tribes that revolted against Chinese domination in A.D. 178.
233	**Ekkhyrophagoi Sinai**	Around the gulfs immediately adjoining	Coast of China about Swatow, and Pescadores Archipelago	People of Hiang-pu or Whampoa and *Kwei-lai* Island, Canton River.
				Populations of the coast of Fukkien, Chê-kiang, and also, perhaps, of the Pescadores and Formosa. *K'wei-Pwo-lai* of Chê-kiang, *Li-ren* or *Wu-chau, Sung-po* of Fu-chau, etc.
	IV. EASTERN INDIA			
234	**Gangasai**	Here the towns of **Sopeira** (No. 4), **Sorna** (No. 5), **Eserta** (No. 6), etc.	Garhwál district and Upper Sárdá Valley	**Gangasai** from *Garhwál*? Probably the Gurung tribes of Nepál. Cf. the *Gangas* tribe in the Kishtwárgan district along the Kashmír River.
235	**Maridai**	Below the preceding; have the towns of **Boreda** (No. 20), **Kaudita** (No. 21), etc.	Gandak Valley	*Mangar* and *Murmi* tribes of Nepál; *Mandrowg* Nâkri of the Gáro Hills.
236	**Gangaridai**	Occupy the country about the mouths of the ramps	Lower Deltaic districts	*Tamáng*.
237	**Tokarioi**	Between **Imaïs** and **Sêpyrrhon**	Central Nepál, Kathmándú district	*Thárhar* tribes of Nepál.
238	**Kirrhadia**	Below the preceding	South-eastern Nepál and Sikkim	*Kiranti* tribes of Nepál = *Kerrádites* of the Puránas?
239	**Passalai**	" "	Kuch-Bihár, Goálpárá and Kámrúp districts	**Passalai** from *Parvatiya*, the name of Eastern Bengal, according to Pliny? If not, from *Pragjyotisha* = Gáro, Khási, and Kuch of Kuch Bihár.
	V. KIRRHADIA		= The Khamti country and Hukong Valley, North Burma	
249	**Tilodai** or **Blondai**	To the north of **Malandros**, in **Kirrhadia**, " in which they use the best Malabathrum is produced." Short of stature, broad, shaggy, and broad-faced, but of a fair completion.	Sylhet and Eastern Asám	People of Sylhet, Shella, Shillong, Sibsár and Jóa. Seemingly Pliny's *Tholoba*.
251	**Asthadai**	Beyond the mouth of the Brahmaputra, along the coast from **Perimula** (No. 42) to the **Tokosanna** River (No. 44)	Coast of Chittagong	Population of the Chittagong coast, of which the present *Bainga*-sect tribes are probably a survival.
	VI. ARGYRA	The country between **Sambra** and Cape **Timala**	= ARAKAN	The name **Argyrê** or **Argyra** does not mean a silver country, but is a derivation or corruption of the ancient name for Arakan.
	VII. BURMA and GOLD COUNTRY	Χρυσῆ χώρα (Gold Country), situated in continuation to the **Sêsygeitai**; there are many gold-mines.	Sonâparanta, i.e. valley of the Chindwin and Western Irâwadi	Ptolemy's "Gold Country" has been identified with the ancient Suvarnabhûmi, or maritime region of Burma and Pegu; but, from the location given, it seems to correspond more exactly to the district termed Sonâparanta in Burmese official documents.
261	**Emôlai**	A race of cannibals, living near Mount **Malandros**, beyond **Kirrhadia**; they are fair-complexioned, shaggy, of equal limbs, and flat-nosed. The inhabitants of **Khrysê Khôra** (Gold Country) resemble the **Dasikai**.	Western and Lower Burma	Probably the Southern of the Mahábhárata; and very likely the *Zalaings* (or *Zeanings*) now living about the Pegu Roma. If not, the Tibeto-Burmese Lepsi settled near the Chindwin River, and perhaps also the *Zilé* (Shân-Lawbas), who so call themselves.
	VIII. SABARAKIC or SABARAKIC GULF	From Cape **Timala** to **Birubai**	= GULF OF MARTABAN	**Sarabakic**, from *Sara-ahit* or *Salla-ahit*, the name by which I find the Salwen designated in Buddhist writings of Siám and Burmá. Of this, the name Salween or Saulleen is merely a corruption. **Sabarakic** is, apparently, from **Sabara** (No. 50).
341	**Sêsygeitai** or **Sêsygitai**	Cannibals on the **Sarabakic** Gulf	Pegu	The *Zalaings* or *Môns* of Pegu; but, most probably, the ancient aborigines (*Môns*).
	IX. THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE	(Χρυσῆ Χερσόνησος)	= THE MALAY PENINSULA	Included the whole of the peninsula from **Birubai** (Martaban) on the west coast down to **Sabana** (Selangore) and the *Temala* promontory, which I have identified with Tumasek of the Malays and the *Sêmana* of the Arabs, i.e. Singapore Island, and up the eastern coast as far as **Balongka** (Ch'uang-hôa, Kwei-hôa-mên).
	X. BATAKATA		= THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS	
344a	**Aginaetai**			
	XI. SINAI	To the north of **Sêrikê** as far as the Great Gulf and the Wild Beast Gulf; capital, **Sinai** = **Thinai**; port, **Kattigara**.	= The east portion of China south of the Yang-tse-Kiang River; chief town, Nanking; principal seaport, Ning-shau.	

TABLE XI.

No.	Termini of the Route.	Names of Ptolemy's Stations along the Route.	Modern Names of the Stations along the Route.
I.	Euphrates to Sêra by way of Samarkand, Kashgar, and Aksu (Marco Polo's route).	Marakanda — Asmaka — Issedon Scythikê — Damas — Piala — Issedon Serikê — Pallena — Thogara — Davana — Sêra Metropolis.	Samarkand — Kashgar — Barachan — Pilchan — Hami — Pa-lin Hai Lake — Ichiou (Marco Polo's) or I-tai-nay — Lang-chou — Ping liang — Hsi-an Fu — Lo-yang, capital of China.
II.	Southern route from the Euphrates to Sêra by way of the Stone Towers (mentioned by Ptolemy himself).	Marakanda — Lithinon Pyrgos — Issedon Serikê, after which it followed the preceding route.	Samarkand — Khoten — (Lake Lob) — Ichiou; and thence along the preceding.
III.	Khoten to Tibet and India.	Lithinon Pyrgos — Kosta — Batang Kadmon — Antouana — Ariepara — Salanagara — Labokla	Khoten — (Karang) — Hasale — Sirula — Gurdiapur? — Rookhiapur (or Anerkhee)? — Rotilla? — Lahore.
IV.	Chotchen to Alasbi.	For Khorokora, Eilana	Chira sur Lake — Alasbi.
V.	Pongkong Lake to Alasbi.	For Sapeira and Sotta	Chilkut-che Lake.
VI.	Thinlabang to Alasbi.	Sarra — Kosta — Kiapha — Kaogana — Kasala — Selanapora — Eilana	Tsak-jalang — Tsuta — Kiwan-chuel Lake — Sarka? — Skakia — La-tsang (Tashilumbo) — Alasbi.
VII.	Thinlabang to Delhi, and the Indus Fan.	Sarra — Passala — Margara — Ora — Sabada — Perrakra — Sambalaka (I.	Tsak-jalang — ? — Gartlok — Jadia — Srinagar — Sukreta (or Bijanar) ? — Sambhal (or Sirapla ?), near Delhi.
VIII.	Kithmandu to Patna.	1. For Kaogara — Berabia. 2. For Sambalaka (II)	1. For Kathmandu — Bettiah. 2. For W. Champarun District (Selempur ?).
IX.	Chino to Tibet	For Orochkena — Arthinara — Semana — Kanathara — Sadiga — Eilana	Wachen — Ho-k'ou (Ta-tsien-lu) — Selin — Shalandi — Sindong — Alasbi.
X.	Se'chuen to Bamok (Red Stone).	For Orathina — Salatha — Pandora — Phthata — Abianga — Arimyion — Marbina — Sabara	Wachen — Hsi-chou — Lin-an Fu (or Yünnan Lake) — Hang-ngai (or Tali Lake) — Yang-ch'un — Shwebo — Prome — Twante (Gulf of Martaban). This route was followed as early as A.D. 97 by the embassy of the King of Ava to China.
XI.	Nanking to Yunnan	For Bokkarogara — Khadamarkotta — Khara — Pandora	Nan-king — K'wei-yang (or Sioh-ch'en) — Hsin-yi — Lin-an Fu (or Yünnan Lake).
XII.	Yunnan to Gulf of Martaban.	For Pandora — Rhogiphet { 1. Lariagora — Binyaga. 2. Lariyga — Binyaga.	Hang-ngai (Tali Lake) — Ch'eng-yang (Kiang-hung) — { 1. M. Lön. 2. Sï-poh (Thöh) } Rampoon on Gulf of Martaban.
XIII.	Laos to Tonkin.	1. For Dosia — Bayrokara — Korkatha — Rhogiphet. 2. For Sinda	1. Luang P'rabang — M. P'hiem (C'hieng-K'eng) — Kih-sien (Hotieh). [Song-ka route.] 2. Probably down the Black River to Sontay and the coast at Choh-sü.
XIV.	Across the Malay Peninsula (Kra's Isthmus).	Takola — Belongan	Chochen to C'hampa'hin across the Kra's Pass.
XV.	Sea-route from the Persian Gulf to India and China.	Towarna — Malaïon — Aphetêrion — Pallai or Pakkia; thence either to Jada thus by way of Tamala, Solêra Khersonesos — Takola — Jada — Kattigara.	Muscat — Gwadur — Pasni Bluff (above the mouth of the Guadur) ; thence across to Sundeway ; then by way of Cape Negrais (mouth of Bassein River) — Takúpa — mouth of Singra River — Hoogo-chou. This is the sea-route mentioned by Ptolemy himself. It may be looked upon as certain that besides the above-mentioned principal points as coasts, the ships in Ptolemy's time touched also at Abadra (Koh Tree or Ruttee Harbour) and at Rhobana (Cochin).
XVI.	Sea-route from the south of India or Ceylon to the Straits Archipelago (Palembang in Sumatra).	Sighting at once Argyrê, the Bottiai, Sadai, Sabadeibai, and sailing the passing at Iabadiu. Perhaps the ships continued southward to China, and the Satyrôi Islands.	Leech (Achin) Point, Pulo Nias (or coast of Sumatra at Bivier), Si-Berût group (or coast of Sumatra at Indra (Anda')-pura), and Si Pora and Poggy Islands, Sunda Strait, terminating the journey at Sri-Bhoja (Palembang). Thence the journey was perhaps continued to China, passing the Sibetes Islands (Great Anambas) en route.
XVII.	Hang-chou to Nanking	Road leading from the metropolis of the Sinai to the haven of Kattigara, regularly in a south-west direction. (Ptol., VII. I. c. 12.)	Old mandarin road from Hang-chou to Nanking. N.B.—For 'south-west' read 'north-west,' owing to the coast of China having been erroneously held by Ptolemy to turn southward instead of northward.

Note.—The stations added by the Latin translator of Ptolemy's treatise, such as Gulf of the Sinai, etc., were purposely omitted from the present list and from the map, as there is no proof that they were known in Ptolemy's time.

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